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ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA,

OR THE

Antiquities of Greece;

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE GREEKS,

AND RELATING TO THEIR

GOVERNMENT,	GAMES,	MARRIAGES,	MUSIC,
MAGISTRACY,	MILITARY AND	DIVORCES,	PAINTING,
LAWS,	NAVAL AFFAIRS,	FUNERALS,	PUBLIC BUILDINGS,
JUDICIAL	DRESS,	DOMESTIC	HARBOURS,
PROCEEDINGS,	EXERCISES,	EMPLOYMENTS,	WEIGHTS AND MEA-
RELIGION,	BATHS,	ENTERTAINMENTS,	SURES, &c., &c.

CHIEFLY DESIGNED TO ILLUSTRATE THE

GREEK CLASSICS,

BY EXPLAINING WORDS AND PHRASES ACCORDING TO THE RITES AND CUSTOMS TO WHICH THEY REFER.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GRECIAN STATES,

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK WRITERS.

BY JOHN ROBINSON, D.D.

RECTOR OF CLIFTON, IN THE COUNTY OF WESTMORLAND.

SECOND EDITION,

Considerably enlarged and improved, and illustrated by a Map and Designs from the Antique.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, M.A.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM EARL OF LONSDALE, K. G.

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE following work being principally intended to assist the labors of the classical student, I have been induced to ask permission to inscribe this volume to your Lordship, from an opinion that its motive, as well as its object, would obtain your approbation. Every attempt to facilitate and promote the acquisition of useful knowledge cannot be unacceptable to the friends of literature, and has "a modest claim to the favor of the good, and even to the patronage of the great."

That your Lordship may long live to enjoy the elevated rank which you fill with so much reputation to yourself and advantage to the public, is the fervent wish of, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most humble Servant,

JOHN ROBINSON.

Ravenstonedale, 1807.

PREFACE.

THE advantages of classical learning are so great, and so generally acknowledged, as to preclude the necessity of discussing the question, whether the study of the Greek and Roman languages ought to form a part of the education of youth. Besides acquainting himself with the oral customs and the written laws of his own country, the lawyer ought to investigate the institutions of ancient legislators, that he may be able to compare them with each other, and to appreciate their wisdom, or to mark their imperfections. The laws of DRACO, of SOLON, and LYCURGUS, will depict the manners of the age, and portray the vices of the Athenians and Spartans; and the punishments denounced against crimes will enable him to trace the aberrations of the human heart. By comparing the CIVIL GOVERNMENT of ATHENS and SPARTA with the British constitution, the future statesman will find abundant reason to rejoice that, in this land of liberty, despotism and anarchy are alike unknown. To trace the knowledge of a Creator from the earliest ages; to perceive the faint image of a Redeemer in the victims and oblations offered by the heathen world; to compare false oracles with the prophecies of a true religion; to understand several passages of holy writ; requires that the divine should be well acquainted with the customs and manners of ancient Greece.

Such being the value and importance of classical learning, every attempt to facilitate and promote its acquisition cannot be unacceptable to the friends of literature and of the human race. It appeared to the compiler of the following pages that a work on the Antiquities of Greece, which might serve as a companion to Dr. Adam's very useful book on Roman Antiquities, was still a desideratum. Impressed with this idea, he commenced, and has executed, the present performance.

He acknowledges himself very much indebted to the *Archæologia Græca* of Archbishop Potter, which he has made the basis of his work, but which he has divested of the historical and mythological digressions, and of the long quotations from the Greek and Roman classics, with which it is encumbered. He has also made great use of the *Travels of Anacharsis* by the Abbé Barthelemi, of the *Antiquitates Græcorum Sacræ* of Lakemacher, and of the *Antiquitates Græcæ* of Lambert Bos, enriched with the notes of Frederic Leisner; and he has occasionally consulted the *Dissertations on the Greeks* by De Pauw. The second book, however, on the Civil Government of Sparta was chiefly compiled from Cragius's work, *De Republicâ Lacedæmoniorum*.

At first, it was intended to have extended the enquiries to the manners and customs of the several states of Greece, and especially to those of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Rhodes, and Macedon; but the difficulty of obtaining the necessary materials obliged the compiler to relinquish a part of his design, and to limit himself chiefly to Athens and Sparta. There is, however, perhaps, no great reason for regretting this abandonment of a part of his original plan. "The Athenians and Lacedæmonians were, properly speaking, the only original nations in Greece; and all the others could only be considered as shades, partaking, more or less, of these two princi-

pal colors. The inhabitants of Crete, Melos, Rhodes, Megaris, Messenia, and some parts of Peloponnesus, imitated the customs of Sparta; while the other Greeks of Europe adopted in general the modes and civil institutions of Athens, unless where local circumstances occasioned some deviation, too trifling to excite a general interest." An account of the manners and customs of Sparta is certainly necessary in a work of this nature; and it affords matter of surprise, that Potter, Bos, and other writers who have treated on Grecian Antiquities, should have scarcely noticed those of so considerable and peculiar a state as Lacedæmon.

The author commits himself and his performance to the judgment of a candid and discerning public. If he shall be thought to have supplied what was wanting, and to have rendered his work more generally useful, and more easily accessible to the classical student, than the writings of those who have preceded him on the same subject, he shall have attained his object, and shall consider his labor as well bestowed.

Before concluding this preface, it would be unpardonable and ungenerous not to acknowledge that, for the plan and arrangement of the *Archæologia Græca*, he is indebted to the learned and ingenious Dr. Mavor of Woodstock, whom he feels proud to call his friend.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In the present edition, this work has received considerable additions and improvements; and it has been so much enlarged by extracts from Potter, Lakemacher, and others who have treated on Grecian Antiquities, as to be rendered more valuable to the student than in the manner in which it at first appeared. Indeed, it is apprehended that the works of Archbishop Potter and Lambert Bos, on the subject, contain nothing of importance which will not be found in the present publication; and that the present work comprises much useful matter which is not to be found in these writers, nor, as far as the author knows, in any other single publication on Grecian Antiquities.

The classical authorities, which, in the former edition, were incorporated with the text, are placed at the foot of each page. This, it is expected, will be found an improvement, inasmuch as it will render the book more uniform, as well as more easy to the student, by obviating the difficulties which a frequent recurrence to the authorities must necessarily occasion, and by preventing his attention from being drawn to

them, rather than directed to the subject-matter itself. At the same time, he can notice the authorities with at least as much facility as if they had been placed at the end of the passages to which they refer; and if requisite, they will equally enable him to consult the authors themselves, to whom the references are given.

The cuts, which accompany this edition, will tend greatly to illustrate several of the subjects treated of in the work.

In short, it is hoped that the work, in its present improved state, will be found a useful assistant to the classical student.

Rectory, Clifton, Feb. 24, 1827.

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ERRATA.

Page 76, line 11, for "who was κλητὴρ," read *who was called* κλητήρ.
—— 245, — 24, for "the following," r. *the following occasion.*
—— 364, — 16, for "καρηκομόωτες Ἀχαιοὶ," r. καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί.

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

GRECIAN STATES.

CHAP. I.

The fabulous and heroic Ages; containing the History of the ancient Kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Corinth, and Sparta.

ANCIENT Greece, previously to its extension by colonies and conquests, was bounded on the north by Macedonia and Thrace, on the east by the Ægean, on the south by the Cretan, and on the west by the Ionian sea, and comprehended a tract of territory consisting of three hundred and eighty miles from north to south, and three hundred and ten from east to west. It contained the following kingdoms:—in *Peloponnesus*, Sicyon, Argos, Messenia, Corinth, Achaia Propria, Arcadia, and Laconia; in *Græcia Propria*, Attica, Megara, Bœotia, Locris, Epicnemidia, Doris, Phocis, Ozolæa, and Ætolia; in *Epirus* were the Molossians, Amphilochians, Cassiopæans, Dryopians, Chaonians, Thesprotians, Almenians, and Acarnanians; and in *Thessaly*, the Thessalians, Estiotees, Pelasgians, Magnesians, and Phthiotians. But the most considerable kingdoms were Argos, Attica, Thebes, and Sparta.

Greece was called Hellas by the natives. The inhabitants were denominated Hellenes, and by the poets, Danai, Pelasgi, Argivi or Argei, Achivi, &c.

SECTION I.

Sicyon.

SICYON, situated on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, which has been since called the bay of Corinth, was bounded on the west

by the province of Achaia, and on the east by the Isthmus which joins the peninsula to the continent. Though a small, it was the most ancient kingdom in Greece, and was founded by Ægialeus, who was its first king. The Greeks mention twenty-six sovereigns, who adorned this small country with temples, altars, images of the gods, and statues of themselves, but who performed no actions worthy of particular notice.

B. C. 2768.

Section II.

Argos.

Argos, which was sometimes called Argolis, was situated in the north-east part of Peloponnesus, and was bounded on the east by the gulphs of Saron and Argos, on the north by Sicyon or Achaia Propria, on the west by Arcadia, and on the south by Laconia.

On the banks of the river Inachus, which was so called from Inachus the first king, was situated the metropolis, denominated also Inachus. In this city was the tower of brass, in which Danaë being confined by her father, was seduced by Jupiter, who changed himself into a shower of gold. It was also remarkable for its fine breed of horses.

This kingdom was founded by Inachus, who was contemporary with Abraham, and the supposed son of Oceanus and Tethys. The Argian sovereigns were the Apisidæ, or descendants of Apis; the Pelopidæ, derived from Pelops; and the Heraclidæ, or successors of Hercules. These reigns extended to more than eight hundred years, and terminated in a republic.

B. C. 1856.

B. C. 1044.

Apollo being irritated by the conduct of the daughter of Crotopus, a king of Argos, sent a monster which tore the children from the bosoms of the mothers, and destroyed them. The monster was killed by Corœbus; and this action still more irritated Apollo, who sent a plague into the country. On this the oracle being consulted, answered, "Take a tripod, and where it shall fall build a temple to the god." The tripod was procured, carried in procession, and fell at Delphi, where a temple was erected, and the plague ceased.

Danaüs, the tenth king of Argos, being compelled to give his fifty daughters in marriage to the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus, commanded them to kill their husbands on the night of their nuptials. Forty-nine of them obeyed the injunction; and Hypermnestra alone saved her husband Lynceus. The forty-nine sisters are said to be condemned, in the infernal regions, to fill with water a vessel that is pierced with innumerable holes, which let it out as fast as it is poured in.

Perseus, the son of Danaë, was put with his mother into a chest, and committed to the mercy of the waves. Jupiter, however, conveyed them in safety to the island of Seriphus, where the king Polydectes became enamoured of Danaë, to whom he would have offered violence, if he had not been prevented by Perseus. Enraged at this opposition, Polydectes, that he might at once be revenged and free himself from him, commanded Perseus to fetch from Africa the head of the Gorgon Medusa, of whom the sight alone changed into stone those who looked upon her. He obeyed, and on his return delivered Andromeda, the daughter of a Phœnician king, from a sea-monster, and married her. Being arrived at Seriphus, he found that his mother, and Dictys the brother of the king, had been obliged to take refuge in a sanctuary, to avoid the brutal violence of Polydectes. He turned on him the horrid Gorgon's head, changed him and his accomplices into stones, and placed Dictys on the throne of the island. Perseus then went with his mother Danaë, and his wife Andromeda, to Argos, of which he obtained the sovereignty.

Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, was deceived by Jupiter, who, in rendering her mother of Hercules, prolonged a night to three times its ordinary length. Hercules commenced his labors after a fit of phrenzy, in which he murdered his wife Megara and his twelve children.

By force Thyestes dishonored the wife of his brother Atreus, the seventeenth king of Argos, who, in return, served up to him, at an entertainment, the flesh of his own son.

Agamemnon was reckoned the most powerful prince in Greece, and commanded the Grecian army at the siege of Troy. He sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, and was murdered by his cousin Ægisthus and his wife Clytemnestra; but his death was avenged by his son Orestes.

Section III.

Attica.

Attica was situated on the north coast of the gulph of Saron: it was bounded on the west by Megara, mount Cithæron, and part of Bœotia; on the north by the Euripic gulph, now *Stretto de Negroponte*, and by the rest of Bœotia; and on the east by the Europus. It extended in length about sixty miles, and in breadth about fifty-six.

This kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by Cecrops an Egyptian, who led into Attica a colony from the mouths of the Nile. He built the city of Athens, deified Jupiter, instituted marriage, which he rendered a sa- B. C. 1556.

cred union, and forbade to sacrifice any living animal to the gods. Pandion, the eighth Athenian sovereign, was deprived of his kingdom by the sons of Metion, who did not long enjoy what they had so unjustly obtained. The Athenian sovereignty devolved on Ægeus, who, though twice married, had no children; on which account he was frequently rallied by his brother Pallas, who had fifty sons and fifty daughters. Piqued at these pleasantries, Ægeus consulted the oracle, which directed him to have no intercourse with any woman. Astonished at this method of procuring children, he asked the advice of Pittheus, king of Trœzen, who was famous for his skill in expounding oracles. "The oracle," said this interpreter, "speaks of *women;* but I have a daughter who is a virgin: marry her, and you will soon be convinced of the true meaning of the god." To this proposition Ægeus agreed; and, by this marriage, he had the celebrated Theseus.

Theseus cleared the country of robbers and monsters, and freed it from foreign slavery. The Athenians having barbarously murdered Androgeus, the son of Minos, king of Crete, were obliged to send every year to Crete seven youths and seven maidens, who were thrown to be devoured by the Minotaur, which was a monster half a man and half a bull, the offspring of the lascivious and unnatural passion of Pasiphaë. Theseus embarked for Crete to combat the Minotaur, who was shut up in a labyrinth, from the windings of which it was almost impossible to escape. He received from Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, who had fallen in love with him, a clue of thread which conducted him through all the windings of the labyrinth; and, having slain the Minotaur, he returned in triumph to Athens. Ægeus had given to the pilot of the ship in which his son embarked, a black and a white sail, with directions to hoist the latter on their return, if Theseus was successful. Through an excess of joy for the success of the voyage, this injunction was forgotten; and Ægeus, who had ascended a rock to observe the return of his son, seeing the black sail, threw himself into the sea, which from him received the name of Ægean. Theseus, having become king by the death of his father, divided the people into three classes; nobles, laborers, and artisans. He enacted laws, established magistrates, and retained no other part of the royal authority than the command of the army. Notwithstanding his many public and private virtues, he fell a sacrifice to the inconstancy of the people, and suffered banishment by ostracism, a mode of judgment he had himself instituted.

Codrus was the last king of Athens. During his reign, the Dorians and Heraclidæ, having regained all Peloponnesus, encroached on the Attic territory. The Delphic oracle declared that they should finally prevail, if they abstained from injuring the person of the Athenian king. Codrus, being informed of this, disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, proceeded to the camp

of the enemy, and, insulting one of the soldiers, was slain by him in combat. The next day, the Athenians sent to demand their king; and the Dorians and Heraclidæ, despairing of success, suspended all farther hostilities. The inimitable excellence of Codrus was so much venerated by the people, that they considered no man worthy of succeeding him, and therefore abolished royalty, B. C. 1069.

Section IV.

Bœotia and Thebes.

Bœotia was bounded on the east by the mountain Cithæron, which separated it from Attica; on the north by the strait of Euripus, now called the *Negroponte;* on the west by the kingdom of Phocis; and on the south by the gulph of Corinth.

The air of this country was so thick as to have an influence on the inhabitants, who were not remarkable for vivacity. In Bœotia were the straits of Thermopylæ, which derived their name from the hot waters in that neighbourhood, and which were not more than twenty-five feet in breadth; and the cave of Trophonius, into which whoever entered laughed no more during his life.

Cadmus founded the kingdom of Thebes, in which the monarchical form of government was more despotic than in any other of the Grecian states. This prince is said to have been of Phœnician extraction; and he is universally allowed to have introduced into Greece the knowledge of alphabetic writing. To him are ascribed sixteen letters of the Greek alphabet; but as the order, names, and form of those characters greatly correspond with the Phœnician, it seems very probable that the Greek letters were formed from the Phœnician, and that Cadmus did not invent, but copy them. He is also said to have taught the people navigation and commerce, the method of cultivating the vine, and the art of working and forging metals. He built the city of Thebes, the walls of which were raised by the sound of the lute of Amphion. B. C. 1448.

An oracle had predicted that the son of king Laius, and of Jocasta his consort, should kill his father. Laius, to preserve his own life, exposed his son, who was brought up by some shepherds who found him, and who called him Œdipus, from his feet having been bored that he might be hung upon a tree. Being arrived at maturity, he killed by accident his father, whom he did not know. He then went to Thebes, where he married his mother Jocasta, and expounded the famous enigma of the sphinx—"What animal is that, which walks on four legs in the morning, on two during the day, and on three in the evening?" He answered—"Man."

Eteocles and Polynices were the unhappy fruit of this incestuous marriage. As soon as Œdipus was apprised, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and incest, he became distracted, tore out his own eyes, and died miserably; and his wife and mother Jocasta hanged herself. Eteocles and Polynices, hating each other from their cradles, combated beneath the walls of Thebes, and fell by each other's sword. Wearied with these catastrophes, the Bœotians abolished royalty about three hundred years after the kingdom had been founded by Cadmus.

Section V.

Arcadia.

Arcadia, which is said to have derived its name from Arcas, the son of Jupiter and Calisto, was situated in the centre of Peloponnesus, having Elis on the west, Argolis on the east, Laconia and Messenia on the south, and Sicyon and Corinth on the north. This country afforded excellent pasturage for flocks and herds, and was remarkable for the tuneful strains of its shepherds, who were superior to all others in their pastoral performances, and in the sweetness of their vocal and instrumental music. In the lake Stymphalis was a kind of fowl, which were called the Stymphalian birds, and which increased to such size and number, that they darkened the beams of the sun at noon, and greatly infested this territory. Here was the river Styx, famous for the coldness of its waters, which chilled to death those who drank of it, and which were of so corrosive a nature, that they consumed iron and brass: it was feigned by the poets to be the river of hell, by which if any of the gods swore, and afterwards broke his oath, he was deprived of his divinity, and of the use of nectar during one hundred years.

B. C. 1556. The kingdom of Arcadia was founded by Pelasgus, who is supposed to have been contemporary with Cecrops, and to have emigrated from Egypt. The regal government B. C. 676. continued about eight hundred and eighty years, when it was abolished.

Section VI.

Thessaly and Phocis.

Thessaly derived its name from Thessalus, the father, or, as some say, the son of Græcus, from whom the Greeks are supposed to have been descended. It had on the east the provinces of Magnesia and Phthia, which were bounded by the Ægean sea; on

the west, Illyricum and Epirus, now Albania; on the north, Macedonia and Mygdonia; and on the south, Græcia Propria. In this country was the delightful vale of Tempe, which the poets have made the subject of their pastoral scenes.

During the reign of Deucalion was an inundation, which swallowed up all the people, only himself and his wife Pyrrha escaping. Being perplexed to discover by what means the human race, which had been destroyed by the deluge, might be promptly reproduced, they consulted the oracle, which commanded them to cast stones behind them. Those thrown by Deucalion became men; and those by Pyrrha, women.

After another deluge, Arcadia was also repeopled by Cadmus, who killed an enormous dragon, and, ploughing the earth, sowed it with his teeth, when immediately armed men sprang up from the furrows, and began to fight with each other. A great number of them fell; but seven of them who remained made peace, and assisted Cadmus to repeople the country.

Thessaly was the scene of the battle of the giants, who were sons of Terra (q. γηγενεῖς) and Cœlus, or Tartarus, and who endeavoured to climb into heaven by piling mountains upon mountains. They armed themselves with trunks of trees torn up by the roots, and struck Jupiter himself with terror. At length, however, Jupiter, with the assistance of the other gods, defeated them, and drove them with his thunderbolts to Tartarus; and some of them he buried under burning mountains.

The Argonauts sailed from Pagasæ, a city and port of Thessaly, to fetch the golden fleece that was guarded by a dragon and by a bull, which had brazen feet, and which breathed forth flames. Jason, the nephew of Pelias, who sent him on this expedition, built a ship named Argo, from which the band of brave adventurers, who embarked on board of it, were named Argonauts. Having arrived at Colchis, Jason presented himself before king Æetes, in whose garden the treasure was preserved, and to whom he made known his intentions of carrying it away. Æetes replied, "I consent, on your complying with certain conditions. Here are some remaining teeth of the dragon of Cadmus. Having ploughed the ground with the bull which guards the fleece, you must sow it with these teeth. Immediately there will spring up armed men, whom if you can vanquish and kill, you will only have to lull to sleep the monstrous serpent which also guards the fleece; and then the prize will be yours."

Though perplexed by these conditions, Jason was extricated from his embarrassment by means of love and magic. Medea, the daughter of Æetes, who was skilled in enchantments, conceived for him a violent passion, and furnished him with means to tame the bull; to destroy the armed men, for which it was only necessary to

B. C. 1280. throw stones at them; and to lull the dragon to sleep. He carried the fleece to Thessaly, whither Medea fled with him. Her father pursuing her, she cut in pieces her brother Absyrtes, and scattered his limbs on the road. Æetes, as she had expected, stopped to gather them up, and thus gave her time to escape.

Being arrived in Thessaly, Medea found there two old men: Æson, the father of Jason, and Pelias his uncle, who had usurped the throne, and who had only sent his nephew to fetch the golden fleece, in hopes that he would perish in the attempt. Jason requested Medea to renew the youth of his father. She, therefore, caused the old man to be cut in pieces, which she threw into a brazen vessel, with certain potent herbs, and boiling them together, pronounced at the same time certain magical words. Æson came out of the cauldron vigorous, healthy, and adorned with all the graces of youth. The daughters of Pelias, seeing this kind of resurrection, solicited the same favor for their father. Medea, appearing willing to grant it, directed them to proceed in the same manner as she had done with Æson. They complied, and cut their father in pieces, which they boiled in a cauldron. The sorceress, however, suppressed either the herbs or the vivifying words; and the wretched girls lamented that they had sacrificed Pelias without success. Thus Medea avenged Jason, whom she placed on the throne of which his uncle had deprived him.—It is generally supposed that the expedition of the Argonauts was a trading voyage, which produced to the Thessalians immense riches, though purchased by great difficulties and dangers.

The next Thessalian prince worthy of notice was the celebrated Achilles, who was the son of Peleus, and of Tethys the goddess of the sea. He is fabled to have been dipped by his mother in the river Styx, when he was a child, and to have been rendered invulnerable by it in every part except the heel, by which she held him. She then committed him to the care of the centaur Chiron, who instructed him in music, arms, and the art of managing horses. Being warned by the oracle, that if he went to the Trojan war he would be killed, Tethys disguised him in woman's apparel, and sent him privately to Lycomedes, king of Scyrus, an island in the Ægean sea, where he begat the celebrated Pyrrhus, afterwards king of Epirus.

In the mean time, the Grecian chiefs being also forewarned by an ancient prophecy that their enterprize against Troy would be unsuccessful, unless Achilles accompanied them, Ulysses sought for him, and discovered him. Tethys, finding that her son was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of Troy to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon Vulcan to make him an impenetrable armor, in which he went at the head of his Myrmidons

to the fatal siege. Achilles was slain by Paris, one of Priam's sons, who wounded him in the heel, the only place in which he was vulnerable.

Phocis was situated in Græcia Propria, and was bounded on the north by Thessaly; on the south by the bay of Corinth; on the west by Ætolia, Locris, and Ozolæa; and on the east by Bœotia and Megaris. The chief city was called Delphos or Delphi, and was famous for the court of the Amphictyons, and for the temple of Apollo, whose oracle was resorted to by persons from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The Phocians made head against all Greece, which had condemned them to a fine for having ploughed a piece of land consecrated to Apollo: they were defeated; but they returned to the charge, and were again beaten.

In Phocis were the mountains Parnassus and Cithæron, which were the abode of the muses.

Section VII.

Corinth.

This small state was situated on the isthmus of Corinth, and was bounded on the north by the bay of Corinth, and by the isthmus or neck of land which joins Peloponnesus to the continent, on the west by Sicyon, on the east by the gulph of Saron, and on the south by the kingdom of Argos.

The kingdom of Corinth is said to have been founded by Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, and grandfather of Ulysses. B. C. 1514.

Corinth, by means of its position, was rendered the centre of the commerce of all Greece, and consequently of its riches. There the arts were carried to the highest degree of perfection. The most elegant of the orders of architecture still retains the name of the Corinthian. At Corinth, courtezans sold their favors for an enormous price; on which account Demosthenes, to whom one of these shameful bargains was proposed, replied, "I will not purchase repentance at so dear a rate." From the difficulty of obtaining these favors originated the proverb,—"It is not permitted to every one to go to Corinth."

The first king of Corinth, as has been already said, was Sisyphus, who was remarkable for his cunning and his robberies, and who on that account was slain by Theseus. After his death, he was condemned by Jupiter in the infernal regions continually to roll up a steep hill a huge stone, which constantly escapes from him when he has nearly reached the top, and rolls back again; and hence he is said to be condemned to perpetual labor.

Jason and Medea being expelled from Thessaly repaired to Co-

rinth, where Jason became enamoured of the king's daughter. The enchantress, furious with jealousy, killed the children whom she had borne to Jason, set fire to the palace, and took flight in a car drawn by serpents.

Bellerophon, the son of a king of Corinth, vanquished the Amazons, and killed the chimæra. To enable him to perform the latter exploit, Minerva procured him the horse Pegasus, which she taught him how to manage. In attempting, however, to fly up to heaven, he was thrown headlong down, and died blind.

Corinth rendered itself formidable to all Greece, by the mercenary soldiers whom its riches enabled it to pay, and who were always commanded by its own citizens.

Section VIII.

Lacedæmon.

The original name of this country was Laconia, which was afterwards changed into Sparta and Lacedæmon. It was situated in the south-east corner of Peloponnesus, and was bounded on the north by Argos and Arcadia, on the west by Messenia, on the east by the bay of Argos, and on the south by the Mediterranean.

The government of the Spartans was originally monarchical. B. C. 1694. The first of their sovereigns was called Lelex, from whom the inhabitants were called Leleges. The most famous of the ancient Spartan kings was Tyndarus, or Tyndareus, the son of Œbalus, who was placed on the throne by Hercules. He married Leda, with whom, while pregnant, Jupiter is said to have had commerce under the form of a swan. Hence she is fabled to have laid two eggs: from the one of which were produced Pollux and Helena to Jupiter; and from the other, Castor and Clytemnestra to Tyndareus. The former two were supposed to be immortal, and the latter two mortal. Castor and Pollux falling in love with the brides of Lynceus and Idas, the daughters of Leucippus, carried them off. Lynceus is fabled to have been so remarkable for his quickness of sight as to have seen things concealed below the surface of the earth, and to have penetrated with his eyes to the infernal regions. In endeavouring to recover his mistress, he was slain by Castor, who was also killed by Idas. Pollux obtained leave from Jupiter to share his immortality with his brother; and hence they are said to have lived and died alternately, and at length to have been transformed into the sign gemini. Helena was reckoned the most beautiful woman of her age, and is famous for the ten years' war which her beauty and infidelity occasioned. She was first stolen away by Theseus. Tyndareus, therefore, bound all her suitors by an oath, that they would permit her to make choice of her own husband, and that, if she should be

carried away a second time, they would unite all their forces, and endeavour to restore her. This being agreed on, Helena married Menelaus, the son of Atreus, and brother of Agamemnon, who after the resignation of Tyndareus ascended the throne of Sparta. Menelaus and Helena had not long enjoyed the sweets of conjugal union, when Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, who was universally accounted the handsomest man of his age, and who was adorned with the frivolous accomplishments which usually captivate the female mind, arrived at Sparta, where he was hospitably entertained. His insinuating manners and his splendid dress and equipage seduced the affections of Helena; and she abandoned her husband, her relations, and her country, and was transported with all her treasure to the Trojan land. Menelaus solicited the assistance of all the Grecian princes, who had been her suitors, to revenge this injury. For that purpose a confederacy was formed, at the head of which was Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and brother of Menelaus. But it cost the Greeks much bloodshed before ample revenge on the perpetrator and the abettors of this dishonorable act could be executed; and Troy was not taken till after a siege of ten years.

It has been already observed that the Lacedæmonians were at first governed by one king. Afterwards, however, family interests established two sovereigns, who did not command alternately, or rule over different parts of the kingdom, but who occupied together the same throne. This form of government, though very liable to dissensions, continued under more than fifty kings. But rivalry and contest were perpetual; and every prince endeavoured to conciliate the favor of the people, that his power and influence might exceed those of his colleague. These divisions brought the regal dignity into such contempt, that the government was on the point of falling into anarchy and confusion, when the great Lycurgus took the reins during the minority of his nephew Charilaus. He dared not, or he could not, abolish the double regal authority; but he established a senate superior to the two kings, and which held the balance between them; and thus the Spartan monarchy was changed into a commonwealth. B. C. 1104.

Section IX.

Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, and Achaia.

Elis is supposed to have been peopled by the descendants of Elishah, the son of Javan, and grandson of Japhet; and, therefore, the inhabitants of this country and of Arcadia boasted that they were the aborigines of Peloponnesus, and that all others were strangers and foreigners.

Elis was situated on the western side of Peloponnesus, and had

the Ionian sea on the west, Arcadia on the east, Achaia on the north, and the bay of Cyparissos or Ghalonites, now Capo di Tornese, with Messenia, on the south. Its greatest extent from east to west was about forty-eight miles, and from north to south about sixty miles.

In the city of Elis were the stables of king Augeas, which Hercules cleansed; which was a labor worthy of the demigod. These stables contained three thousand oxen, and had not been cleansed during thirty years. When Hercules, therefore, undertook to perform this work in one day on condition that the king should give him his daughter in marriage, he only turned into them the waters of the river Alpheus, or Peneus, which completely cleansed them within the appointed time.

The city of Olympia was situated on the famous Olympian plains, on which were celebrated the Olympic games, instituted by Pelops in honor of Jupiter, and, after some suspension, restored by Atreus and Hercules.

Ætolia derived its name from Ætolus the son of Endymion, and brother of Epeus, whom he succeeded in the kingdom of Elis. It was bounded on the east by the Locrians, Dorians, and Ozolæans; on the west by the Acarnanians; on the north by the Dorians, and part of Epirus; and on the south by the bay of Corinth: its utmost extent from north to south was about forty-eight miles, and from east to west more than twenty.

On the banks of the Evenus, a river of Ætolia, Hercules slew the centaur Nessus, who had offered violence to his mistress Dejanira. In the forest of Calydon, Meleager, accompanied by the noblest youths of Greece, slew the celebrated Calydonian boar, each of whose tusks was more than a yard in length.

Locris was a small kingdom; and the people were divided into three tribes. They possessed the privilege of sending deputies to the grand Amphictyonic court at Delphos.

Doris was bounded on the north by mount Œta, and by a ridge of other hills; on the south by Phocis and part of Ætolia; on the east by the river Pindus; and on the west by the Achelous: it extended only about forty miles in length, and about twenty in breadth. The Dorians, though inhabiting a mountainous district, were very polite, good orators, poets, and musicians. They were a brave people, and founded colonies in several parts of Asia. Accompanied by the Heraclidæ, they made a famous descent into Peloponnesus, whither they also carried their dialect, which from them was called Doric, and which was in great estimation among the Greeks.

Achaia was bounded on the east by Sicyon, on the west by the Ionian sea, on the south by the kingdoms of Elis and Arcadia, and on the north by the bay of Corinth; its utmost extent from east to west was not more than fifty miles, and from north to south about

twenty-five. After the death of their king Tisamenes, the Dorians new-modelled their government, which became a kind of aristocracy; and each city was rendered free and independent, and was ruled by a particular prince.

CHAP. II.

General History of Greece.

THE glorious death of Codrus, who sacrificed himself for the liberties and welfare of his country, and the dissensions which arose in his family respecting the succession to the throne, induced the Athenians to abolish royalty. It was very improbable, they said, that they should ever have so good a prince as Codrus, and to prevent their having a worse, they would have no other king than Jupiter. But that they might not seem ungrateful to his family, they constituted his son Medon their supreme magistrate, and conferred on him the title of archon. This office they afterwards rendered decennial, though it was still continued in the same family. The extinction of the Medontidæ, however, at length left them without restraint, and they rendered this magistracy annual, and, instead of one, chose nine archons, who had each a separate department. This change was intended to B. C. 684. provide against the too great power of a single person; and the Athenians now obtained what they had long and earnestly desired, and made the supreme magistrates dependent on the people. The archons, from the commencement of the democracy, were chosen by the people. They were, however, elected from the nobility; and they still retained one privilege of the ancient magistrates, and had the power of deciding all causes which were brought before them, according to their own ideas of right and wrong.

The same spirit, which had occasioned former alterations in the government, rendered it necessary that laws should be compiled; and Draco was appointed by the nobility to undertake this arduous employment. He was archon, was a person of illustrious birth, and endowed with great qualifications. B. C. 623. Though learned, virtuous, and a lover of his country, he was severe in his temper, and extremely rigid with respect to the regulations which he established for the government of Athens. He considered the taking away of life as so great a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence of it on the minds of men, he ordained that inanimate objects, if they had accidentally occasioned the death of any person, should be arraigned and punished; and a statue, which had fallen on a man and killed him, was condemned to suffer

banishment, and no one dared to keep it. The same spirit of humanity, however, did not pervade all his institutions. Every crime, from the most enormous to the most trifling, he considered as equally heinous, and therefore punished with death. "Small faults," said he, "appear to me worthy of death, and for the most flagrant offences I can find no severer punishment." But the rigor of such a system defeated its own purposes. We are told by Aristotle that Herodicus used to say, "that his institutions seemed rather to have come from a dragon, than from a man;" and Demades rendered himself famous by observing, "that Draco's laws were written, not with ink, but with blood."

At length Solon, the wise, the great, the good, appeared not only to regenerate the age in which he lived, but to become the eternal benefactor of the human race. He was of noble, or rather of royal birth; for he was lineally descended from Codrus, the last king of the Athenians. The state, which was continually a prey to dissensions, was at this time distracted with the most dangerous of all, the insurrection of the poor against the rich. The latter lent their money at an exorbitant interest; and their debtors, who had become insolvent, were obliged to sell themselves to their creditors. Reduced to despair, the debtors declared that they would reform the government, deliver those who had been made slaves by their creditors, and create a new division of the lands. All turned their eyes on Solon as their deliverer from these ruinous disorders; and he was unanimously elected archon and sovereign legislator.

B. C. 597.

They could not have chosen a more proper person for giving laws to his country. Much of his time had been devoted to philosophical and political studies; he had travelled over the greatest part of Greece; and he was, moreover, endued with a deliberative calmness, and an elevation of soul, which raised him above the partialities of passion, and kept him firm in the midst of danger. His virtues had procured him equally the esteem and love of both parties. Some of his friends advised him to profit by the opportunity which was thus offered him, and to place himself on the throne. "It is my glory," said he afterwards, "that I have not sullied my fame with the name of tyrant. It was in my power to have given a mortal blow to the Athenians; and I have, therefore, no reason to blush at a conduct, which few persons in my situation would have held."

His first care was to allay the existing ferment, by granting to the poor some relief which was not burthensome to the rich. This was effected by an operation of finance, which he called a discharge, and which consisted in lowering the interest, and in raising the value of money. In the midst of this transaction, some of his intimate friends, betraying the trust reposed in them by Solon, borrowed large sums of money, with which they pur-

chased estates before the edict was published. The people at first suspected that he shared the profits with them; and he was exposed to great danger. His character, however, was soon cleared from this imputation, and his integrity and good faith were the more admired, when it was known that he had lost considerable sums which he had out at interest, and that he was almost ruined by the law which he had passed.

He abolished all the laws of Draco, those only excepted which related to murder. He next proceeded to regulate the offices, employments, and magistracies of the state. Solon, finding the people variously disposed, some being inclined to a monarchy, some to an oligarchy, and others to a democracy, the rich men powerful and haughty, and the poor groaning under the burden of their oppression, endeavoured as much as possible to compose their differences. His laws were remarkable for their lenity.

Sparta, or Lacedæmon, was the first state that obtained an ascendancy over the rest of Greece. Lycurgus being invested with regal authority in the room of his nephew Charilaus, who was a minor, established a body of laws, which were copied chiefly from those of Minos in Crete. These institutions continued in force about five hundred years. The Lacedæmonians gave early proofs of their courage in a long war, in which they were engaged with the Messenians, who after a desperate struggle were at length completely subdued, B. C. 664. B. C. 705.

Before the death of Solon, the Athenian legislator, Pisistratus, who was his kinsman, and an artful man, seized on the government of Athens, which he held during thirty years, and which he transmitted to his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Tyranny, however, was abolished by means of two friends, Harmodius and Aristogiton, and the family of Alcmæon, aided by the Lacedæmonians. Hipparchus was slain, and Hippias compelled to save himself by a dishonorable flight. He fled to Darius, king of Persia; and this occasioned his war with Greece. He persuaded that monarch to undertake an expedition against Athens. Accordingly, raising a numerous force, his troops entered the Athenian territories, where the whole army was defeated by Miltiades, in the battle of Marathon, with only ten thousand Athenians. Hippias fell in this engagement, which was decisive. B. C. 560. B. C. 510. B. C. 490.

After the death of Darius, Xerxes, his son, having made a bridge of boats over the Hellespont, and cut through mount Athos, led into Greece an army of two millions, or, as some say, of five millions of soldiers, who were attended by a fleet of one thousand two hundred sail, and other vessels, containing about six hundred thousand men. Leonidas, king of Sparta, and three hundred men, devoted themselves to death for the service of their country, and, opposing this mighty host at the straits of Thermopylæ, fell nobly after killing twenty B. C. 480.

thousand of the enemy. Themistocles, the Athenian, who commanded the Grecian fleet, and who had advised his countrymen to abandon their city, and to commit themselves to their wooden walls or ships, soon after defeated the Persian armament near the island of Salamis. Xerxes, terrified at the ill success of his expedition, fled towards the Hellespont, which he crossed in a fishing-boat. Mardonius, to whom the care of the Persian army was committed, was some time after defeated and slain at Platæa by Pausanias, king of Sparta, and Aristides, the Athenian. On the same day the combined fleet of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, commanded by Leotychides and Xantippus, landed their men, burnt the Persian armament at Mycale in Ionia, and cut in pieces Tigranes the general, and forty thousand troops who guarded it. These defeats deterred the Persian monarchs from ever sending another army over the Hellespont; and they afterwards employed bribery to set the different states of Greece at variance with each other.

The Athenians obtained the ascendancy over the Lacedæmonians and other Grecian states. This was effected chiefly by the art of Themistocles, the moderation of Aristides, who was deservedly surnamed the Just, and the generosity and abilities of Cimon the son of Miltiades. The war against the Persians was carried on with great success by Cimon, who was at the head of the Athenian government, and who obtained three victories over them in one day. At length Artaxerxes, the Persian monarch, and the Greeks concluded a peace, by which liberty was granted to all the Grecian states in Asia and to the islands.

B. C. 470.

After the death of Cimon, Pericles, by means of his eloquence and popular arts, obtained the chief direction of the Athenian affairs, which he retained for forty years. By him the city was adorned with buildings, and the taste of the people gratified in whatever was splendid and elegant. These expences exhausted the public revenues, corrupted the morals of the people, and occasioned rigorous exactions of the allies. The jealousy of the Spartans broke out into an open rupture, which was called the Peloponnesian war, and which continued twenty-seven years.

B. C. 431.

The Lacedæmonians led an army into Attica, which they ravaged; and great numbers flocking into the city produced a plague, of which many died, and among others Pericles. Hippocrates, the famous physician, exerted his skill on this occasion. Platæa was afterwards taken by the Lacedæmonians, who put the inhabitants to the sword. The Athenians, however, made various attacks on the territories of their enemies with great success. Alcibiades, who was remarkable for his virtues and his vices, advised them to send an army into Sicily against Syracuse. To this proposal they too readily agreed. After various turns of fortune, their

fleet was totally destroyed by the Syracusans, who were assisted by the Spartans; and their land forces were either slain or made captives. Nicias and Demosthenes, the two generals of the Athenians, were inhumanly put to death; and in this expedition perished the glory of Athens. B. C. 413.

Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, soon after destroyed another Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos. After a siege of six months he took Athens, over which he placed thirty men, who were called tyrants, and who put many of the citizens unjustly to death. More perished in eight months by their cruelty, than had fallen during several years in the war. Thrasybulus, whom the Thebans secretly assisted, expelled them. The Spartans endeavoured to reinstate them in their authority; but the tyrants were instantly put to the sword. An amnesty, or act of oblivion, was passed; but amidst these popular dissensions, Socrates, who was the most illustrious of the ancient philosophers, fell a sacrifice to the malice of his enemies in the seventy-first year of his age. B. C. 404. B. C. 400.

Xenophon, who was a scholar of Socrates, entered into the service of Cyrus, who, having rebelled against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia, engaged a considerable body of Greeks as auxiliaries. These he led from Sardis to the plains of Cunaxa near Babylon, where they defeated the king's army; but Cyrus being slain in the moment of victory, the other troops joined the king, and left the Greeks to themselves. The Grecian commanders being induced to visit the Persian camp, were treacherously put to death. The Greeks desponding gave up all for lost. By the advice of Xenophon, however, they appointed new commanders. Under his conduct they marched through the enemy's country upwards of two thousand miles; and after surmounting incredible difficulties and dangers, they at length arrived at the Euxine sea. This is called the *Retreat of the ten thousand*, and is a remarkable transaction in history.

Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was sent with an army into Asia, where he defeated Tissaphernes the Persian general, took several cities, and spread universal terror; but, in the midst of his successes, he was recalled to defend his country against the other Grecian states, whom the influence of Persian gold had excited to take up arms against Lacedæmon. This was called the Corinthian war, and was terminated by the disgraceful peace of Antalcides, by which the Grecian cities in Asia were again subjected to the empire of Persia. B. C. 387.

The Lacedæmonians, taking advantage of some dissensions at Thebes, seized on the citadel of that city, which they held during four years, but which was afterwards recovered by the brave conduct of Pelopidas. B. C. 377.

The Thebans having joined the celebrated Epaminondas with

B. C. 370. Pelopidas in the command of the army, the Lacedæmonians were defeated in the memorable battle of Leuctra. The Theban troops then marched into Peloponnesus, and to the city of Sparta, which was defended by Agesilaus. Epaminondas again defeated the Lacedæmonians, who were joined by the Athenians and other states, in the battle of Mantinea; but being mortally wounded, he was carried off the field, where he survived till information was brought that his troops had gained the victory, when he drew the head of the javelin out of his body, and expired. With him fell the glory of Thebes, which had also risen with him.

B. C. 363.

About this time, Philip king of Macedon began to display his great abilities. He had been educated under Epaminondas, and being informed of the death of his uncle, secretly left Thebes. He was raised to the Macedonian throne in preference to his nephew, who was the lawful heir. Having subdued the Illyrians and other neighbouring nations, he turned his views towards Greece. He employed art, dissimulation, and bribery, in embroiling the different states with each other. He then attacked with open force the Athenians and Thebans, whom the eloquence of Demosthenes incited to opposition, and whom he completely defeated in the famous battle of Chæronea, which may be considered as the final period of the liberties of Greece, and the commencement of Philip's uncontrolled usurpation over the Greeks. The council of the Amphictyons appointed him general of the Greeks against the Persians. Whilst, however, he was preparing for this expedition, he was murdered by a young man named Pausanias.

B. C. 337.

B. C. 336.

Philip was succeeded by his son Alexander the Great, who was twenty years of age, and who had studied under Aristotle, the most famous philosopher of his time. The conquered states revolted; but Alexander with amazing ability and dispatch reduced them, and destroyed Thebes. He then crossed the Hellespont, and defeated the Persians, first at the river Granicus, and afterwards at Issus. After this he overran Syria, and besieged Tyre, which he took in seven months. From Tyre he marched to Jerusalem; and having taken Gaza, he subdued Egypt, and founded the city of Alexandria. From thence he visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia. After his return, he attacked Darius near the city of Arbela, and obtained a complete victory. Darius was soon after slain by Bessus, and with him ended the Persian empire.

B. C. 330.

Alexander, pursuing his conquests, crossed the river Jaxartes, and defeated an army of the Scythians. He then turned his arms against India, and defeated Porus, an illustrious prince of that country, on the banks of the Hydaspes. Here he lost his favorite horse Bucephalus, and built a city which he called after him.

He advanced as far as the Hyphasus, and had thoughts of leading his army to the countries beyond the Ganges; but his troops refusing to follow him, he was reluctantly obliged to return. He divided his forces into two parts, of which one, under Nearchus, proceeded from the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates, and from thence sailed to Babylon; the other, under Alexander, went by land, and in their journey encountered the greatest hardships. After Alexander had returned to Babylon, ambassadors arrived from all parts to do him homage; but his intemperance and immoderate drinking occasioned his death in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the twelfth of his reign. B. C. 324.

The generals of Alexander appointed his brother Aridæus, a person of a weak understanding, and his infant son by Roxana, his successors. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had given his ring in his last moments, was appointed regent; and the empire was divided into thirty-three governments. The whole family of Alexander, however, were sacrificed to the ambition of his generals, and few of them died natural deaths. Perdiccas and Eumenes, who were the only faithful adherents to the royal family, being killed, Antigonus and his son Demetrius became the most powerful. On this account, Ptolemy governor of Egypt, Seleucus of Babylon, Cassander of Macedonia, and Lysimachus of Thrace, formed a combination against them. A great battle was fought near Ipsus in Phrygia; and Antigonus was defeated and slain. The victors shared among themselves the conquests of Alexander, and assumed the title of kings. B. C. 301.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians having taken up arms during the reign of Alexander, were subdued by Antipater, whom that prince had appointed governor of Macedonia. On the death of Alexander, the Athenians engaged several states to join them, and marching against Antipater defeated him, and compelled him to shut himself up in Lamia, a city of Thessaly. But they were at length conquered, and obliged to deliver to Antipater the authors of the war. During the regency of Polysperchon, whom Antipater had appointed his successor, the Athenians put to death the virtuous Phocion, who had frequently commanded the armies of the republic.

Cassander having made himself master of Athens, appointed Demetrius Phalereus governor, who acted with such moderation and justice, that the Athenians erected to him three hundred and sixty statues. But Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, having possessed himself of the city, the statues were thrown down; and the Athenians paid almost divine honors to their new master. After the fatal battle of Ipsus, however, they refused to receive him into their city; but Demetrius, having retrieved his affairs, obliged them to surrender, and still treated them with clemency. After undergoing various changes, he died in captivity, a memorable example of the instability of fortune.

Pyrrhus, king of Epire, who had been raised to the throne of Macedonia by the soldiers, was compelled by Lysimachus to relinquish it. This latter prince, engaging in war with Seleucus, was defeated and slain. Seleucus, who was the last surviving general of Alexander, was soon after assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, brother to the king of Egypt. Ceraunus, who was now made king of Macedonia, did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes, being defeated and slain by the Gauls under Brennus. Afterwards, Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, having obtained the kingdom of Macedonia, was dispossessed of it by Pyrrhus, who had returned from his wars in Italy. Pyrrhus was killed at the siege of Argos, by a tile thrown by a woman from a house; and Antigonus again recovered the crown, which, after enjoying it thirty-four years, he left to his son Demetrius.

B. C. 281.

B. C. 276.

The Lacedæmonians and Athenians engaged in a war against Antigonus; but being unsuccessful, the latter were obliged to admit a garrison into Munychia. The spirit of liberty, however, was revived in Greece by a few inconsiderable cities in Peloponnesus, which had formed themselves into a confederacy called the Achæan League. Aratus of Sicyon, having expelled Nicocles from that place, induced his countrymen to join the Achæan League. Being appointed prætor of the Achæans, he took the citadel of Corinth, and endeavoured to unite all the cities of Peloponnesus into one republic; but in the execution of this design, he encountered insuperable obstacles.

B. C. 252.

Agis, king of Sparta, endeavoured to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus; but failing in the attempt, he was put to death through the influence of his colleague Leonidas, who soon after died. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, succeeding to the throne, accomplished the reformation which Agis had attempted. Cleomenes engaged in war with the Achæans, and, after various turns of fortune, was obliged to flee into Egypt, where he met with a miserable fate. At length, Sparta fell under the power of the tyrants, Machanidas and Nabis.

B. C. 244.

The Achæans being attacked and defeated by Scopas at the head of the Ætolians, who had begun to distinguish themselves, they called to their assistance Philip king of Macedon. This prince caused Aratus to be poisoned, on account of the freedom of his remonstrances with respect to his conduct. The Achæan league, however, was supported by Philopœmen, who, on account of his singular virtues, was called *the last of the Greeks*, and who, in attempting to reduce Messene by surprise, was taken prisoner, and put to death by poison.

B. C. 183.

After the reduction of Macedonia, the Romans laid aside their former affected moderation, and treated the Grecian states with less deference. The Achæans having made war on the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time in alliance with Rome, were com-

manded to desist from hostilities; but having the imprudence to insult the Roman deputies, they brought on themselves the whole weight of the Roman power, which finally crushed them and the whole of Greece. Athens having taken the part of Mithridates in the war with that monarch, Sylla took the city by assault, and gave it to be plundered by his soldiers. When the northern nations invaded Greece, Athens capitulated to Alaric king of the Goths, and, on paying a fine, was preserved.

B. C. 86.

A. C. 396.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF THE PRINCIPAL

GREEK AUTHORS,

WITH SHORT COMMENTS ON THEIR WRITINGS.

Section I.

Epic Poetry.

Homer. It is probable that Homer was born about nine hundred years before the Christian æra, and three hundred after the Trojan war. Seven cities contended for the honor of having given him birth; but though no authentic documents remain to decide the contest, the town of Smyrna and the island of Chios exhibit, perhaps, the best pretensions to that honor. He is known only by his works, of which the world at large can boast. It is not well ascertained whether his imputed poverty was real; and it is even doubtful, whether the reception which he every where met with in his travels, did honor to the compassion or to the hospitality of his hosts. Their kindness, however, was amply recompensed by the recital of his incomparable poems.

The verses of Homer were first sung in Ionia by the rhapsodists or reciters. Not being then collected into books, they chanted some favorite parts of them: one sang the valor of Diomede; another, the farewell of Andromache; and others, the death of Patroclus and of Hector. When Lycurgus appeared in Ionia, the Iliad and Odyssey were scarcely known in Greece; the genius of the poet instantly spoke to the genius of the legislator. Lycurgus copied the two poems, which he carried to Lacedæmon, whence they spread over every part of Greece. By order of his father, Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, made a new copy at Athens, which was in general use till the time of Alexander the Great. That prince commanded Callisthenes and Anaxarchus carefully to revise the poems of Homer; and this edition upon which Aristotle was consulted, was called the casket, from a copy of it being

inclosed in a small box of great value. After the death of Alexander, this edition was revised by Zenodorus of Ephesus, who lived in the reign of the first of the Ptolemies. Lastly, five hundred years before Christ, Aristarchus, who was celebrated for his taste and understanding, undertook the revision of the poems of Homer; and this edition, which is supposed to have been the best, is the one that has descended to us.

Homer is said to have sung the war of Thebes. He composed several works which would have rendered him equal to the first poets of his time; but his Iliad and Odyssey evidently place him above all others. If we divest the fable of the Iliad of its episodes, we shall find it remarkably simple and concise. "A Grecian general, discontented with the commander in chief, retires from the camp, without regarding the call of duty, or the solicitations of his friends. He scruples not to abandon the public welfare to his private resentment; and the Trojans, profiting by his misconduct, obtain great advantages over the Greeks, and kill his most intimate friend. At length, vengeance and friendship induce him to reassume his arms, and he overcomes the chief of the enemy." The description which Homer gives of his characters is throughout consistent; and his manner, though simple, is sublime. His images are finished portraits; and his reflections, moral axioms. His imagination is superlatively rich; and his knowledge, universal. In the order of the story there is a variety, and in the narration of it an energy, which are produced by an elevation of genius; and his verses, which delight the ear by their rhythm and their cadence, designate him as the true poet of nature. His fame is immortal; and three thousand applauding years have consecrated his name.

"The Odyssey of Homer resembles the setting sun, which is still great, but the warmth of which we feel not. It exhibits not that fire which animates the Iliad, that height of genius which never debases itself, that activity which never reposes, that torrent of passions that hurries us away, nor that crowd of fictions happy and probable. But as the ocean at the moment of its reflux, and when it leaves the shore, is still the ocean, the old age, of which we speak, is still the old age of Homer."—Such is the just criticism of Longinus on the Odyssey.

Hesiod. Hesiod was a native of Ascra in Bœotia; but the precise time of his birth is unknown. Some say that he lived in the tenth century before Christ; whilst others are unable to assign any particular date to his nativity. The works of Homer, however, were seen by him, since he has borrowed from that poet some entire verses.

Only two complete poems written by Hesiod have descended to us; the one entitled Works and Days, and the other, the Theogony, or Birth of the Gods. The former is divided into three

parts, one of which is mythological, the second moral, and the third didactic. It contains precepts of agriculture, from which Virgil probably conceived the first idea of his Georgics; but the work is interspersed with reflections, which are not unworthy of a philosopher. The Theogony fatigues the reader with a long catalogue of gods and goddesses; but it amply repays him at the end of the work, by an animated description of the war of the gods against the giants.

Some have asserted that Hesiod was vanquished by Homer in a poetical contest; but this is not true. The verses of Hesiod, which are possessed of elegance of style and sweetness of poetry, were written on tablets in the temple of the muses, and learnt by heart by the children of the Greeks. Cicero confers on him a handsome eulogium. Quinctilian allows him only the praise which belongs to an elegant and harmonious style. He cultivated poetry to an extreme old age.

Apollonius Rhodius. Apollonius Rhodius was born at Naucratis in Egypt, about two hundred and thirty years before Christ. He obtained the surname of Rhodius from residing on the island of Rhodes. His preceptors were Callimachus and Panætius. He was a keeper of the famous library at Alexandria under Ptolemy Evergetes. Of his writings, only his poem on the Expedition of the Argonauts is now extant. The plan of this work is not sufficiently epic. In the order of the facts it is too historical; and it is overcharged with episodes, which are introduced without selection, and narrated without effect. In some parts, however, the execution is not destitute of merit; and Virgil has not disdained to borrow ideas from Apollonius.

Section II.

Lyric Poetry.

Orpheus, whether the son of a Thracian king, or of Apollo, is said to have been the offspring of Calliope, and to have rendered poetry and music subservient to the interests of religion. The conduct of Orpheus was so correct, that he, who led a life of more than ordinary purity, was said to be the scholar of Orpheus.

Alcæus lived about six hundred years before Christ. He was a native of Mitylene, and the supposed inventor of the harp and of Alcaic metre. Only a few fragments of his works are extant. His style was concise, dignified, and correct; and his writings were serviceable to the public manners.

Stesichorus was a native of Himera in Sicily, and lived about five hundred and seventy years before Christ. Of twenty-six books written by him in the Doric dialect, only a few lines have reached posterity.

SAPPHO. This poetess was a native of the isle of Lesbos, and lived about six hundred years before the Christian æra. She was equally celebrated for her beauty, poetry, and ill-requited love. A leap from mount Leucate, which was the usual cure for lovers, put a period to her woes and her existence. Of her writings, only a hymn to Venus and an ode to Lesbia have reached us; and the literary world has to lament the loss of her three books of lyrical compositions, her elegies, and her epigrams.

SIMONIDES was a celebrated poet of Cos, and was born about five hundred and thirty-seven years before Christ. He lived in the court of Hipparchus, the Athenian tyrant. He wrote elegies, epigrams, and dramatical pieces, and composed an epic poem on Cambyses king of Persia, and another on the battle of Salamis. He obtained a prize in the eightieth, and lived to the ninetieth year of his age. His style was so formed for exciting pity, that he excelled all other writers in that respect. A monument was erected to his memory by the Syracusans.

ANACREON. From the poets, of whom so few fragments remain, we pass to one who is immortalized by all the devotees of pleasure, and whose name has descended with those who have deserved to be remembered by the utility of their labors. Anacreon was born at Teos in Ionia, about five hundred and thirty years before Christ. He seems to have had no other ambition than to love and to sport; no other glory than to sing his loves and his joys. Plato says that he was descended from Codrus, the last king of Athens. He lived a long time at Samos, in the court of Polycrates, who presented him with five talents, which he generously refused to accept. He is said to have become a martyr to the cause he adored, and to have been choaked by a grape stone in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His poetry is replete with such delicacy and grace, as to render all translations of it imperfect and unsatisfactory.

PINDAR. Bœotia was the birth-place of Pindar, who lived at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, about four hundred and eighty years before our Saviour, and who was then about forty years of age. He is not less celebrated for the tenderness than for the sublimity of his writings. His vigorous genius is bold, irregular, and impetuous. When he soars to heaven, he exhibits the eagle's flight, "with terror in his beak, and lightning in his eye;" when he rushes amidst the lists of men, it is the war-horse, "whose neck is clothed with thunder." His images are sublime; and his diction is resplendent. He gives an air of dignity to all his subjects; and the reader is conveyed from the gross atmosphere of earth into regions of empyrean purity. In short, he is the first of lyric poets. If he has any faults, these faults proceed from the excess of his acknowledged beauties, of his poetical imagination, his warm and enthusiastic genius, his bold and figurative expression, and his concise and sententious style.

When the Spartans razed the city of Thebes, they spared the house in which Pindar had resided; and Alexander the Great displayed a similar veneration for the prince of lyrists. He lived in tranquillity and honor. The Thebans, indeed, sentenced him to pay a fine for praising their enemies the Athenians, and the pieces of Corinna were five times preferred to his at the poetical competitions; but these transient storms were soon succeeded by days of serenity. The Athenians and other states loaded him with honors; and Corinna herself bore testimony to the superiority of his genius. He lived to the age of about sixty-five; and the Thebans erected to his memory a statue, which Pausanias saw six centuries after the death of the poet.

Section III.

Tragedy.

Thespis. The progress of the drama to perfection was slow, but regular. Thespis, who was a native of Icaria, above five hundred and thirty years before Christ, introduced a single actor on the stage. He exhibited this person in various parts of the imperfect drama, as the narrator of an uniform story; and erecting a temporary stage upon a cart, he conveyed his rough machinery from one town to another.

Æschylus. Æschylus, however, who was not long posterior to Thespis, must be regarded as the true inventor of tragedy. He was a native of Attica, and was of an ancient and honorable family. He divided his time between philosophy, war, and the theatre. He was present at the battle of Salamis, and wounded on the plains of Marathon. Besides a poetical genius, Æschylus possessed an inventive spirit with regard to mechanism and theatrical decoration. He formed those majestic robes, which were afterwards used by the ministers of religion. He decorated the theatre with the best paintings of the time; and the ancient, like the modern stage, exhibited temples, sepulchres, armies, fleets, flying cars, and apparitions. He was the institutor of a choir of figure dancers, and the creator of pantomime. He mounted the actors upon stilts; and the masks which they wore augmented the natural sounds of the voice. He added a second actor to the individual reciter of Thespis; and dialogue, the germ of tragedy, commenced. The priests accused him before the Areopagus of exhibiting upon the stage the mysteries of religion; but the wounds which he had received at Marathon pleaded his cause, and obtained his acquittal.

When far advanced in life, Sophocles, who was then only twenty-four years of age, vanquished him in a poetical contest.

Æschylus then quitted his country, and retired to the court of Hiero, king of Sicily, where he died in the sixty-fifth year of his age. It was fabled that an eagle, mistaking his bald head for a stone, dropped on it a tortoise, which instantly killed him.

Of nearly one hundred tragedies written by Æschylus, only seven have reached us; and on these, different critics have bestowed extravagant censure and unqualified praise. But we may form some idea of the estimation in which Æschylus was held by his contemporaries, when we are informed that forty of his tragedies obtained the public prize. So powerful, indeed, was the effect of his martial genius, that the people marched immediately from the theatre to the battle of Marathon; and so much were the engines of terror at his command, that many persons died at the exhibition of the Furies. If he be sometimes obscure, he is very often sublime; if his plots be without art, his characters are well sustained. His writings are vivid, bold, and impetuous; and they resemble a torrent, which rolls down rocks, forests, and precipices. If his language be sometimes too figurative, and his epithets occasionally too harsh, the classical scholar can never forget the many obligations which he owes to him. A statue and a painting, which described his conduct at Marathon, were consecrated to his memory at Athens.

Sophocles. About four hundred and ninety-seven years before Christ, Sophocles was born at Colone in Attica. He was a commander in the army of Pericles, and was elevated to the dignity of archon, which was the first honor in the Athenian republic. He wrote one hundred and twenty tragedies, of which seven only remain. He was less fortunate in domestic life, than in his public career. His children, disappointed in their eager wishes for his death, and solicitous for the immediate possession of his fortune, accused him, at the age of eighty, of insanity, and of being incapable of conducting his affairs. Sophocles made no other defence than by reading to the audience his tragedy of Œdipus at Colone, which he had just finished, and which represents an old man despoiled by his children. The judges, indignant at the charge which had been preferred against him, confirmed him in the possession of his rights; and all the people who were present, conducted him home in triumph. He died at the age of ninety-one years, after having enjoyed a glory, the splendor of which is daily increasing. His death is said to have been occasioned by excessive joy at obtaining a prize in the Olympic games.

It was Sophocles, who added a third speaker to the dialogue, and who advanced the drama in every respect to perfection. He has no unnecessary prologues or episodes, nor any violations of probability. His explanations are excellent, his plans sagacious, and his dialogues noble and animated. His style is not too figurative like that of Æschylus, nor too familiar like that of Euripides.

He frequently carries the language of nature, and the eloquence of misfortune, to the highest point of excellence.

Euripides. This poet was about twelve years younger than Sophocles, and was born at Salamis during the rejoicings which took place on the defeat of Xerxes; an event which has rendered the name of that island so illustrious. He was of humble birth; but his eagerness for literary acquisitions was very remarkable. He was instructed in natural philosophy by Anaxagoras, in rhetoric by Prodicus, and in moral philosophy by Socrates. That he might acquire the power of writing tragedy, he sequestered himself from the world, and lived for a considerable time in a wild and horrid cave, which was calculated to inspire him with ideas of terror and sublimity. At the age of eighteen he entered the theatrical career, which he and Sophocles ran with rival speed, like two spirited coursers that with equal ardor pant for the victory. Reflection, however, which is the frequent corrector of the passions, at length reconciled them, when they rendered reciprocal justice to each other, and exhibited mutual proofs of unequivocal friendship.

Persecuted by envy and malignity, the too constant attendants on genius and merit, Euripides was induced to quit Athens, and to accept the invitation of Archelaus, king of Macedon, who entertained at his court such as had distinguished themselves in literature and the arts. Here he found the painter Zeuxis, and the musician Timotheus; and here he enjoyed the favor of royal munificence, and the tranquillity of learned ease. But who can boast of continued happiness! He lost his wife and three children at one time; and this dreadful calamity is said to have been ever after present to his mind. The event had a powerful influence on his temper and spirit, and produced that plaintiveness of manner, which is so conspicuous in his writings. This celebrated poet died about seventy-six years of age; and his death was very unfortunate, for he was torn in pieces by the dogs of Archelaus. The Athenians sent deputies to Macedon, and demanded that his body might be brought back to Athens. Archelaus, however, refused to comply, and considered it an honor to his states to preserve the remains of so great a man. He caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to him, near his capital; and the Athenians were reduced to the honorable consolation of raising a cenotaph to his memory.

Euripides wrote eighty plays, of which only nineteen have reached us; and against some of these the voice of criticism has been loudly indignant. This poet multiplies sentences and reflections. He makes it a pleasure or a duty to display his knowledge; and he frequently indulges in rhetorical forms of expression. Hence the different judgments that have been passed on him, and the different points of view in which he may be considered. He forcibly insisted on the important doctrines of morality, and was,

therefore, placed among the number of the sages; and he will for ever be regarded as the philosopher of the stage. If he wants the sublimity of Æschylus and the sweetness of Sophocles, he balances these advantages by pathos and moral sentiment, and exhibits the most touching scenes of the Grecian drama.

Section IV.

Comedy.

Epicharmus. We are informed by an inscription on a statue of brass erected to Epicharmus, who was a school-master at Syracuse, that he was the first writer of comedy. He lived four hundred and fifty years before Christ, and was punished by Hiero, the tyrant of Sicily, for certain improper jests exhibited before his queen. He is said to have written fifty comedies; and from the specimen of his works, preserved in a few fragments which have reached us, we have reason to lament the loss of the entire compositions. He had four contemporary poets, who were joint fathers of comedy, but of whose works not a vestige remains.

Eupolis flourished about four hundred and thirty-five years before Christ; but we have no particulars of his profession or his life. We possess only the titles of twenty of his comedies, and a few fragments.

Cratinus was the countryman of Eupolis, and rather older. He possessed a fertile imagination and an ornamented style. He won nine prizes at the public games. He successfully repelled the attack of Aristophanes, who had ridiculed his infirmities in a comedy called the Flaggon, and from whom he obtained the laurel; and he shortly after expired amidst the exultations of the victory. In the abyss of time, thirty comedies, which were the effusions of his genius, have perished, and scarcely left a wreck behind.

Aristophanes. This poet was born about four hundred and thirty-four years before Christ, and was a native of the small island of Ægina, near Peloponnesus. He acquired by his talents the privileges of an Athenian citizen. Of more than fifty comedies written by him, only eleven have descended to posterity. His character as an author may perhaps be accurately estimated, by adopting the mean between his censurers and his panegyrists.

It has been objected to this poet, that he is careless in the conduct of his fables; that his fictions are improbable, and his jests obscene; that his raillery is rudeness; that his language is obscure, embarrassed, low, and trivial; and that his frequent play upon words, and his mixture of tragic and comic style, are proofs of his bad taste. The zeal of his admirers, however, at least balanced

the enemies of his fame. Plato, who was his contemporary, gives him a distinguished place in his banquet; and he sent a copy of the plays of Aristophanes to Dionysius the tyrant, whom he exhorted to read them with attention, if he wished to become thoroughly acquainted with the Athenian republic. He adds, in an hyperbolical strain, that the graces had long sought for a durable mansion, and at length fixed in the bosom of Aristophanes. This poet's play, called the Clouds, was the occasion of the persecution, trial, and death, of the incomparable Socrates.

CRATES was a comic poet and a celebrated actor, two characters very frequently combined at that time. Of this writer's works, only a few fragments remain.

PHERECRATES, who was a comic writer contemporary with Aristophanes, and the inventor of a metre used by Horace, has left only a few lines.

AMIPSIAS, who was another poet at the same time, has left only the titles of his plays.—These were writers of the old comedy.

PLATO was styled the prince of the middle comedy.

MENANDER. This poet was born at Athens, about three hundred and forty-five years before Christ, and educated under the peripatetic philosopher Theophrastus. He was the first writer of the new comedy, in which the theatre ceased to be a Megæra armed with torches, and became an agreeable and innocent mirror of human life. He began to write for the stage at the age of twenty years; and his compositions were replete with elegance of style, refined wit, and correct ideas. From him Terence borrowed all his plays, except his Phormio and Hecyra. Of one hundred plays written by Menander, only some fragments and titles remain, which contain sentiments of various kinds, moral, sublime, and gloomy. By Quinctilian he is said to eclipse every writer of his class; and Dion Chrysostom recommends him as a model for those who study oratory. By him the comic is not neglected, nor outraged. He never loses sight of nature; and the suppleness and flexibility of his style have never been surpassed. It resembles a limpid stream, which runs between irregular and tortuous banks, and takes all forms without losing any of its purity. He writes like a man of spirit, and a man of the world; and he will please in all places, and at all times. Menander was drowned in bathing; but some say that he drowned himself, because Philemon vanquished him in a poetical contest.

PHILEMON, the successful rival of Menander, lived above one hundred years. He was a plaintive and melancholy writer.

Section V.

Pastoral Poetry.—Epigram.

Theocritus was born at Syracuse, nearly three centuries before Christ. He composed thirty eclogues; and the Doric dialect affords him a decided pre-eminence in this species of poetry. His predominant character is simplicity; but this simplicity sometimes degenerates into grossness. The reader is presented with too many indifferent circumstances; and the subjects have too great a resemblance.

Bion and Moschus were contemporaries of Theocritus; the one lived at Smyrna, and the other at Syracuse. Each of them wrote with ease and elegance. Their Idyllia are possessed of peculiar delicacy; and their elegies are tender and sentimental. Their verses are written with more care than those of Theocritus; but they are not wholly devoid of affectation.

The epigrams which were collected by Agathias, Planudes, Constantine, Hierocles, and others, and which compose the Greek Anthologia, are scarcely more than inscriptions for tombs, statues, monuments, &c. They are generally simple, in conformity to their object, which is only to relate a fact.

Lycophron was born at Chalcis in Eubœa, about two hundred and seventy-six years before Christ. What remains of his writings, except the mere titles of some tragedies, is a work entitled the Cassandra, in which the daughter of Priam uttered certain supposed prophecies during the Trojan war. Lycophron has been accused of great obscurity; but the reader is informed at the outset that the prophetess was dark in her presages. By due labor and attention the poet may be understood; and where it was permitted him to be clear, no one is more so. He has all the fire of Pindar; and Horace, in his prophecy of the destruction which should follow the rape of Helen, is a close imitator of the Cassandra.

Section VI.

Oratory.

Pericles was a native of Athens, and the first orator that existed. He flourished about four hundred and twenty years before Christ.

Lysias, the son of Cephalus, was born at Syracuse about four hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra. Immediately after his birth he was removed to Athens, where he was

carefully educated. At the age of fourteen, he accompanied the Athenian colony to Thurium; and after a long residence in that place, he returned home in his forty-seventh year. He distinguished himself by the purity of his style; but only thirty-four of his orations remain out of two hundred and thirty. He lived to the eighty-first year of his age.

Isocrates was a native of Athens, and was born about four hundred and thirty-seven years before Christ. His father made musical instruments. He never spoke in public; but he kept a school of eloquence for sixty years, which was the most celebrated in Greece, and rendered great service to oratory. Thirty-one of his orations are still extant, and these inspire the reader with the highest veneration for his abilities and his virtues. He was intimate with Philip, king of Macedon; and to this circumstance the Athenians owed some years of peace. The aspiring ambition of that monarch, however, disgusted him; and he did not survive the disgrace and fall of his country after the battle of Chæronea, but, after refusing aliment for four days, died in the ninety-ninth year of his age. The conduct of the Athenians towards Socrates so displeased him, that he put on mourning at the death of that philosopher.

In the orations of Isocrates, we find that smoothness of style, that ease, elegance, delicacy, and sweetness of expression, which captivate every ear attuned to harmony. In attending to excellencies of this sort, he was laborious and minute; and he confesses that he employed ten years on one of his orations. He cultivated and improved the qualifications with which nature had endowed him. His knowledge was superior to his rhetoric; and while we admire the orator, we reverence the philosopher, and are enchanted with his delivery of truths, which evince an enlightened understanding and an upright heart. He was a true and an enthusiastic patriot, in the proper acceptation of the word; but his patriotism did not exclude the more generous principle of philanthropy.

Hyperides was taught by Plato and by Socrates, and had every advantage which could attend the education of an orator. He was frequently opposed to Demosthenes; and this circumstance may enable us to form some judgment of his merit. Only one of his orations is extant; and this exhibits a fair specimen of his ability. Longinus, however, who had read them all, says, that Hyperides possessed all the qualities which Demosthenes wanted, but that he never rose to the sublime.

Isæus was the preceptor of Demosthenes, and was born at Chalcis in Eubœa, about three hundred and eighty years before Christ. When he came to the seat of learning, he placed himself under the instruction of Lysias. His eloquence was vigorous and energetic; and for these qualities he was praised and imitated by

his illustrious pupil. Of sixty-four of his orations, only ten are extant, and by them the approbation bestowed upon him by Demosthenes is vindicated.

ÆSCHINES flourished at Athens about three hundred and forty-two years before the Christian æra. It was a glory to him that he was the rival of Demosthenes; and a disgrace, that he suffered himself to be bribed by Philip of Macedon. His envy of the former occasioned the two orations *De Coronâ*, when Ctesiphon proposed a reward for the patriotism of his friend; and the speakers exerted their utmost powers, the one in opposing, and the other in defending the proposal. A stronger proof of the abilities of those two rival orators could not be produced, than what they exhibited on this occasion; for each had employed more than four years in preparing himself for the contest. The animosity of the orators was so well known throughout Greece, that an immense concourse of people assembled from all parts to see the combat of those two great men, whose rivalry had become so celebrated. Demosthenes, however, not only justified himself, but obtained by the sublimity and inimitable excellency of his speech, that his rival should be banished. The oration of Demosthenes far surpassed that of Æschines, and in point of oratorical argumentation is certainly the first that ever was made. The banished orator retired to Rhodes, where he instituted a school of eloquence; and his first essay was the recital of the two speeches which had caused his condemnation. His own oration was received with great applause; but when he rehearsed to them that of Demosthenes, that applause was redoubled. Upon this he exclaimed to the audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard Demosthenes himself?"

Æschines was born of obscure parents, and exercised in his childhood not very honorable functions. Possessing a fine and sonorous voice, he next appeared upon the stage, where he performed only subordinate parts. He then quitted this profession, and became clerk in an inferior court, and afterwards minister of state. He wrote three orations, and nine epistles. Only the former are extant, and received the name of the graces, as the latter did that of the muses. The eloquence of Æschines is distinguished by a happy choice, the abundance and clearness of his ideas, and a prodigious facility, for which he is indebted less to art than to nature. Though his style is not void of strength, it possesses less than that of Demosthenes.

DEMOSTHENES. This most accomplished orator was descended of very low parents, his father being only a blacksmith. He was born at Athens about three hundred and eighty-two years before Christ. He lost his parents at an early age, and fell into the hands of guardians, who took no care of his education. This neglect was seconded by his mother, through a false tenderness for

her son. At the age of sixteen, which was the usual period for learning rhetoric, instead of being placed under Isocrates, whose reputation was then highest, he was sent to Isæus, whose terms were more moderate, and in whose school he learned those bad habits, of which he afterwards took such pains to divest himself. But the fortune acquired by his father in trade enabled him afterwards to become the pupil of the best preceptors, whose works he studied. He exhibited the first fruits of his education in an eloquent and a successful speech against his guardians, who had embezzled his estate. That he might overcome a natural impediment in his speech, he recited with pebbles in his mouth. He spoke before a mirror, that he might preserve his features from being distorted. He strengthened a weak voice by running up the steepest hills; and by declaiming aloud on the sea-shore, he taught himself to brave the tumult of a popular assembly. It is evident, therefore, that the eloquence of Demosthenes was in a great measure the effect of much personal exertion.

He found it, however, necessary to retire for a time from the bustle of the world; and having shaved one half of his head, that it might be indecent for him to appear in public, he applied himself entirely to the study of eloquence. He was first excited to the study of this art by the applause which was given to Callistratus in a cause that he pleaded; and, from that moment, it became the increasing object of his contemplation and desire.

After sustaining a disinterested conduct for a great length of time, Demosthenes, it has been said, was not incorruptible. It was alledged that, having for some time exerted himself against the tyranny of Alexander with the same vehemence as he had attacked Philip, he at length allowed himself to be bribed; that twenty talents and a golden vase induced him to feign illness, that he might not mount the rostrum; and that this dishonorable act alienated from him the affections of the people, and compelled him to retire from Athens. But we may fairly doubt this report, which appears in a questionable shape; for his accuser was a venal orator named Dinarchus. Pausanias, indeed, treats the charge as a calumny.

Demosthenes returned to Athens after the death of Alexander, and continued to declaim against the tyranny of the Macedonians, till Antipater, their governor, issued orders to seize all the orators who had declared themselves his enemies. Demosthenes attempted flight, but finding himself likely to be captured by his pursuers, he had recourse to poison which he always carried with him. Archias, a player, who was sent to apprehend him, endeavoured to persuade him to yield to the clemency of Antipater. "Go tell your master," said he, "that Demosthenes will owe nothing to the tyrant of his country." He then took the cup, and swallowing the poison, fell dead at the altar where he had sought

for sanctuary. Such was the end of this great man in the sixty-first year of his age.

Most of the works of Demosthenes are intended to rouse the Athenians from their indolence, and to arm them against the artful ambition of Philip. The eloquence of Demosthenes consists in reasoning and emotion. No one ever gave to reason more penetrating and inevitable weapons. In his hand truth resembles a piercing dart, which he throws with great rapidity and force, and with which he incessantly repeats his attacks. His style is bold and nervous; and he seldom condescends to add ornaments to his thoughts. What distinguishes him from other orators is, that the attention he gains is to the object of which he treats, and not to himself. He excels in the sentiments and passions which constitute the affections of the soul. As his subject would not bear it, he has not employed the tender pathetic; but he has used with great dexterity the vehement pathetic, which is peculiarly adapted to declamatory oratory. By Cicero, he is said to have united in himself the purity of Lysias, the spirit of Hyperides, and the sweetness of Æschines, and in power of thought and movement of discourse to have surpassed them all.

Section VII.

History.

Herodotus. This historian was born at Halicarnassus in Caria, about four hundred and eighty-four years before Christ. The troubles of his country induced him to visit Greece, where his talents obtained for him a welcome reception. To him we are indebted for what we know of the ancient dynasties of the Medes, Persians, Phœnicians, Lydians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Scythians. He read at the Olympic games his account of the bloody contests between the Persians and the Greeks, from Cyrus to Xerxes, composed in his twenty-ninth year; and his veracity received an attestation, from the high honor which was given to him at this great assembly of the Greeks. His contemporaries bestowed on each of his nine books the name of one of the muses: and those names will continue to be attached to them, as long as the writings of this historian shall exist.

The moderns have frequently accused Herodotus of neglecting the sincerity which is the highest merit of an historian, that he may record the marvellous and incredible; but the descriptions which he has given of Egypt and of other parts of Africa,[1] have been

[1] In particular, his account of the interior parts of Africa, and of the course of the Niger, has been confirmed by recent travellers.

verified by travellers in points respecting which he was before discredited. It may perhaps be more justly objected against him, that his writings are without any clear method, and contain no deep reflection, or acute criticism; that, from an avidity of relating events, he stops not to consider their causes, or justly and accurately to bestow blame and approbation; and that moral truth and common facts, fine speeches and bad actions, good laws and tyrannical edicts, are narrated in the same manner, without analysing characters or principles.

But the style of Herodotus is elegant; and Dionysius declares him to be one of those enchanting writers, with whom you are never satiated. His admirers say that he is simple and unaffected in his choice of words and phrases, and that his metaphors approach to poetry; that he has no irregular sallies of wit, no turgidity of diction, no towering flights of imagination. He is, indeed, an imitator of Homer, whom he resembles in copiousness of invention, and elegance of phrase; in sweetness, ease, and perspicuity. Theophrastus allows that he first introduced ornaments into the style of history, and carried the art of writing to perfection. Cicero says that he was an oratorical, as well as a poetical historian, and that no eloquence ever pleased him like his. In his works, the soft style glides like the clear stream of some deep river. Cicero also denominates him the father of history, not for his antiquity, but his excellence. The futility of the objections brought against Herodotus may be easily discerned. The waves of calumny dash themselves in pieces against the rocks which they labor to undermine.

Thucydides. This historian was only thirteen years younger than Herodotus, and was descended from one of the first families in Athens. He was bred to the profession of arms; but being prevented by Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general from relieving Amphipolis, he was sent into exile. He wrote his history at Ægina, where he resided during twenty years, and where he also died. He was enabled to ascertain every thing connected with his design, by means of the fortune which his wife brought him. He was fond of travel, which sustained him in his misfortunes. His appointments had made him acquainted with the affairs of the Athenians, and his exile opened to him those of the Lacedæmonians; and this circumstance enabled him to collect materials for the history of the Peloponnesian war. This war lasted twenty-seven years. He has left the annals of twenty-one; and the remainder was supplied by Xenophon.

In the history of Thucydides, the soldier, the statesman, and the philosopher, are discoverable. His knowledge and probity qualify him for an historian. His works contain the precepts of wisdom which he had learned from Anaxagoras, and the lessons of eloquence which he had received from the orator Antiphon. He pos-

sessed an aversion to injustice, and a passion for virtue. His excellence as an historian was the result of early emulation; for being present at the age of fifteen, when Herodotus recited his history at the Olympic games, he was so much affected as to burst into tears.

Some say that the style is so concise as to become harsh and obscure, and that he uses both novel and obsolete words; that his language is unpolished, and the structure of his sentences preposterous. His admirers declare that the justness and dignity of his sentiments, when understood, requite the pains which are necessary for the discovery; and that the narrative part is a model worthy of imitation.

Accuracy, impartiality, and fidelity, characterise Thucydides. His style is ardent, bold, and rapid. His subject is delineated with a few happy strokes; and much is left to the imagination of the reader. Cicero says of him, that he has a dignity of mind, a force of imagination, a vigor of language, a depth of reasoning, a clearness of conception, imagery, colors, and expressions, of which all the other Greek historians are destitute. Having high notions of the sublime, he was inattentive to the trifling matters which regard grammar. He scrupled not to change tenses, numbers, and persons, provided he could insert more warmth and vehemence into his diction. Though his narration is not always connected, the error is occasioned less by the nature of his disposition, than by that of his subject. If the intention of history be to afford instruction under the form of examples, the work of Thucydides is the best adapted for this purpose. Sound reasoning and exact judgment complete his character as an historian. We ought to pardon trifling errors in a work which abounds with so much excellence. The brightest fire may be occasionally clouded with smoke; and the most beautiful landscape, intercepted by vapor. His Attic dialect was appropriated to fire and spirit, to dignity and elevated sentiments, as the Ionic of Herodotus was to all the softer ones.

Xenophon. This elegant historian was born at Athens about four hundred and forty-nine years before the Christian æra. He was educated in the school of Socrates, where he acquired all those martial talents, domestic virtues, and philosophical endowments, which distinguished a life protracted to the extraordinary age of ninety years. His countrymen called him the Attic Bee; and the sweetness of his style shows that he well deserved the title. The works of this author are a supplement of seven books to the history of Thucydides, an account of the life and actions of Cyrus the Great, and of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, whom, after the death of their leader, he conducted home in a perilous march of eighteen hundred miles, with such resolution and sagacity as have never been excelled. The soldier has always admired his talents in conducting, and the scholar in describing the

retreat; and the philosopher and statesman have alike been delighted with his charming work, denominated Cyropædia. By his contemporaries he was regarded with veneration; and Scipio and Lucullus perused his writings with avidity. He possessed the charms of Attic eloquence, and a Spartan soul. When he was informed that his son had died bravely fighting in the battle of Mantinæa, "I knew," said he, "that my son was mortal, and his glory ought to console me for his death." When he met with the work of Thucydides, he not only published it, but added the subsequent transactions of the war; and this supplement has reached us under the title of the Hellenica.

On his return out of Asia, he entered into the service of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, in whose glory he participated, and whose friendship he merited. Afterwards, the Athenians sentenced him to banishment, on account of the preference he had given to the Lacedæmonians. But the latter, to compensate for this harsh treatment, bestowed on him a habitation at Scillus, where he composed the greater part of his works, and where for a number of years he dedicated his days to the study of philosophy, to benevolence, agriculture, the chase, and other exercises.

In Thucydides we frequently meet with the figure in rhetoric called hyperbaton, because the prevailing qualities of that historian were force and spirit. Xenophon commonly uses the metaphor, because his character was ease and simplicity. Quinctilian says that the Graces formed his style, and that the goddess of Persuasion dwelt upon his lips. If the style of Xenophon be sometimes cold, it is always pure; if his works be defective in business and in bustle, they are replete with instruction; if the story appear dull, it contains a sober and an useful lesson of morality. Besides sweetness, his language has variety, and is equally adapted to great occasions and familiar dialogues. The general excellence of this writer will excuse, though it may tend to discover, a few trifling defects; as we soonest perceive the smallest flaws in the brightest diamonds.

Polybius. This historian was born at Megalopolis in Peloponnesus, about two hundred years before Christ. His father was not only a man of rank and family, but a general and a statesman; and the advantages which he derived from these fortunate circumstances, tinctured every incident of his life. He was instructed in the science of politics, and received an excellent education. He accompanied his father in an embassy to Egypt; and he made himself acquainted with every thing respecting that country. He fought against the Romans as the enemies of his country; but when Perseus was defeated, a respect for the talents of Polybius spared him the mortification of being dragged as a slave to adorn a triumph. He was conducted as a captive to Rome, where such was his constant application to study, that he not only made

himself master of the Roman language, but became intimately acquainted with their laws. His profession of a soldier was still dear to him; and the assistance of his military talents was eagerly sought by the victor of Carthage. After the death of Scipio, with whom he had lived in habits of friendship, he returned to his own country, where he passed the remainder of his life, which terminated in the eighty-second year of his age by a fall from his horse.

Polybius is said to have traced every step of Hannibal's march over the Alps, and every conquest of Scipio in Spain. He wrote an universal history in forty books, of which five only are entire, with fragments of the succeeding twelve. This work comprised an eventful period of fifty-three years, from the commencement of the second Punic war to the conquest of Macedon by Paulus Æmilius.

Polybius gives the first rough draught of his thoughts, which he seldom arranges or methodizes. His sentiments are often vague and desultory, and frequently deviate entirely from the subject. His style has neither cadence, rhythm, nor measured harmony; and these defects greatly injure one of the noblest histories. In the higher qualities of an historian, however, he has no superior. In his works, a love of truth is predominant. He has judgment to trace effects to their causes, knowledge of his subject drawn from every source, boldness of mind to deliver his sentiments, and impartiality which forbids him to conceal them. His description of a battle has never been equalled; and on these occasions he exhibits that warmth and vehemence, which distinguished him in the field. The warrior has admired, the politician copied, and the historian imitated, his writings. They were always in the hands of Brutus, and were transcribed by Tully; and many of the finest passages of Livy were taken from the Greek historian.

Diodorus Siculus. This historian was a native of Argyra in Sicily, and did not precede our Saviour quite half a century. He wrote forty books, of which only fifteen remain. This extensive work contained an account of Egypt, Persia, Syria, Media, Greece, Rome, and Carthage. It describes every important event from the invasion of Xerxes to the year of the world 3650. It gives us the fabulous history of Greece, the supposed creation of the world, and the whole system of polytheism. Diodorus possessed industry and judgment. His language is devoid of elegance; and his arrangement has too little order or method. He is deserving of being read, but not of being imitated. The scholar will derive utility, rather than pleasure, from the perusal of his works; and a previous acquaintance with him will render other authors more familiar.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a native of Halicarnassus in Cilicia. Invited by the patronage of Augustus, he went to Rome a few years after the birth of Christ. He affords

a proof that genius and application, forming themselves on models of excellence, can overcome the disadvantages, which arise from writing in a language that has declined from its pristine purity. His diction is varied, and contains the characteristics of diffusion, conciseness, and familiarity. His favorite authors are Xenophon and Herodotus; and like the latter, he enlivens his work with lively episodes and happy digressions.

Dionysius treats of the antiquities of Rome, for the period of three hundred and twelve years. Of twenty, only the first eleven books are now extant. This work was the result of twenty-four years of useful labor; and it displays the correct chronologer, the judicious critic, and the faithful historian. He abandons all fable, and, with extreme accuracy, delineates the constitution and government of a country to which he is a foreigner.

Dionysius participated in all the advantages which the most polished period of Rome afforded. His talents were furnished with materials from every source which displayed them; and in the perusal of his works, the classical scholar will find pleasure and profit.

APPIAN was a native of Alexandria, and flourished at a later period than one hundred and forty years after the birth of Christ. He wrote an account of all the countries which the Romans had subdued. This work, which consisted of twenty-four books, has been much mutilated; but it still contains some of the most important events in the Roman history. The Syrian, Parthian, Punic, and civil wars from the time of the Gracchi, are narrated with ability; and, in many instances, the story is compressed into a small compass. He has been accused of general plagiarism; and from this charge he cannot perhaps be defended. It must, however, be admitted, that he has copied much important matter, and that he has omitted every thing fabulous and absurd. His manner of relating the incidents produces a considerable degree of interest in the reader.

ARRIAN was a native of Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia, which was once a very powerful country of Asia Minor, and was born about one hundred and thirty-six years after Christ. He was equally famous as a philosopher, and as a soldier; he was the favorite scholar of the stoic Epictetus, and the faithful historian of Alexander's expedition, and of the Periplus of the Ægæan sea. The emperor Antoninus discerned, and rewarded his merit: he appointed him consul, and made him governor of Cappadocia.

Arrian is not surpassed in style by any author, who wrote when the Greek language was in its utmost purity. He formed himself on the model of Xenophon, of whose sweetness he participates. His language, though soft, does not exclude strength and vigor; and his flowing periods convey not a meaning that is vague or unimpressive. His speeches, which are peculiarly his own, combine

a powerful address to the passions with solid and convincing arguments. His epithets are not exuberant, nor his metaphors jumbled. If he has not compressed his matter into the smallest compass, it is at least not loosely extraneous; and his story is told with a plain and pleasing familiarity. In short, he is an historian of undoubted integrity and truth. If his writings appear sometimes languid and tame, he might plead the example of Xenophon as his authority, though not his vindication.

Dion Cassius. This historian was born at Nicæa in Bithynia, about two hundred and thirty years after our Saviour. Pertinax and his three immediate successors invested him with the highest ministerial offices in the Roman empire; and the industry which he displayed in speculative, accomplished him for the purposes of active life. After an unwearied application of ten years, he produced a history, of which only very imperfect fragments now remain.

Dion Cassius closely and not unsuccessfully imitates Thucydides, whose faults as well as beauties he exhibits. He chooses his words with judgment, and arranges them with propriety; and he is not destitute of the beauties of variety, and the harmony of periods. We cannot, however, pardon the long sentences and parentheses, which too often occur in this writer; nor can we praise the veracity of him who is partial to Cæsar. It is no proof either of the independence of his mind, or of the soundness of his judgment, that he always considers success as the certain criterion of merit. He was so superstitious as to believe that he was constantly attended by a familiar spirit, who advised and prompted his literary compositions. The veracity of the historian, who disobeys the dictates of sober reason, is as much to be doubted as the religion of him who believes or pretends to believe in a partial illumination from heaven.

Herodian was a native of Alexandria, and was born about two hundred and fifty years after the Christian æra. At an early age he went to Rome, where he was employed in many civil offices, and where he wrote a history of the times, in eight books, from the death of Marcus Aurelius to Maximinus, comprising a period of nearly seventy years. The style of this author possesses ease without negligence, and delicacy without affectation; and the imitation of it is more desirable than easy. He is methodical and accurate; his digressions are natural, and his precepts worthy of being remembered. He narrates circumstances of which he was an eye-witness; and his official situation opened to him the hidden motives of action, and the secret springs which regulate political conduct. He possessed also a correct judgment and a perfect integrity; and few of his predecessors had more of the qualities which constitute a good historian.

Section VIII.

Biography.

Plutarch. This author was born at Chæronea, a city of Bœotia, rather less than a century after Christ. He was of a family, which was respectable in station, and eminent in talents; and he was educated at Delphi by Ammonius, who taught natural and moral philosophy. He improved the discipline of a schoolmaster by the advantages of foreign travel. His country sent him early in life on an important embassy to Rome, where he became a teacher of youth, after having explored the literary treasures of Egypt and Greece. It would have been honorable to Trajan, if it had been inscribed on his column, that he was the friend of Plutarch, whom he called from a humble and laborious employment to be the consul of Rome and the governor of Illyricum. After the death of this emperor, he was induced by the love of his native country to revisit Chæronea, where he lived to a very advanced age, and where he projected and completed his lives of illustrious men. This work has been honored with unbounded praise, and yet perhaps not praised more than it deserves.

In no other writer is biography more agreeable, or history so essentially moral. The man occupies him more than the event; and in delineating individuals, he contents himself with giving select traits of character. His parallels are so drawn, that they are perfect compositions both in style and manner. In admiring shining qualities, he forgets not properly to estimate those which are solid and useful. He confronts the hero with himself, the actions with the motives, the success with the means, and the faults with the excuses. The sole objects of his esteem are justice, virtue, and a love of truth; and he forms his judgment with no less reserve than gravity. In his reflections, we find a treasure of wisdom and sound policy which ought to be engraven on the hearts of those who are desirous of directing their public and private life by the unerring rules of integrity. He is sometimes too figurative for history, and too abstract and philosophical for biography. His speeches, however, are in perfect unison with characters and with times; and such is his general merit, that a few partial defects will be excused. His language is sometimes inharmonious; but the sentiment is correct and true.

Section IX.

Satire.

Lucian. This writer was born at Samosata in Syria, rather less than one hundred years after the Christian æra. He was prevented by the poverty of his father from obtaining the advantage of an early education. He was first apprenticed to a sculptor, with whose mechanical labor he was disgusted. He afterwards turned his attention to the profession of a lawyer, with whose artifices and duplicity he also became dissatisfied. At length, he resolved to follow no trade or profession, but to devote himself entirely to literary pursuits. He became eminent in philosophy and eloquence; and the emperor Aurelius gave a proof of his wisdom and discernment, by appointing him to a civil office under the Roman governor of Egypt. Lucian lived to the age of ninety years; and this long period enabled him to mark the follies, and appreciate the merit of mankind, by the test of personal experience.

The Dialogues of Lucian are written in the Attic dialect, and with truly Attic wit. They contain the whole of the ancient mythology in select portions; and the gods and their votaries are the constant subject of his ridicule. Some writers affirm that he was destroyed by dogs for his impious profanation of Christianity. His dialogues are portions of the drama; and his characters are admirably sustained. His wit is subtle; and it produces an irresistible effect. His language is possessed of sterling merit: it is not less elegant than simple; not less animated than correct. When he delineates the prevailing vices of the age, he is extremely happy. His portraits of meanness and of avarice excite a disgust, which ends in satisfaction at the parasites and fortune-hunters being punished for their crimes. In this respect his morality is of sterling value, and tends to the instruction of every age and of every nation. But we cannot praise him for his attacks on the almost divine virtues of Socrates, and on the no less divine doctrines of Plato.

Section X.

Philosophy.

Socrates, the greatest of the ancient philosophers, was a native of Alopece, a village near Athens, and was born in the four-hundred and sixty-ninth year before Christ. His parents were of low rank, his father Sophroniscus being a statuary, and his mother Phænareta a midwife. Contrary to the inclinations of his

son, Sophroniscus brought him up to his own manual employment; but the mind of Socrates was continually aspiring to higher objects; and whilst a young man, he is said to have formed statues of the habited graces, which were allowed a place in the citadel of Athens. After the death of his father, he was obliged to exercise that art for the purpose of obtaining the means of subsistence; but he devoted, at the same time, all the leisure which he could command to the study of philosophy. At length, Crito, a wealthy Athenian, remarking his strong propensity to study, and admiring his ingenuous disposition and distinguished abilities, generously took him under his patronage, and entrusted him with the education of his children. The opportunities which Socrates by this means enjoyed of attending the public lectures of the most eminent philosophers, increased his desire of knowledge; and he relinquished his first occupation, and devoted himself entirely to his favorite pursuits.

Socrates left nothing in writing; but the Memorabilia of Xenophon, one of his pupils, sufficiently unfold the life and doctrines of this great philosopher; and Plato, another of his disciples, with less attention to truth, has delivered his opinions to posterity.

Socrates preferred moral to speculative wisdom; and hence he condemned those who occupied their time and attention on abstruse researches into nature, and who took no pains to render themselves useful to mankind. His favorite maxim was, that "whatever is above our researches doth not concern us." He estimated the value of knowledge by its utility, and recommended the study of the sciences so far only as they admit of a practical application to the purposes of human life. In all his conferences and discourses his great object was to lead men into an acquaintance with themselves; to convince them of their vices and follies; to inspire them with the love of virtue and of virtuous deeds; and to furnish them with such moral instructions as might be useful to them in the business of life. Hence Socrates is said to have been the first that called down philosophy from heaven to earth, and introduced her into the public walks and domestic retirements of men, that she might instruct them concerning life and manners. The theory and practice of governments, the different occupations of men, and the manner of exercising them; the relative duties of life, the various institutions for the public good, and those opinions and sentiments which regard the welfare and happiness of individuals, were the chief objects of his researches. Though he despised the theories of the sophists, who occupied themselves with refined speculations on the nature and origin of all things, on the being and essence of the deity, and on the necessary laws by which all things exist, yet he carefully scrutinized the works of nature for the purpose of tracing the operations of a superintending providence.

Socrates diligently practised the moral lessons which he taught; and hence he excelled other philosophers in personal merit, no less than in his method of his instruction. His conduct was uniformly such as became a teacher of moral wisdom. It has been already observed that Socrates owed his persecution and death to the play called the Clouds, in which Aristophanes introduced this philosopher hanging a basket in the air, and thence pouring forth absurdity and profaneness. The unjust condemnation of this great and good man filled all Greece with indignation. He died in the 399th year before Christ, and in the 70th year of his age.

Plato, the founder of the Academic sect, was related by his father to Codrus, the last king of Athens, and by his mother to Solon. He was born in the island of Ægina, where his father Aristo resided after it became subject to Athens, in the 430th year before Christ. In his youth, he applied himself with industry to the study and practice of painting and poetry; and in the latter he made such proficiency that he produced an epic poem, which, however, on comparing it with Homer, he committed to the flames. At the age of twenty he attached himself to Socrates, with whom he remained eight years as a scholar; but as he blended foreign tenets with those of his master, and grafted on the Socratic system opinions which had originated from himself, or which he had adopted from other philosophers, he occasionally displeased the followers of Socrates, and sometimes even Socrates himself. Yet he retained an attachment to this master; and when the latter was summoned before the senate, Plato undertook to plead his cause, and began a speech in his defence, which the violence and partiality of the judges would not allow him to prosecute. On the death of Socrates, he withdrew, with several others, to Megara, where he was kindly received by Euclid; and he afterwards visited successively every other country which was likely to afford him all the knowledge which that age could supply. In that part of Italy called Magna Græcia, was a celebrated school established by Pythagoras, where he was instructed in the Pythagorean system, the subtleties of which he too freely blended with the doctrine of Socrates.

After enriching his mind with knowledge of various kinds, Plato returned home, and settled in Athens, where he established a new school for the instruction of youth in the principles of philosophy. The place which he chose for this purpose was a public grove, called the Academy. Here he established his school, and over the door of it, in order to indicate his respect for mathematical studies, and how necessary he thought them for higher speculations, he placed this inscription, *Οὐδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω*, "Let no one, who is unacquainted with geometry, enter here." This school became famous; and among the most illustrious of

the followers of Plato may be reckoned Dion the Syracusan prince, and the orators Hyperides, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Isocrates.

The works of Plato are in the form of dialogues. Socrates is the principal speaker; and it is alleged that, under the sanction of his name, he has promulgated ideas which he himself had conceived or adopted. His philosophy may be divided into three branches; *theology*, *physics*, and *mathematics*. Under theology was comprehended metaphysics and ethics, or moral philosophy. His style is described by Aristotle as "a middle species of diction, between verse and prose." Most of his dialogues, independently of the copious and splendid diction that enriches them, are justly admired for their literary merit. Even upon abstract subjects, moral, metaphysical, or mathematical, the language of Plato is often simple and perspicuous. At other times his style is turgid and bombastic, puerile or frigid; and his metaphors are harsh and unwarrantable. His conceptions also have been charged with an inequality, similar to that of his style. Whilst he adheres to the school of Socrates, and discourses on moral topics, he is much more pleasing and intelligible than when engaged in the abstruse speculations of Pythagoras.

Indeed, the opinions of Plato are veiled under such a profusion of imagery, that it is sometimes extremely difficult to discover his real notions. Perhaps, like other philosophers of the Pythagorean school, he wished to conceal his real sentiments; or, what appears more probable, he suffered his imagination to expatiate in the boundless field of theological science. His notions are very often fanciful and absurd; but amidst all his extravagance, we may observe many just and sublime sentiments, which several succeeding philosophers have adopted. He died at the age of eighty-one, in the year before Christ 347.

Aristotle was a native of Stagira, a town of Thrace, on the borders of the bay of Strymon, and was born 384 years before Christ. From the place of his nativity he obtained the name of the Stagyrite. His father Nicomachus was a physician, and the friend of Amyntas, king of Macedon. Nicomachus left a considerable fortune to his son, who, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, went to Athens, and devoted himself to the study of philosophy under Plato. His powerful understanding and application to study endeared him to his master, who called him the "soul of his school," and distinguished him above his other disciples. The industry of Aristotle in perusing and copying manuscripts was unexampled, and almost incredible; and he was named, by way of excellence, the student or reader. Alike regardless of the honors of a court, to which the rank and connections of his family might have entitled him in Macedonia, and indifferent to the glory of a name, which his great abilities might have

attained, he continued to reside with Plato for twenty years, till the death of that philosopher, to whose memory he erected a monument.

On the death of Plato, Aristotle, disgusted that Speusippus should succeed his uncle, left Athens, and went to reside with his friend and fellow-disciple Hermias, whom the king of Persia had appointed governor of the cities of Assus and Atarna in Mysia. After passing three years with Hermias, he withdrew to Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos. Distinguished as Aristotle was throughout Greece, Philip of Macedon, who had early designed to request his acceptance of the tuition of his son Alexander, at length prevailed on him to undertake the charge, when Alexander had attained the age of fourteen years. The tutor declined to accompany his pupil in the memorable expedition against the Persians; and he returned to Athens, where he obtained permission to open a school in the Lyceum, a building which had been appropriated to military exercises. As he constantly walked, whilst discoursing on various subjects of philosophy with those who came to receive his instruction, his followers were called peripatetics. The talents and virtues of Aristotle exposed him to envy and calumny. After having taught thirteen years in the Lyceum with the greatest reputation, he was charged with irreligion before the Areopagus. Though the accusation was extremely frivolous, yet he was condemned, but escaped punishment by leaving the country. He withdrew from Athens, assigning as a reason, that he was unwilling to give the Athenians an occasion of being guilty of injustice a second time against philosophy. Accompanied by a few friends, he retired to Chalcis in Eubœa, where he died soon after of chagrin and disappointment, in the 63rd year of his age, and in the year before Christ 322.

According to the most credible accounts, Aristotle composed above four hundred different treatises, of which only 48 have been transmitted to the present age; but many of these last consist of several books. His writings comprehend moral and natural philosophy, mathematics, mechanics, grammar, criticism, and politics. His style is frequently rendered harsh and obscure by the nature of his subjects, and the conciseness of his diction. It has been observed that the philosophy of Aristotle is rather the philosophy of words than of things, and that the study of his writings tends more to perplex the understanding with subtile distinctions than to enlighten it with real knowledge. However, his ethics, his politics, and his observations on poetry, may be read with great advantage, as they contain much useful information, and many just observations on men and manners. In particular, the "Poetic" of Aristotle is well deserving the careful attention of the classical student, as it affords a correct

analysis of the constituent parts of the drama and the epic; and as it contains general principles and particular observations, which could have been written only by a master in criticism.

*** In compiling these *Biographical Sketches*, the author has chiefly consulted *Urquhart's Commentaries on Classical Learning*.

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK I.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE ATHENIANS.

CHAP. I.

Description of the City of Athens.

THE city of Athens, the capital of Attica, was founded by Cecrops, an Egyptian, who led thither a colony from the banks of the Nile, and introduced into Greece a knowledge of the arts and sciences. At first it was called Cecropia, from the name of its founder; and afterwards Ἀθῆναι, Athens, in honor of the goddess Minerva, whom the Greeks called Ἀθήνη, because she was the protectress of the city; and by way of eminence and distinction it was denominated ἄστυ and πόλις, as being the first city.[a] Hence the inhabitants were sometimes denominated ἀστοὶ, as well as Ἀθηναῖοι;[b] but as the Arcadians boasted that they were προσέληνοι, before the moon, the Athenians pretended that they were coeval with the sun,[c] and assumed to themselves the name of αὐτόχθονες, persons produced from the same earth which they inhabited; and as the ancients commonly denominated themselves γηγενεῖς, sons of the earth,[d] the Athenians took the name of τέττιγες, grasshoppers. In allusion to this last designation, some of the Athenians wore golden grasshoppers in their hair, as ornaments of distinction and badges of their antiquity, because those insects were thought to have sprung from the ground.[e]

Athens, in its most flourishing state, was one of the largest and most beautiful cities of Greece, and is said by Aristides to have been a day's journey in going round it;[f] according to other and more exact computations, it was about one hundred and seventy-eight

[a] Stephanus, v. Ἀθῆναι; Strabo, l. ix.
[b] Terent. Eunuch. act. v. sc. 6.
[c] Menand. Rhetor.
[d] Hesychius in voce γηγενεῖς.
[e] Thucyd. lib. i. Eustath. ad Iliad. γ'.
[f] Panathen.

stadia, or rather more than twenty-two Roman miles; and Dion Chrysostome reckons it to have been two hundred stadia, about twenty-five Roman miles in circumference.[g]

The Cecropia, or that part which had been built by Cecrops, and which was afterwards called the citadel, was seated in the middle of a large and pleasant plain, and upon the summit of a high rock; for it was usual for the founders of cities in those ages to build them upon steep rocks and high mountains, in order to defend them against invaders, and especially to secure them from inundations, the effects of which had been experienced under Ogyges and Deucalion.[h] Afterwards, when the inhabitants had increased in number, the whole plain was filled with edifices, which, on account of their situation, were called ἡ κάτω πόλις, the lower city; and the Cecropia, or original buildings, were denominated ἡ ἄνω πόλις, or ἀκρόπολις, the upper city.

The citadel, or upper city, was sixty stadia in circumference, and was fenced with wooden pales, or, as some say, was surrounded with olive trees. It was fortified on the south side with a strong wall, which was built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, from the spoils taken in the Persian war, and which was called κιμώνιον τεῖχος.[i]

The north wall was built many ages before by Agrolas,[k] or, according to some, by Euryalus and Hyperbius, two brothers, who first taught the Athenians the art of building houses.[l] They were Tyrrhenians by birth; and that nation is said to have introduced all kinds of buildings into Greece; and from them walls and castles were called τύρσεις.[m] This wall was denominated πελασγικὸν or πελαργικὸν from the Pelasgi, the name of its founders, who received that appellation from their continual wandering, or removing from one country to another, in the manner of storks, which the Greeks call πελαργοί.[n] They who built houses under this wall were execrated; because the Pelasgi, whilst they dwelt here, entered into a conspiracy against the Athenians.[o] It was also unlawful to dig ditches, or sow corn, in this place; and whoever offended in these particulars was apprehended by the nomothetæ, and carried before the archon, who was to impose on him a fine of three drachms.[p] This wall was beautified with nine gates, from which it is sometimes called Ἐννεάπυλον; but, though there were several lesser gates, there was only one grand entrance into the citadel, to which the Athenians ascended by steps covered with white marble, and which was built by Pericles at the expense of more than one thousand drachms.[q] Over the entrance of the Προπύλαια is one of those enormous slabs of marble, called "marble beams" by Wheler; and to which Pausanias particularly alluded, when, in describing the Propylæa, he says, that, even in his time, nothing surpassing the beauty of the workmanship, or the magnitude of the stones used in

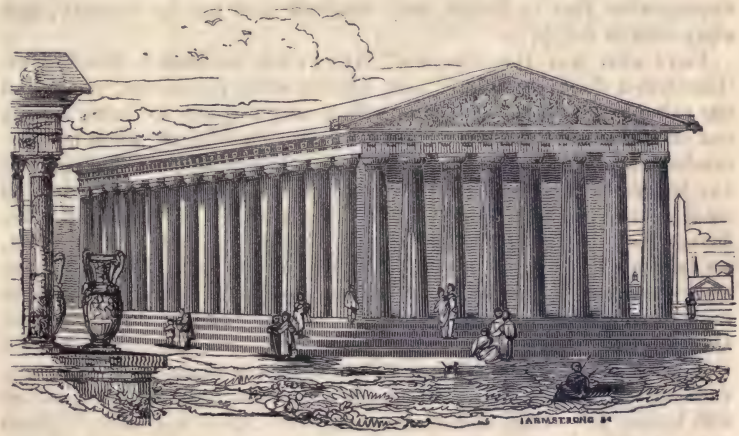
[g] Orat. vi.
[h] Eustath. ad Iliad. δ'.
[i] Plutarch. in Cimone.
[k] Pausanias.
[l] Plin.
[m] Phavorin. v. Τύρσις.
[n] Strabo, lib. ix. Plin. lib. vii. lvi. et Pausanias Atticis.
[o] Thucydides, ejusque Scholiast. lib. ii.
[p] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.
[q] Plutarchus Pericle; Pausan. Atticis; Harpocrat. et Suidas v. Προπύλαια.

the building, had ever been seen.[r] Dr. Clarke observes, that the slab which remains at the Propylæa is of white marble, cut with the utmost precision and evenness, and that its length is seventeen feet and nine inches.

The inside of the citadel was ornamented with innumerable edifices, statues, and monuments, on which all the ancient stories were fully described.[s] The noble statues of Pericles, Phormio, Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other Athenian generals, were here intermingled with those of the gods.[t]

Here was the temple of Minerva, called Νίκη, or VICTORY, in which the goddess was represented with a pomegranate in her right hand, and a helmet in her left, and without wings, in commemoration of the success of Theseus in Crete, the report of which did not reach Athens before his arrival; for in other places Victory was usually represented with wings.[u] This edifice was constructed of white marble, and was placed on the right of the entrance into the citadel.

THE PARTHENON, OR TEMPLE OF MINERVA.



About the middle of the citadel was the stately temple of Minerva, called PARTHENON, because that goddess preserved her virginity inviolate, or because it was dedicated by the daughters of Erechtheus, who were peculiarly called παρθένοι, virgins.[v] It was also de-

[r] Pausan. Atticis.
[s] Aristides in Panathenaic.
[t] Pausan. Atticis.
[u] Suidas et Harpocrat.
[v] Hesychius.

nominated Ἑκατόμπεδον, because it was one hundred feet square. It was burnt by the Persians, but restored by Pericles, who enlarged it fifty feet on each side. Ictinus was one of the two architects employed by Pericles in the building of this temple; and the name of the other was Callicrates.[w] It was of the Doric order, and built of that beautiful white marble found in the quarries of Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica. Within this temple was the statue of Minerva so celebrated for its size, the richness of the materials, and the exquisite beauty of the workmanship. This figure, the work of Phidias, was twenty-six cubits high. The goddess was erect, covered with the ægis and a long tunic,[x] holding in one hand a lance, and in the other a victory nearly four cubits high. Her helmet, on which was painted a sphinx, was ornamented on each side with two griffins. On the outside of the shield, which lay at the feet of the goddess, Phidias had represented the battle of the Amazons; on the inside, the combat of the gods and giants; on her buskins, that of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and on the pedestal, the birth of Pandora, with a variety of other subjects. The visible parts of the body were of ivory, except the eyes, the iris of which was imitated by a particular kind of stone.[y] In an assembly of the people, it was determined that the statue should be formed of gold and ivory;[z] and Phidias, at the suggestion of Pericles, applied the gold in such a manner that it might be easily taken off or replaced. This temple still remains a noble monument of antiquity, being two hundred and twenty-nine feet in length, one hundred and one in breadth, and sixty-nine in height.

Here also was the temple of Neptune, surnamed *Erechtheus*. This was a double building, and, besides other curiosities, contained the salt spring called Ἐρεχθηΐς, which was feigned to have sprung out of the earth from a stroke of Neptune's trident, when he contended with Minerva for the possession of the country. This part of the temple was consecrated to Neptune. The other part belonged to Minerva, surnamed Πολιὰς, the protectress of the city, and Πάνδροσος, from one of the daughters of Cecrops of that name. Here, so late as the second century of the present æra, was the sacred olive-tree, which was said to have been produced by Minerva, and to have been as old as the foundation of the citadel. Here also was the image of the goddess, which was said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Erichthonius, and which was guarded by dragons, called *οἰκουροὶ ὄφεις*, and had a lamp always burning with oil, and an owl before it.[a] The whole structure was called Ἐρέχθειον.[b] Both these buildings still remain. The smaller edifice, which is an entrance to the other, is twenty-nine feet in length, and twenty-one feet and three inches in breadth. The larger is sixty-three feet and a half in length, and thirty-six feet in breadth. The roof is supported by Ionic pillars channelled; but the chapiters seem to be a mixture

[w] Plutarchus Pericle; Strabo, lib. ix. Pausan. cap. xli.
[x] Pausan. lib. i. Plin. lib. xxxvi.
[y] Plat. in Hipp. Plin. lib. xxxvii.
[z] Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 1.
[a] Apollodorus, lib. iii. Plutar. Symp. lib. ix.
[b] Pausan. lib. i. c. 26.

between the Ionic and Doric orders. The workmanship of the frieze and cornice, and of the Ionic capitals, is considered as the most admirable specimen of the art of sculpture in the world.[c]

Behind the temple of Minerva stood the public treasury, which from its situation was called Ὀπισθόδομος, and in which, besides other public money, a thousand talents were deposited for any very great exigency of the state; but if any man expended those talents on a matter of trivial importance, he was to be put to death. Here also were registered the names of all those indebted to the republic, who were called ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, and who, when they had discharged their debts, were denominated ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως ἐξαλειμμένοι. The tutelary deities of this treasury were Jupiter Σωτὴρ, or the Saviour, and Plutus, the god of riches, who was represented with wings, and (what was not usual in other places) as having recovered his sight.[d] Aristophanes has noticed the statues of both these deities in the latter part of his Plutus, where he introduces Carion as busied in placing that god, after the recovery of his sight, next to the statue of Jupiter the Saviour. This building was burnt to the ground by the treasurers, who having embezzled the public money, secured themselves by that means, and prevented their being called to an account.[e]

In the citadel were also several other remarkable edifices, as the chapels of Jupiter Σωτὴρ, and of Minerva Σώτειρα;[f] the temple of Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops, or rather of Minerva, who was worshipped under that name, in the front and steep side of the rock;[g] and the temple of Venus Ἱππολύτεια, consecrated by Phædra, when in love with Hippolytus.[h]

The lower city, which contained all the buildings that surrounded the citadel, with fort Munychia, and the two havens, Phalerum and Piræus, was encompassed with walls of unequal strength, built at different times, and by different persons. The principal parts of the walls were the Μακρὰ τείχη, which joined the harbour of Piræus to the city, and which, being about five miles in length, were sometimes called Μακρὰ σκέλη, long legs,[i] and brachia longa, long arms.[k] They consisted of two sides. The wall on the north side was built by Pericles at a great expense, and contained forty stadia.[l] That on the south side was called Νότιον τεῖχος, or παρὰ μέσον τείχη, or Νότιον παρὰ μέσον τεῖχος, to distinguish it from the south wall of the citadel, and sometimes τεῖχος φαληρικὸν, because it included the port of Phalerum. It was built by Themistocles, of huge square stones, not cemented together with mortar, but fastened on the outside by iron and leaden cramps. The height of it was forty cubits, but Themistocles wished to have raised it to eighty cubits. Its length was thirty-five stadia. Upon both of the walls was erected a great num-

[c] Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, by E. D. Clarke, LL.D. vol. vi. p. 246.

[d] Aristoph. Schol. Plut. Thucyd. l. ii. Philostrat. Εἰκόν. lib. ii. Demosth. Schol. Orat. iii. in Timocrat.

[e] Demosth. ejusq. Schol. Orat. in Timocrat.

[f] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocratem.

[g] Herodot. lib. viii.

[h] Euripid. Schol. in Hippolyto.

[i] Plutarch. Cimone.

[k] Propertius, lib. iii. Eleg.

[l] Plut. Pericle.

ber of turrets, which, after the Athenians became so numerous that the city could not contain them, were converted into dwelling-houses.[m] The Μουνύχιον, or wall that encompassed the Munychia, and joined it to the Piræus, contained sixty stadia; and the exterior wall on the other side of the city was forty-three stadia in length; and hence it appears, as has been before observed, that the whole circumference of Athens was one hundred and seventy-eight stadia, or rather more than twenty-two Roman miles.

The following were the principal gates of the city:

1. Πύλαι Θριάσιαι, afterwards called Δίπυλον, because they were larger than any of the rest. They were placed at the entrance of the Ceramicus, and therefore seem to have been the same as those denominated Πύλαι Κεραμεικοῦ.[n]

2. Πύλαι Πειραϊκαὶ, which led to the Piræus, and near to which was the temple of the hero Chalcodoon, and the tombs of those who fell in defence of their country, when the Amazons invaded Attica under Theseus.[o]

3. Ἱππάδες, near to which Hyperides the orator, and his family, were buried.[p]

4. Ἠρίαι, through which they carried dead persons to their graves, and which were so called from ἠρίον, a grave.[q]

5. Ἱεραὶ, the gate leading to Eleusis, through which they who celebrated the festival of Ceres Eleusinia, made a solemn procession, and which received its name from ἱερὸν, *sacred*, a word applied to every thing connected with those mysteries.

6. Αἰγέως πύλαι, the gate of Ægeus, the father of Theseus, whose house stood on the spot where the Delphinium was afterwards built; and therefore the statue of Mercury, at the east end of that temple, was called Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις, a circumstance which proves that this gate was near to the Delphinium.[r]

7. Διοχαροῦς πύλαι, the gate of Diochares.

8. Πύλαι Ἀχαρνικαὶ, the gate that looked towards Acharnæ, a borough in Attica.

9. Διόμειαι, that which lay towards the borough of the Diomians.

10. Πύλαι Θρᾴκιαι, the Thracian gate.

11. Πύλαι Ἰτωνίαι, the Itonian gate, near to which was the pillar erected in memory of the Amazons.[s]

12. Πύλαι Σκαιαὶ, the Scæan gate.[t]

13. Ἀδριανοῦ πύλαι, the gate of Adrian, through which they entered into that part of the city which the emperor Adrian rebuilt, and which was called Ἀδριανόπολις.

The streets of Athens were neither uniform nor beautiful;[u] and though Homer calls it εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην,[v] that epithet seems to imply only the largeness and width of the streets. Their number was

[m] Plutarch. Themist. Appian. in Mithridat. Thucyd. lib. i. et ii.
[n] Philostrat. in Philagro Sophist. lib. ii. Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. Plutarch. Pericle et Sylla.
[o] Plutarch. Theseo.
[p] Hesychius.
[q] Theophrast. Charact. Ethic.
[r] Plutarch. Theseo.
[s] Æschines Philosophus in Axiocho.
[t] Hilduinus in Vita Dionysii Areopag.
[u] Dicæarchus in Descript. Græciæ.
[v] Odyss. vii.

doubtless very great; but most of their names are entirely lost; and few, if any, besides these which follow, are to be met with in authors:—Ἱερὰ Συκῆ, or the way to Eleusis. Ὁδὸς Θήσεια, which was between the long walls leading to the Piræus, and which seems to be the same as that called Ἡ εἰς Πειραῖα. Ἡ τῶν πολεμίων, which was near the Academy. Ἡ τῶν Ἑρμογλύφων. Ἡ τῶν Κιβωτοποιῶν. Ἡ Ἑστία. Ἡ Ξενικῆ. Μυρμήκων ὁδός. Ῥύμη τρίτη. Τρίποδες, a way near the Prytaneum, in which were storehouses filled with tripods of brass of curious workmanship, among which was the famous satyr, called by the Greeks Περιβόητος, and reckoned one of the masterpieces of Praxiteles.[w]

We now proceed to the buildings of the lower city, the principal and most remarkable of which were the following:

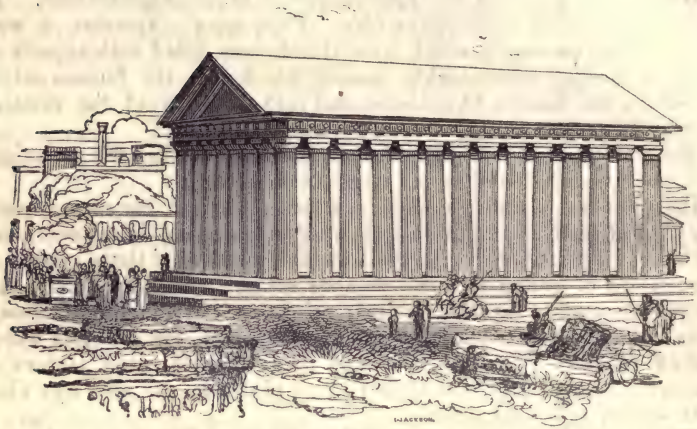
Πομπεῖον was a stately edifice, in which were kept the sacred utensils used at festivals, and in which were prepared all things necessary for solemn processions.[x] It was from this place that those pomps or processions of young men and damsels set out, who occasionally displayed themselves at the festivals celebrated by the other nations. This building was situated at the entrance of the old city which looked towards Phalerum, and was adorned with many statues of Athenian heroes. Indeed almost every place in the city was filled with similar representations.

The temple of VULCAN, or of VULCAN and MINERVA, situated not far from the Ceramicus within the city, was a public prison.

Near to this building was the temple of the HEAVENLY VENUS; for the Athenians had two deities of the name of Venus, of which one was designated Οὐρανία, and the other Πάνδημος: the former presided over chaste and pure love; the latter was the patroness of lust and debauchery. As the nature and character of these goddesses differed extremely, so did the ceremonies used in their worship. They who adored the former, behaved with great modesty and gravity; but the worshippers of the latter conducted themselves with lewdness and wantonness. Besides these, Venus had several other temples, as those erected to Venus Lamia and Leæna, in honor of two mistresses of Demetrius Poliorcetes; and into such gross flattery did the Athenians degenerate, that they also enrolled several of his parasites in the number of their gods, and honored them with temples and altars.[y]

[w] Harpocrat. v. Ὀνήτωρ.
[x] Pausan. Attic. lib. i.
[y] Plutarch. in Demetrio.

THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS.



The temple of Theseus was erected by Cimon in the middle of the city, near the place where the youths employed themselves in wrestling and other bodily exercises. This temple was a sanctuary for slaves, and for all persons of low condition that fled from the persecution of men in power, in commemoration of Theseus, who, when alive, was the guardian and protector of the distressed. Many other temples were consecrated to him during his life, as grateful acknowledgments of the benefits he had conferred on the city; but all of them, except four, he dedicated to Hercules, and changed their names from Θήσεια to Ἡράκλεια, after he had been rescued by his assistance from the king of the Molossians.[z] One of these temples was appropriated to different uses: in it magistrates were created by the Thesmothetæ;[a] causes were also heard; and it was likewise a public prison; and hence a gaol-bird, called by Plautus *colonus carceris*, is designated Θησειότριψ by Aristophanes. Speaking of the temple of Theseus, Dr. Clarke observes, that this beautiful Doric temple, more resembling, in the style of its architecture, the temples of Pæstum than that of Minerva in the Acropolis, and the most entire of any of the remaining structures of Ancient Greece, were it not for the damage which the sculptures have sustained, may be considered as still perfect. The entire edifice is of Pentelican marble: it stands east and west, the principal front facing the east; and it has a portico of six columns in each front, and on each side a range of eleven columns, exclusive of the columns on the angles. That the

[z] Plutarch. Theseo.

[a] Æschin. Orat. in Ctesiphont.

Theséum, like all other Grecian temples, was originally a tomb, can admit of no doubt: eight hundred years had elapsed when Cimon removed from the isle of Scyros the precious relics which were here enshrined; and the circumstances of the brazen-headed lance and sword, found with the bones said to have been those of Theseus, denote weapons of the remotest ages. "The building is believed to bear date from the event mentioned by Plutarch, both in his life of Cimon and of Theseus; when, after the conquest of Scyros, the son of Miltiades arrived in Athens, bearing the mouldering bones and weapons he had so marvellously discovered." This took place in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, or 469 years before Christ; and allowing ten years for the building of the temple, this edifice has stood nearly twenty-three centuries, and is still almost as perfect as when at first finished.[b]

Ἀνάκειον was the temple of CASTOR and POLLUX, who were called ἄνακες. In this place slaves were exposed to sale.

Ὀλύμπιον, or Ὀλυμπεῖον, was a temple erected in honor of JUPITER the OLYMPIAN, and was the most magnificent structure in Athens. The area, or peribolus, within which it stood, was four stadia in circumference. It was constructed with double rows of columns, ten in front, and twenty-one in flank, amounting in all to one hundred and twenty-four; the extent of the front being one hundred and seventy-one feet, and the length of the flank more than four hundred. These pillars are the majestic ruin of this sumptuous and stately temple.[c] The foundation of this edifice was laid by Pisistratus, whose sons continued the work;[d] but it was not completely finished till the time of Adrian, seven hundred years after the structure had been commenced.[e]

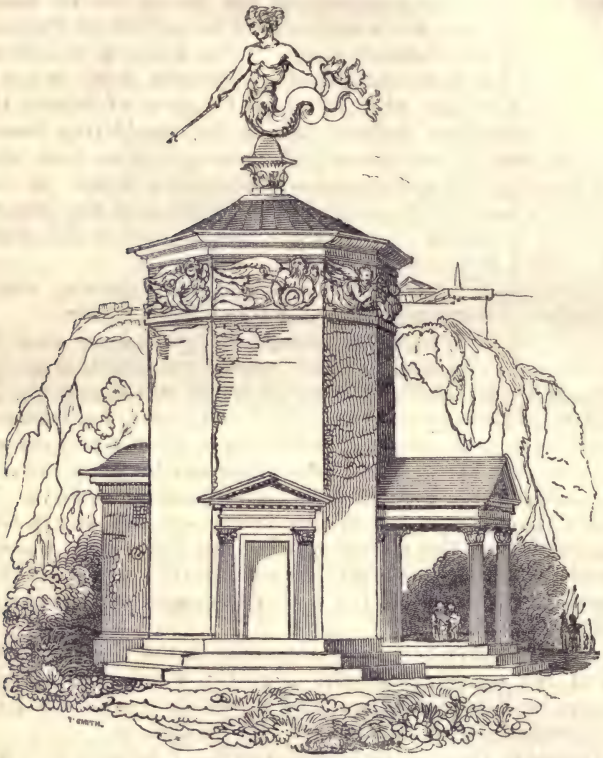
The temple of APOLLO and PAN stood on the north side at the bottom of the citadel, in a cave or grotto, which was called Μακραὶ πέτραι, or Κεκροπίαι πέτραι, and in which Apollo was fabled to have deflowered Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus.[f]

The temple of DIANA, surnamed Λυσίζωνος, because in it women, after the birth of their first child, dedicated their girdles to that goddess.[g]

Πάνθεον was a temple consecrated to ALL THE GODS, who, as they were united in one edifice, were honored with one common festival, which was called Θεοξένια. This was also a very magnificent structure, and was supported by one hundred and twenty pillars of marble. On the outside were curiously engraven the histories of all the gods; and on the great gate two horses were carved by Praxiteles.

[b] Clarke's Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, vol. vi. pp. 291. &c.
[c] Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. p. 320.
[d] Aristot. Polit. lib. v. c. 11.
[e] Pausan. lib. cc. et Philostrat. in Vita Polem.
[f] Euripidis Ion.
[g] Apollonii Schol. lib. i.

THE TEMPLE OF THE EIGHT WINDS.



The temple of the Eight Winds was a tower of eight squares, of marble, on every side of which was carved the figure of a wind, according to the quarter whence it blew. The model of this building was furnished by Andronicus Cyrrhastes, who placed upon the top of the tower a small pyramid of marble, upon the summit of which he erected a brazen triton, holding in his right hand a switch or wand. The triton was so placed, that he turned round with the wind, and pointed with the wand to the wind which blew. This building was constructed for the purpose of showing the direction of the winds, the season of the year, and the hour of the day. All the winds corresponded exactly with the compass, and were represented by suitable figures, above which were written their names in large Greek characters, as follows: Εὖρος, south-east; Ἀπηλιώτης, east; Καικίας, north-east; Βορέας, north; Σκείρων, north-west; Ζέφυρος, west; Νότος, south; Λὶψ, south-west. Eurus, the south-east wind, which is sultry and gloomy at Athens, and brings much rain, was represented upon the tower by an old man of a morose countenance, wrapt in a

mantle, in which his right hand and arm were entirely hid, and the other part of which also concealed his left arm, and was held before his face. Apeliotes, the east wind, which brings a gentle rain, and contributes to fertility and abundance, was denoted by the figure of a young man of a fine open countenance, with his hair flowing in every direction, and holding with both his hands the skirt of his mantle filled with a variety of fruits, a honeycomb, and some ears of corn. Kaikias or Cæsias, the north-east wind, which is cloudy, wet, and cold, and accompanied at some seasons with snow, hail, and tempest, was represented by an old man of a severe countenance, who held in both his hands a circular shield, from which he seemed ready to send down a storm of hail, and the inside of which was turned to the spectators. Boreas, the north wind, which is cold and stormy, and from the situation perhaps of some rocks and grottoes at Athens, produces a loud and hollow noise, resembling the sound of a conch-shell, was represented by an old man looking full on the spectator below, having a conch-shell in his hand, and more warmly clothed than any of the other figures except Sciron. Sciron, the north-west wind, which is the driest wind that blows at Athens, and which is extremely cold in winter, but in summer is extremely hot, and accompanied with frequent lightning, was represented by a figure with a languid countenance, having a short upper tunic with sleeves that reached to his wrist, and holding a vase from which he might be supposed to scatter ashes or burning coals, expressive of the drying and scorching quality of this wind, and of the frequent lightning that attends it. Zephyrus, the west wind, which in summer brings very sultry weather, but in spring is warm and pleasant, and favorable to vegetation, was denoted by a beautiful youth of a pleasing and benign aspect, moving with ease and gentleness, and was the only one of these figures without a tunic or vest, being entirely naked except a loose mantle, the skirt of which was filled with flowers. Notus, the south wind, which is sultry and very wet, was represented by the figure of a young man emptying a jar of water. Libs, the south-west wind, which blows directly across the Saronic gulf, full on the shore of Attica, extending from the isthmus of Corinth to the promontory of Sunium, and right into the Piræus, was represented by the figure of a robust man, bearing in his hand the aplustre of a ship, which he seemed to push before him, either to denote the facility with which ships by means of this wind entered the Piræus, or the danger to be apprehended from it; or it might be intended to commemorate the total destruction of the Persian fleet, the wrecks of which, after the battle of Salamis, were driven by this wind on the coast of Attica.[h] The temple of the Eight Winds was probably one of the sacred structures of the ancient city; and, as a place of religious worship, served for other purposes than that of merely indicating the direction of the winds, the seasons, and the hours.[i]

, Στοαὶ, porticoes, were very numerous at Athens; but the most remarkable was that called Πεισιανάκτιος, and afterwards Ποικίλη, from its containing a variety of curious pictures, drawn by those great

[h] Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. i. pp. 13. 21. &c.

[i] Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. p. 269.

masters, Polygnotus, Mycon, and Panænus the brother of Phidias. In these pictures were portrayed the taking of Troy, the succours given by the Athenians to the Heraclidæ, and their battles with the Lacedæmonians at Œnoë, with the Persians at Marathon, and the Amazons in Athens. The walls within this building were also covered with bucklers taken from the Lacedæmonians and other nations.[k] Here Zeno taught philosophy, and instituted that sect which received their names from this place, and were called Στωικοὶ, from Στοὰ; and the portico itself is commonly used for that sect of philosophers, as when Athenæus calls Zeno τῆς Στοᾶς κτιστὴν, the founder of the Stoics.[l] At the gate of the Ποικίλη was the statue of Solon.[m]

Μουσεῖον was a fort near the citadel, which received its name from the poet Musæus, the scholar of Orpheus, who used to repeat his verses in this place, where he was also buried. It was obliged by Antigonus to entertain a garrison; and his son Demetrius, to render it more secure, surrounded it with a wall.

Ὠδεῖον was a music theatre, built by Pericles.[n] The inside of this building was filled with seats and ranges of pillars; and the outside roof or covering was gradually bent downwards. The roof, which was constructed of the masts and yards of the vessels taken from the Persians,[o] and in its form resembled the tent of Xerxes,[p] was supported by columns of stone or marble. Its shape furnished a subject for many pleasantries. Cratinus the poet, in one of his comedies, wishing to signify that the head of Pericles was of a pointed shape, said that Pericles wore the Odéum on his head.[q] The Odéum was built after the model of the tent of Xerxes, and was burnt by Sylla at the siege of Athens, but afterwards rebuilt.[r] This Odéum was situated at the south-east angle of the citadel. The Odéum of Herodes Atticus has sometimes been confounded with that of Pericles, which we have been describing; but the Odéum of Herodes was situated at the south-west angle of the citadel. This last was built by Herodes, in memory of his wife; and was considered as far surpassing, in magnitude and in the costliness of its materials, every other edifice of the kind in all Greece.[s] The roof of this building was of cedar. In the Odéum of Pericles was a tribunal.[t]

The Ceramicus received its denomination from Ceramus, the son of Bacchus and Ariadne;[u] or more probably ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμεικῆς τέχνης, from the potter's art, which was invented here by Corœbus. This extensive space was divided into two parts, one of which was situated within the city, and contained a great number of temples, theatres, porticoes, &c.; the other was in the suburbs, was a public burying place, and contained the academy and several other buildings.

Ἀγοραὶ, forums, were very numerous; but the most remarkable were the old and the new forum. The new forum was in a place called Ἑρετρία,[v] which it is probable was near to the portico of Zeno.

[k] Pausan. lib. i. cap. 15.
[l] Deip. lib. viii.
[m] Demosth. in Aristog. Pausan. lib. i. cap. 16. Ælian. lib. viii. cap. 16.
[n] Plutarch. Pericle.
[o] Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
[p] Plutarch. Pericle.
[q] Cratin. ap. Plut. in Pericle.
[r] Appian. de Bello Mithridat. Pausan. lib. i. cap. 20.
[s] Pausan. Achaic. cap. 20.
[t] Aristophanis Vespis.
[u] Pausan. Suid. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.
[v] Strabo, lib. ix.

The old forum was situated in the Ceramicus within the city, and was called Ἀρχαία ἀγορά. It was extremely spacious, and was decorated with buildings dedicated to the worship of the gods, or to the service of the state; with others which sometimes afforded an asylum to the wretched, but which were often a shelter for the wicked; and with statues decreed to kings and individuals, who had merited well of the republic. In it were held the public assemblies of the people; but its chief design was for the resort of persons to buy and sell; and as every trade had a different place assigned as a market, the forum was divided into different parts, according to the wares exposed for sale. Hence Κύκλος denotes the place where slaves were sold; Ἀλφιτόπωλις ἀγορὰ, the bakers' market; Ἰχθυόπωλις ἀγορὰ, the fishmongers' market; Γυναικεία ἀγορὰ, the market for women's apparel. Sometimes the markets were denoted by the single names of the things sold in them: as, Οἶνος signifies the wine market; Ἔλαιον, the oil market; Τάψον, the market for provisions; Τὰ μύρα, where ointments were sold, &c.[w] The time when goods were exposed to sale was called πλήθουσα ἀγορὰ, full market, from the great number of persons assembled; and different hours of the day seem to have been appointed for the sale of different commodities.[x] To this place the inhabitants resorted every day; and we are told that the twenty thousand citizens of Athens never ceased to frequent the forum, occupied either with their own affairs, or with those of the state.[y] As the forum was the most frequented part of the city, workmen of all kinds endeavoured to reside near it,[z] and in it houses let at a greater price than in any other part. The Scythians, kept in pay by the republic to maintain order, were encamped in the middle of the forum. Collectors also attended to receive the duties imposed on every thing that was sold, and magistrates to superintend what passed.

Βουλευτήρια were public halls, in which each company of tradesmen met, and deliberated on matters relating to their trades. At Athens trade was very much encouraged; and if any one reproached another, even the lowest citizen, with living by the profit of his traffic, he was liable to an action of slander;[a] and if any person employed falsehood for the purpose of exaction, he was to suffer a penalty.[b] Vanity, indeed, supported the former of these laws; but interest rendered the latter of no effect. That trade was not regarded as a base and ignoble employment will be sufficiently evident, from considering that Solon applied himself to merchandize; that the founder of the city Massilia was a merchant; that Thales, and Hippocrates the mathematician, traded; and that Plato defrayed the expenses of his travels by selling oil in Egypt.[c]

Aqueducts were not common at Athens before the time of the Romans; and the want of them was supplied by wells, some of which were dug by private persons, and others at the public expense; but as good water at Athens was extremely scarce, frequent quarrels arose among the citizens, who contended with each other for that necessary

[w] Pollux, lib. ix. cap. 5.
[x] Suidas.
[y] Demosth. in Aristog.
[z] Lys. adv. Delat.
[a] Demosth. Orat. in Eubulidem.
[b] Demosth. in Lept. Ulpian. ibid. Hyperid. apud Harpocrat.
[c] Plutarch. Solone.

article. Solon enacted a law, that where there was a well within a hippicon, or four furlongs, all should have the privilege of using it; but those who lived at a greater distance were to provide a well of their own; and if they digged to the depth of ten fathoms, and could find no water, they were allowed ten gallons a day from their neighbor's well.[d] Besides other magnificent structures, Adrian laid the foundation of a stately aqueduct, which was finished by his successor Antoninus, and which was supported by Ionic pillars.

Gymnasia were first used at Lacedæmon, but were afterwards common in every part of Greece. They were not single edifices, but a set of united buildings, rendered so capacious as to contain several thousand persons; and they were erected for the use of philosophers, rhetoricians, and the professors of all other sciences, in which to read their lectures; and for pugilists, wrestlers, dancers, and others, who might exercise themselves at the same time, without suffering any interruption. The gymnasia consisted principally of the following divisions:

1. Στοαὶ, porticoes, which were filled with ἕξεδραι, and side-buildings furnished with seats, and fitted for study and discourse; and in which, it is probable, the scholars met.

2. Ἐφήβαιον, the place where the ephebi or youths exercised; or where, as some say, those who intended to exercise met, and agreed in what exercise they should contend, and what should be the reward of the victor.

3. Κωρίκειον, ἀποδυτήριον, γυμναστήριον, the undressing room.

4. Ἐλαιοθέσιον, ἀλειπτήριον, the place where those who were to wrestle, or those who had bathed, were anointed.

5. Κονιστήριον, κονίστρα, the place where the dust was kept, with which they sprinkled those who had been anointed.

6. Παλαίστρα, which, though it sometimes denoted the whole gymnasium, properly signifies the place where all the exercises of the Πένταθλον, (or, as some say, only wrestling,) and the Παγκράτιον, were performed. The floor of it was covered with dust or gravel, lest the combatants should slip, or injure themselves by falling. In the gymnasium was also another room filled with deeper gravel than that in the palæstra.

7. Σφαιριστήριον, a place appropriated to different kinds of exercise, but more especially to that of the ball.

8. The spaces between the porticoes and the wall for admitting the light, and the area of the Περιστύλιον, or piazza, which was a large square or oblong place in the middle of the gymnasium, and intended for walking, leaping, or throwing the quoit.

9. Ξύστοι, places covered at the top, and designed for wrestlers, when the weather would not permit them to contend in the open air. Ξύστα, or περιδρομίδες, were walks uncovered at the top, and intended for exercises or recreation during the milder part of the year.

10. Baths, in which was water of different degrees of heat and cold, and in which the Greeks refreshed themselves when weary with

[d] Plutarch. Solone.

exercise, and at other times. Anciently, baths were not much used, except after the termination of a war, or some laborious enterprize;[e] and we read that Agamemnon, after his return from the Trojan war, went into the bath, where he was slain by the treachery of his wife Clytemnestra.[f] In later ages, however, baths became more common, and were frequently used for health or recreation by both sexes.

11. The stadium, a large semicircle in which exercises were performed; and for the accommodation of spectators, who resorted thither in great numbers, it was built with steps above each other, in order that the higher ranks might look over the heads of those placed below them. The most remarkable at Athens, and indeed in all Greece, was the stadium erected near the river Ilissus by Lycurgus, and afterwards enlarged by Herodes Atticus, one of the richest of the Athenian citizens. It was built of Pentelic marble, with such magnificence that Pausanias did not expect to be credited, even in his brief description of this work, and says that it was a wonder to all who beheld it, and of such stupendous magnitude that it might be taken for a mountain of white marble upon the banks of the Ilissus.[g] It was about one hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces in length, and twenty-six or twenty-seven in breadth, and was therefore called a stadium, a measure in ordinary use among the Greeks, being the eighth part of a Roman mile. "It has been usual," observes Dr. Clarke, "to say of this most wonderful of all the marvellous works of Herodes Atticus, that nothing now remains of its former magnificence. To our eyes, every thing necessary to impress the mind with an accurate idea of the object itself, and of its grandeur, and of the prodigious nature of the work, seemed to exist as if it had been in its perfect state. The marble covering of the seats, it is true, no longer appears; but the lines are visible of the different ranges; and perhaps a part of the covering itself might be brought to light by a removal of the soil. The remains of stadia still exist in different parts of Greece; but this of Athens surpasses, as in the days of its splendor, every other in the world. Its form is so perfect, that the spectator traversing the arena between its sloping sides, toward the Coilon at its south-eastern extremity, almost imagines himself to be transported to the age in which it was prepared for the reception of its innumerable guests. This splendid memorial of Attic splendor, and of the renown of a private citizen of Athens, became ultimately his funeral monument: and a very curious discovery may be reserved for future travellers in the majestic sepulchre of Herodes himself, who was here interred with the highest obsequies and most distinguished honors that a grateful people could possibly bestow upon the tomb of a benefactor, who spared no expense for them while he was living, and every individual of whom participated in his bounty at his death."[h]

The Athenians had three gymnasia appropriated to the education of youth;[i] the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges.[k] All

[e] Artemidorus Oneirocrit. lib. i.
[f] Lycophron.
[g] Pausan. Attic. cap. 19.
[h] Clarke's Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, vol. vi. pp. 326—329.
[i] Ulpian. in Timocr.
[k] Demosth. in Leptin. Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 24. Laert. lib. vi. seg. 13.

three were built at the expense of the government, without the walls of the city. The last of them was anciently set apart for illegitimate children.[l]

Λυκεῖον, Lyceum, was situated on the banks of the Ilissus, and received its name from Apollo, Λυκοκτόνος, or Λύκιος, to whom it was dedicated, and whose statue was placed at the entrance.[m] Nor was it without reason, that this place was sacred to Apollo, since from the same deity who cured diseases and restored health, might be expected strength and ability to contend in the exercises.[n] The building of this edifice is ascribed by some to Pisistratus, by some to Pericles, and by others to Lycurgus; and hence it seems probable that each of them might contribute something towards this structure. Perhaps it was founded by Pisistratus, raised by Pericles, and enlarged and beautified by Lycurgus. Certain, however, it is, that the Lyceum was successively enlarged and embellished.[o] The walls were enriched with paintings;[p] and the gardens ornamented with beautiful alleys;[q] and those who walked in them were invited to rest themselves, by seats placed under the trees.[r] In the Lyceum Aristotle taught philosophy, and conversed with those who resorted to him for instruction, walking constantly every day till the hour of anointing, which was before meals. Hence he and his disciples were called Περιπατητικοὶ, Peripatetics, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπατεῖν, from walking.[s]

Ἀκαδήμια, Academy, was part of the Ceramicus without the city, from which it was distant about six stadia.[t] It was a large enclosure of ground, which was once the property of a citizen of Athens named Academus,[u] from whom it probably received its denomination. Some, however, say, that it received its name from an ancient hero, who, when Helena was stolen by Theseus, and concealed at Aphidnæ, discovered her to Castor and Pollux; and hence the Lacedæmonians, when in after ages they made several incursions into Attica, and destroyed the surrounding country, always spared this place for his sake. Others say, that it was called Academia from Echedemus, an Arcadian in the army of Castor and Pollux.[v] It contained a garden adorned with covered walks,[w] and embellished by waters which flowed under the shade of the plane and various other kinds of trees.[x] At the entrance were the altar and statue of love;[y] and within, the altars of several other deities. The Academy was adorned with shady woods and solitary walks, suitable for study and meditation.[z] Hence Horace says:

——— Inter sylvas Academi quærere verum:[a]
In the groves of Academus to search for truth.

Here it was that Plato, attended by his disciples, read his lectures in

[l] Demosth. in Aristocr. Plutarch. Themistocle.
[m] Lucian. de Gymn. Pausan. lib. i. cap. 19.
[n] Plutarch. in Sympos. lib. viii. 9. 4.
[o] Theopomp. et Philoch. ap. Suid. in Λύκ. Harpocrat. in Λύκ. Pausan. lib. i. cap. 29.
[p] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri, lib. vii.
[q] Plut. X. Orat. Vit.
[r] Lucian. de Gymn.
[s] Suidas, &c.
[t] Cicero de Finib. lib. v. cap. 1.
[u] Hesych. et Suid. in Ἀκαδ.
[v] Plutarch. Theseo.
[w] Idem Cimone.
[x] Schol. Aristophan. in Nub. v. 1001.
[y] Pausan. lib. i. cap. 30.
[z] Eupolis in Ἀστρατεύτας.
[a] Lib. ii. ep. 2.

philosophy.[b] The wall, by which the Academy was surrounded, was built by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus; and the expense of it was defrayed by a heavy tax on the people; and hence Ἱππάρχου τεῖχιον signified any expensive and oppressive measure.

Κυνόσαργες was in the suburbs near the Lyceum, and received its name from κύων ἀργὸς, a white or swift dog, which, when Diomus was sacrificing to Hercules, snatched part of the victim.[bb] It was adorned with several edifices dedicated to Hebe, Alcmena, and Iolaüs, all related to Hercules, the chief deity of the place, who was also here honored with a magnificent temple; but nothing was so remarkable as the gymnasium, in which strangers, and those who had only one Athenian parent performed their exercises, because that Hercules, to whom it was consecrated, was under some illegitimacy, and had a mortal woman for his mother. Hence Themistocles, who had only one Athenian parent, and was therefore considered illegitimate, persuaded some young noblemen to accompany him, and exercise themselves at Cynosarges; and by this ingenious contrivance he seemed to destroy the distinction between the illegitimate, or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians.[c] Here was also a court of judicature, in which causes concerning illegitimacy, and also concerning those who were suspected of having falsely inserted their names among the native Athenians, were heard and determined.[d] In this gymnasium Antisthenes instituted a sect of philosophers, who were called Κυνικοὶ, Cynics, probably from the name of the place.[e]

Theatres were dedicated to Bacchus and Venus,[f] to the former of whom they are said to owe their origin.[g] Certain it is, that this most regular and sublime of all the arts took birth in the bosom of tumultuous pleasures, and the extravagances of intoxication.[h] Hence stage plays were denominated διονυσιακὰ; and the artificers employed in building theatres, διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται, as belonging to Διόνυσος, Bacchus.

The most ancient theatres were temporary, and composed only of boards placed gradually above each other for the convenience of spectators, and were therefore called Ἰκρία;[i] but one of these slight buildings having fallen during the performance of a piece by an ancient author named Pratinas, and nearly proved fatal to a great concourse of people,[k] the Athenians, whose example the other Greeks imitated, erected theatres of stone, and commonly of marble.

They were nearly semicircular, but larger than one half of a circle; and therefore amphitheatres, which had the form of two theatres united, were oval. Theatres consisted of two parts; σκηνὴ, the scene, and κοῖλον, the cavea. The σκηνὴ was a partition assigned to the actors, and reached across the theatre. It was anciently decorated with boughs and leaves, but afterwards with rich and costly hangings; and it was intended to conceal from the spectators the

[b] Laert. lib. iii.
[bb] Hesych.
[c] Plutarch. Themistocle.
[d] Nonnus Monachus in Collect. Hist.
[e] Diog. Laert. Antisthene.
[f] Lactant. lib. vi.
[g] Polydor. Virg. lib. viii. cap. 13.
[h] Athen. lib. ii. cap. 3.
[i] Hesych.
[k] Suidas in Πρατίνας.

management of machines, and other actions of the players. It was so formed that it might be turned round, and then was called *versatilis;* or drawn up, when it was denominated *ductilis.*[l] The σκηνὴ was divided into several parts; the most remarkable were the following:

Βροντεῖον, a place under the floor, where were kept brazen vessels filled with stones and other materials, for the purpose of imitating the noise of thunder.

Ἐπισκήνιον, a place upon the top of the scene, where all the machines, by which were represented the various figures and prospects, were moved.

Παρασκήνιον, the tiring room, a place behind the scenes, in which the actors dressed and adorned themselves.

Προσκήνιον, the stage, a place before the scenes, on which the players acted.

Ὀρχήστρα, that part of the προσκήνιον in which the chorus danced and sung, and in the middle of which was placed the λογεῖον or θυμέλη, pulpit. This part was raised ten or twelve feet above the pit,[m] from which was an ascent to it.[n] In this situation it was easy for the chorus to turn either towards the actors or towards the spectators.[o]

Ὑποσκήνιον, a place under the pulpit for the music.

The κοῖλον, or cavea, was appointed for the spectators, and consisted of three divisions placed one above another. The lowest was appropriated to persons of quality, and magistrates; the middle, to the commonalty; and the uppermost, to the women.

As theatres were not covered, behind the cavea were erected porticoes, into which the spectators retired for shelter in rainy weather.

Athens had three harbors for ships: 1. Πειραιεὺς, *Piræeus*, which belonged to the tribe of Hippothoontis, and was about thirty-five or forty stadia distant from the city, before the building of the μακρὰ τείχη, or long walls. After that time, the Athenians, by the direction of Themistocles, rendered this their principal harbor. It contained three ὅρμοι, or docks: the first was called Κάνθαρος, from a hero of that name; the second, Ἀφροδίσιον, from Ἀφροδίτη, Venus, who had there two temples, one of which was consecrated by Themistocles, the other by Conon; and the third Ζέα, from ζειὰ, breadcorn. In this harbor were five porticoes, which being joined together formed a very large one, called on that account Μακρὰ στοά. The Piræus also contained two forums: one was near the long portico and the sea; the other farther distant, and, therefore, chiefly frequented by those who lived in the neighborhood of the city. One of these forums was called Ἱπποδάμειον, from the architect Hippodamus, who built the long wall by which this harbor was joined to the city. Here the productions of all countries were accumulated; and this was not the market of Athens only, but of all Greece.[p]

[l] Poll. Onomast. lib. iv. cap. 19.
[m] Vitruvius, lib. v. c. 8.
[n] Plato in Conviv. Plutarch. Demetrio. Poll. lib. iv. c. 19.
[o] Schol. Aristoph. in Argum. Nub.
[p] Thucyd. lib. ii. cap. 38. Isocrat. Panegyr.

Hence originated the proverb, Τὸν Πειραέα κεναγγίαν μὴ φέρειν, that the Piræus does not produce want and famine. In this harbor three hundred gallies have sometimes been collected at once;[q] and it was sufficiently capacious to contain four hundred.[r] The advantages of this place were first observed by Themistocles, when he devised the plan of giving a navy to Athens.[s] Markets and magazines were presently erected, and an arsenal capable of furnishing every thing necessary for the equipment of a great number of vessels. Hither the body of Themistocles was brought after his death, from the place of his exile; and a square stone, devoid of ornaments, resting on a simple base, and placed upon the neighbouring promontory, formed the sepulchral monument of that great and remarkable man.[t] This harbor, which was once very populous and well inhabited, was burnt by Sylla in the Mithridatic war, and reduced to a very few houses in the time of Strabo, who lived in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.

2. Μουνυχία, Munychia, which was a promontory not far distant from Piræus, and extended not unlike a peninsula, and was well fortified both by nature and art. It received its name from a person called Munychus, who dedicated in this place a temple to Diana, surnamed Μουνυχία.

3. Φαληρὸν, Phalerum, which belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and was distant from the city thirty-five stadia,[u] or, as some say, only twenty stadia.[v] This was the most ancient of the three harbors; and from it Theseus is said to have sailed for Crete, and Menestheus for Troy.

CHAP. II.

Citizens, Tribes, &c. of Athens.

THE inhabitants of Attica were divided into three classes: 1. Πολῖται, free men; 2. Μέτοικοι, foreigners settled in the country; 3. Δοῦλοι, slaves. The citizens excelled the others in dignity and power, and filled the various offices of government; but they were greatly exceeded in number by the slaves, many of whom were frequently subject to one citizen. In the time of Cecrops, the number of citizens was twenty thousand; in that of Pericles, they were not so many;[w] and when Demetrius the Phalerean was governor of Athens, they amounted to twenty-one thousand. At the time of this last enumeration, the foreigners were found to be ten thousand, and the slaves four hundred thousand.[x]

At first, when it was necessary to encourage the population of Attica, the title of citizen was bestowed on every person who went to settle in that country;[y] and by an ancient law all foreigners who intended to live at Athens were obliged, after a short residence in

[q] Thucyd. lib. ii. cap. 13.
[r] Strabo lib. ix.
[s] Plutarch. Themistocle; Diodor. Sic. lib. xi.
[t] Plutarch. Themistocle; Pausan. l. i.
[u] Thucyd.
[v] Pausan. Arcad.
[w] Plutarch. Pericle.
[x] Athenæ. Deipnos. lib. vi.
[y] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 2. Schol. ibid.

that city, to enrol their names among those of the free citizens.[z] When, however, it became less necessary to encourage population, Solon granted the title of citizen only to those who should bring with them their families, or to persons who, exiled for ever from their country, went thither in search of a secure asylum.[a] When the Athenians had attained great power and reputation, this privilege was highly esteemed, and was granted only to men of exalted birth and character, or to such as had performed some remarkable service to the commonwealth. Nor was the title of citizen to be obtained even by them without much difficulty. It was promised, indeed, to those who should render any service to the state;[b] and as nothing can be more honorable than to excite the gratitude of an enlightened nation, no sooner was this privilege offered as the reward of merit, than it became the object of the ambition even of sovereigns, who reflected new lustre on it when they succeeded, and still greater lustre on it when they were unable to obtain the distinction. It was refused to Menon the Pharsalian, and Perdiccas king of Macedonia, who could obtain only the privilege of ἀτέλεια, immunity from the tribute paid by sojourners. After the defeat of the Persians at Platæa, it was decreed by an express law that none but men of eminent and meritorious characters should be admitted into the rank of citizens.[c]

This privilege was ardently sought, so long as the Athenians rigorously observed the laws which were intended to prevent its being too easily obtained. By these laws it was decreed that the freedom of Athens should be conferred only by the popular assembly; and hence they, who were thus admitted into the rank of citizens, were called δημοποιητοὶ, to distinguish them from the freeborn. Nor was it sufficient that the candidate was adopted by one decree of the people. This decree was to be confirmed by a second assembly, in which six thousand citizens were required to be present, and to give their suffrages by ballot; and lest the interest or authority of any person should induce the people to vote contrary to their inclinations, the suffrages were given privately, by casting small stones into urns, placed in the assemblies by the Prytanes, who provided a sufficient number of stones for the voters; and till all had balloted, the strangers who petitioned for the freedom of the city were not allowed to enter the place of the assembly. After this, if the honor appeared to have been conferred on an unworthy person, the double election might be objected to by the lowest of the Athenians, and submitted to the examination of a tribunal, which was empowered to inquire into the life and condition of the person elected, and to correct even the judgment of the people.[d]

The manner of admission was by declaring formally that such a person was incorporated with the citizens of Athens, and invested with the honors, privileges, and immunities, which belonged to them. He had then a right to assist at the performance of all holy rites and mysteries, except such as were appropriated to certain noble fami-

[z] Aristophan. Ranis.
[a] Plutarch. Solone.
[b] Demosth. in Neær.
[c] Idem ibid.
[d] Demosth. in Neær.

lies; or, as others think, he was excluded from all the offices of priesthood, and certainly from those of the nine archons, which free-born Athenians only were allowed to execute. Lastly, his name was enrolled in a certain tribe and hundred.[e]

Freeborn Athenians were those, one or both of whose parents were Athenians; but when the number of inhabitants had increased, such only were accounted free as were descended from parents both of whom were free;[f] and it was decreed by Solon that a person, who had a foreigner to his mother, should be deemed a bastard though born in wedlock, and consequently should not inherit the estate of his fathers.[g] This law, however, was abrogated by the tacit consent of the commonwealth till the time of Pericles, who procured it to be enacted, that the son of an Athenian married to a foreign woman should be entitled only to the condition of his mother. This law was made by Pericles at a time when he was surrounded by children likely to perpetuate his family; and he carried it into execution with so much rigor, that nearly five thousand persons, excluded from the rank of citizens, were sold for slaves by auction. But Pericles, after losing all his legitimate sons, persuaded the Athenians to cancel the law; and he was allowed to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name.[h] The law was afterwards altered by Antiphon on the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; and all whose mothers were not citizens, were again deemed *νόθοι*, illegitimate.[i]

They whose parents were not both Athenians, were of less repute, even when invested with freedom, than those whose fathers and mothers were both citizens; and they were not allowed to exercise themselves in any of the gymnasia frequented by the legitimate, but only at the Cynosarges, which was without the city.[k] In this place was a court of judicature, in which persons suspected of having fraudulently invested themselves with the name and privileges of citizens were arraigned. This was considered as so great an offence, that the person against whom *δίκη τῆς ξενίας* (as the action was called) had been preferred, was immediately made a close prisoner, and put in chains, previously to his being brought before the judges.[l] Nor was it considered a sufficient vindication to be once acquitted; but it was customary to bring the cause to a second hearing before the Thesmothetæ, if there was any just cause to suspect that he had been too favorably treated.

In order to clear Athens of false and pretended citizens, it was decreed in the second year of the ninetieth olympiad, that an inquisition should be made into causes of this nature by men of the same borough as the criminal. This inquisition, which was called *διαψήφισις*,[m] was executed in the following manner:—When any person was accused, the *δήμαρχος*, prefect of the borough (*δῆμος*), to whose

[e] Demosth. in Neær.
[f] Aristot. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 5.
[g] Aristophan. Avibus.
[h] Plutarch. Pericle; Ælian. lib. vi. cap. 10. lib. xiii. cap. 24. Suid. in *Δημοπ.* Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716.
[i] Carystius, *Ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων*, lib. iii. Pollux lib. iii.
[k] Plutarch. in Themistocle.
[l] Demosth. et Ulpianus in Timocrat.
[m] Harpocration, Olympiad. descriptor anonymus.

custody was committed the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, public register of the citizens, convened the δημότας, members of the borough. The names of all the citizens were then recited from the register, and the accused was obliged to mention the particular φρατρία, ward, to which he pretended to belong, and to prove his right of succession by sufficient witnesses; or, if he claimed his freedom from the gift of the people, and not by inheritance, he was to produce the decree of the popular assembly, by which this privilege had been conferred. The δημόται, after taking an oath to determine honestly, and having maturely deliberated on the evidence, privately delivered their opinions, in expressing which they commonly used leaves or beans. If the white exceeded the black beans in number, the prisoner was acquitted; but if the black beans prevailed, he was deprived of his freedom, and after that called ἀποψηφισμένος, from the act of condemnation, which was denominated ἀποψήφισις.[n] This verdict was to be given before the setting of the sun, in order that the person deprived of his freedom might be reckoned among the μέτοικοι, sojourners. If he was unwilling to acquiesce in the determination of the members of his own borough, he might appeal to the Thesmothetæ, who appointed proper judges to hear the matter; and if it appeared that the former sentence was unjust, he was restored to his family; but if just, he was sold for a slave.

For the purpose, therefore, of preventing all disputes of this nature, fathers were obliged to enrol the names of their sons in the register (termed κοινὸν γραμματεῖον) of their particular φρατρία, ward; and at the same time they made oath that every son thus registered was lawfully born or lawfully adopted.[o] Notwithstanding this oath, the φράτορες, members of that ward, had the power of rejecting any one against whom sufficient evidence appeared; and concerning this matter they voted by private suffrages;[p] but if any one was unjustly rejected by the men of his own ward, an appeal was allowed to the magistrates,[q] by whom, if he was declared lawfully born or lawfully adopted, he was registered in his own name and that of his father.[r] The adopted sons were registered on the festival Θαργήλια, in the month Θαργηλιὼν; the natural sons, on the third day of the festival Ἀπατούρια, called Κουρεῶτις, in the month Πυανεψιών. At what age children were registered is not agreed. Some are of opinion that at every return of the Ἀπατούρια it was customary to register all the children born that year;[s] whilst others affirm that they were usually registered at the age of three or four years.[t]

Young persons, when arrived at the age of eighteen years, were enrolled a second time in a public register, and admitted into the number of the ἔφηβοι.[u] At the same time, their hair was shaven and consecrated to some of the gods. They were registered a third time before the festival Panathenæa,[v] when those who were twenty years old

[n] Demosth. in Eubul. Pollux lib. viii. Hesych. Suidas.
[o] Isæus de Apollodor. hæred.
[p] Demosth. in Macart.
[q] Idem in Neæram.
[r] Isæus Orat. citat.
[s] Etymolog. Magni Auctor, v. Ἀπατούρια.
[t] Proclus in Platonis Timæum.
[u] Pollux, lib. vii. cap. 9.
[v] Demosth. in Leocharem.

were introduced at a public meeting of the δημόται, men of the same δῆμος, borough, and entered in the register called ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον. In the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον were inserted the names of all persons of that borough, who were of age to succeed to the λῆξις, inheritance of their fathers.[w] This was called εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγράφεσθαι, to be registered among the men; and the persons enrolled were from that time at their own disposal, and not subject to the control of guardians.

After Cecrops had settled the form of the Athenian government, he divided the citizens into four φυλαὶ, tribes; each tribe into three parts, called τριττὺς, ἔθνος, or φρατρία; and each of these into thirty γένη, families, which, as they consisted of thirty men, were denominated τριακάδες. The members of these were called ὁμογάλακτοι and γενῆται, not from any relation to each other, but because they lived in the same borough, and were united in one body or society; and ὀργεῶνες, because they participated in the same ceremonies, and worshipped the same gods, from ὄργια, which, though it properly signifies the mysteries of Bacchus, frequently denotes the rites employed in the worship of any other deity.[x]

The names of the tribes were as follows: 1. Κεκροπὶς, from Cecrops; for the ancients, from a desire of transmitting the memory of themselves to posterity, designated cities, countries, or monuments, by their own names; 2. Αὐτόχθων, from a king of that name, or rather from the Athenians calling themselves Αὐτόχθονες; 3. Ἀκταία, from Actæus, or Actæon, or rather from ἀκτὴ, a shore, because the part which this tribe inhabited was situated towards the sea; 4. Παραλία, from this tribe living in the proximity of the sea.

In the reign of Cranaus, the tribes were designated by the following names: 1. Κραναὶς, from the name of the king; 2. Ἀτθὶς, from that of his daughter; 3. Μεσόγαια; 4. Διακρὶς: these last two were so called from their situations, the former inhabiting the inland part of the country, and the other a craggy shore. Erichthonius denominated them as follows: 1. Διὰς, from the name of Jupiter; 2. Ἀθηναὶς, from that of Minerva; 3. Ποσειδωνιὰς, from that of Neptune; 4. Ἡφαιστιὰς, from that of Vulcan.[y] Under Erechtheus they received new names from the sons of Ion,[z] as follows: 1. Γελέοντες; 2. Ὁπλῖται; 3. Αἰγικόρεις; 4. Ἀργάδες. Some, however, say that the tribes did not receive their names from the sons of Ion, but from the different occupations which they followed. Hence 1. Ὁπλῖται were the soldiers; 2. Ἐργάται, artisans, or craftsmen; 3. Γεωργοὶ, farmers; and 4. Αἰγικόραι, goatherds.[a]

Solon divided the Athenians into four classes, according to their rank and property: those who were worth five hundred medimns of commodities, were placed in the first class, and called πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι; the next were the ἱππεῖς, horsemen, called ἵππαδα τελοῦντες, who could furnish a horse, or were worth three hundred medimns; the third class consisted of those who were worth two hundred me-

[w] Pollux, loco citato.
[x] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 4. lib. viii. c. 9.
[y] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.
[z] Herodotus, lib. v. cap. 66. Euripid. Ion. ad finem.
[a] Plutarch. Solone.

dimns, and who were called ζευγῖται; and in the last class were placed all the rest, who were denominated θῆτες, who were incapable of filling any office in the government, but who were allowed to vote in the public assemblies. This, though at first deemed an inconsiderable, was afterwards found to be a very important privilege; for as appeals were permitted from the decisions of the magistrates to the popular assemblies, causes of the greatest weight and moment were brought before this last class of the people.

Afterwards, when the number of inhabitants had increased, Clisthenes having consulted the oracle of Apollo, augmented the tribes from four to ten, and denominated them from certain ancient heroes, all natives of Attica, except Ajax, the son of Telamon, to whom, as a friend and companion in arms, he assigned a place among the rest.[b] From the names they gave to the tribes these heroes were called ἐπώνυμοι, and were honored with statues before the senate-house. The names of the heroes were Erechtheus, Cecrops, Ægeus, Pandion, Acamas, Antiochus, Leo, Œneus, Hippothoon, Ajax; and of the tribes, Ἐρεχθηΐς, Κεκροπὶς, Αἰγηΐς, Πανδιονὶς, Ἀκαμαντὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνηΐς, Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Αἰαντίς.[c] When Antigonus and Demetrius had freed Athens from the yoke of Macedon, the Athenians added two more tribes, which, in honor of their deliverers, they denominated Ἀντιγονὶς and Δημητριὰς,[d] but which the Athenians, whose gratitude continued no longer than the good fortune and successes of those princes, afterwards changed to Ἀτταλὶς and Πτολεμαΐς, in honor of Attalus king of Pergamus, and of Ptolemy king of Egypt.

The tribes had public feasts instituted for the purpose of maintaining mutual acquaintance, and of promoting friendship and kindness.[e] These meetings were named from the persons assembled: if the whole tribe met, it was called δεῖπνον φυλετικὸν; if only one φρατρία, δεῖπνον φρατρικὸν; and if a δῆμος, δεῖπνον δημοτικόν.

The δῆμοι were little boroughs in Attica, several of which belonged to every tribe; and, though united in the affairs of the commonwealth, they had separate habitations, and distinct rites and ceremonies in the performance of divine worship. The greatest use of the δῆμοι consisted in their forms of law and contracts, by which provision was made against fraud and error. Their number was one hundred and seventy-four,[f] some of which were distinguished by their situation, and were called καθύπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, higher and lower; and all of them were divided into greater and less.

CHAP. III.

Sojourners.

The μέτοικοι, sojourners, were persons who had come from a foreign country, and had settled with their families in Attica,[g] being

[b] Herodot. et Pollux, locis citatis.
[c] Pausanias, Atticis.
[d] Plutarch. Demetrio.
[e] Athenæ. Deipnos. lib. xv.
[f] Eustath. in Il. β'. Strabo lib. ix.
[g] Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ.

admitted by the council of Areopagus, and entered in a public register.[h] They differed from the πολῖται, citizens, in that they were not free of Athens, but either came themselves from another city, or were the descendants of such as had come; and from the ξένοι, strangers, who abode only for a short time, whilst the μέτοικοι had fixed habitations, and constantly resided where they had settled.

At one period the μέτοικοι amounted to ten thousand in number.[i] They were permitted to dwell in the city; and most of them exercised trades, or served in the navy.[k] They were protected by the government, in which they did not participate; and they were not intrusted with any public office, nor allowed to give their votes in the assemblies; but they were obliged to sit as spectators in a theatre, and patiently submit to the decrees enacted by the citizens. They were free, yet dependent; useful to the republic which feared them, because it dreaded liberty detached from the love of country; and despised by a people at once proud and jealous of the distinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen.[l] Hence Aristophanes compares them to chaff:[m]

Τοὺς γὰρ Μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν λέγω,
Sojourners are the city's chaff and scum.

They were not allowed to transact or manage any business in their own names, but were obliged to select from among the citizens a person to whose care and protection they would commit themselves, who was to defend them from violence and oppression,[n] and who was also to be responsible for their conduct.[o] The person to whose protection they committed themselves was called προστάτης, a patron, who was allowed to exact of them several services; and if they failed in performing what was required, or neglected to choose a patron, an action, denominated ἀπροστασίου δίκη, was commenced against them before the polemarch, by whom their goods were confiscated.

In consideration of the privileges allowed them, the commonwealth demanded of them several services. The men were obliged to carry σκάφας, little ships, as emblems of their foreign extraction, in the Panathenæa, a festival celebrated in honor of Minerva; and hence they were termed σκαφεῖς, or σκαφηφόροι, by the ancient writers of comedy. In the same festival the women carried ὑδρίας, vessels of water, or σκιάδεια, umbrellas, to shelter the free women from the weather; and hence they were called ὑδριαφόροι and σκιαδηφόροι.[p] The men also paid an annual tribute of ten,[q] or, as some say, of twelve drachms, as the heads of families, and six drachms for their children;[r] and the women who had no sons paid six. This tribute was called μετοίκιον, and was exacted not only from those who dwelt at Athens, but from all that settled in any town of Attica.[s] In the time of Themistocles

[h] Aristoph. Schol. in Aves.
[i] Athen. lib. vi.
[k] Xenoph. de Repub. Athen.
[l] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 1.
[m] In Suid.
[n] Terent. Eunuch. act. ult. scen. ult.
[o] Harpocrat. et Suid. in Προστάτης; Hyper. apud Harpocr. in Ἀπροσ.
[p] Æliani Variæ Historiæ, lib. vi. cap. 1. Periz. ibid. Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ. et in Σκαφ. Suid. et Hesych. in Σκαφ.
[q] Hesych.
[r] Isæus apud Harpocr. in Μετοίκ. Pollux lib. iii. cap. 4. seg. 55.
[s] Lysias, Orat. in Philonem.

this exaction was remitted,[t] but was soon after again enforced. On failure of paying this impost, the delinquent was immediately seized by the tax-masters, and carried to the market called Μετοίκιον,[u] and by others Πωλητήριον τοῦ μετοικίου,[v] where he was exposed to sale by the πωληταὶ, officers of the public revenue.[w] The μέτοικοι were also exposed to the insults of the people, and to degrading sallies of raillery from the stage.[x]

But though these men were rendered incapable of preferment, or of filling any office in the commonwealth, yet such as signalized themselves by any important services to the state, were honored with an immunity from all imposts and taxes, except those required of freeborn citizens. This was called ἰσοτέλεια, and the persons by whom it was enjoyed were denominated ἰσοτελεῖς, because they were obliged ἴσα τελεῖν τοῖς ἀστοῖς, to pay only an equal proportion with the citizens. It was a kind of half freedom, and was the same as that called ἀτέλεια, which was granted to foreigners who had deserved well of the state, but who had not merited sufficient to be enrolled among the true citizens.[y] Sometimes, however, the republic, when exhausted by long wars, adopted a great number of the sojourners into the class of citizens;[z] but if by any clandestine practices they contrived to procure admission into that respectable body, they were liable to a judicial prosecution, and sometimes even to be sold for slaves.[a]

CHAP. IV.

Slaves.

The slaves formed the most numerous body of the inhabitants of Attica, and were distinguished into two sorts. The first were those who, through poverty, were obliged to serve for wages, and were freeborn citizens, but who had no suffrage in public affairs on account of their indigence, and not possessing such an estate as the law required for the privilege of voting. These were properly called θῆτες and πελάται,[b] and continued in that state only during their necessities, having authority to change their masters at pleasure, and, if able, to release themselves from servitude. The second sort were wholly in the power and at the disposal of their masters, who were as much entitled to them as to their lands and estates, of which, indeed, they were considered a part. These were employed in the worst and most degrading offices, and were starved, beaten, and tormented at the will of their masters, and sometimes punished even with death; and, what increased the misery of their condition, they could not obtain their own freedom, nor procure freedom for their posterity; but they and their offspring were condemned to a life of slavery, without any

[t] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.
[u] Plutarch. Flaminio.
[v] Demosth. Orat. i. in Aristogit.
[w] Plutarch. Flaminio; Diogenes Laert. in Xenocrate.
[x] Aristophan. Acharn. v. 507.
[y] Theophrast. Suid.
[z] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii.
[a] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att.
[b] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 8.

hopes of mitigation or release. The first sort of slaves were natives of Greece, and consisted in general of those whom the fate of war had thrown into the hands of a conqueror irritated by too obstinate a resistance;[c] the latter were brought from foreign parts, as Thrace, Phrygia, Caria, and the countries inhabited by barbarians.[d]

Throughout almost all Greece the number of slaves infinitely surpassed that of the citizens.[e] In nearly every republic the greatest exertions were necessary to keep them in subjection.[f] The Lacedæmonians, by having recourse to rigorous measures to force them to obedience, often compelled them to revolt; and the Athenians, wishing to secure their fidelity by gentler methods, rendered them insolent.[g] It was estimated that there were about four hundred thousand slaves in Attica.[h]

At Athens slaves were not allowed to imitate the freemen in any matter, or to attempt a similarity in their dress or behaviour. In cities where the hair was suffered to grow to a great length, it was considered an unpardonable offence in slaves to wear long hair:

> Ἔπειτα δῆτα δοῦλος ὢν κόμην ἔχεις.[i]
> Then you, disdaining your own state, affect
> To wear long hair like freemen.

The form in which they cut their hair was called θρὶξ ἀνδραποδώδης, from which, however, they were allowed to deviate if they obtained their liberty; and as slaves were generally rude and ignorant, the phrase ἔχειν τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τρίχας was applied to a dull stupid person.[k] The coats of freemen were ἀμφιμάσχαλοι, made with two sleeves; those of slaves were ἑτερομάσχαλοι, made only with one sleeve.[l] Slaves were prohibited from perfuming themselves with sweet odours, which were allowed only to persons of higher birth and condition;[m] and they were not permitted to plead for themselves, or to be witnesses in any cause.[n] It was customary, however, to extort confession from them by torture, which being often so violent as to occasion death, he who demanded a slave for this purpose (which was called προκαλεῖν, and the action πρόκλησις), was obliged to give security that he would indemnify his master if the slave should die.[o] They were not permitted to worship some of the deities; and they were often reduced to obedience by corporal punishment and the most severe treatment.

It was considered as presumption and a degradation of the free-born citizens to designate slaves by a name common to the Athenians; and if any man called his slaves by the names of celebrated characters,[p] or of any of the solemn games,[q] it was deemed an unpardonable offence. They were usually distinguished by the appellation of their native country, or by other familiar names,[r] which were

[c] Thucyd. lib. iii. cap. 68.
[d] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 675.
[e] Athen. lib. vi.
[f] Plato de Leg. lib. vi.
[g] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen.
[h] Athen. lib. vi.
[i] Aristophan. Avibus.
[k] Eustath. in Il. A′.
[l] Pollux On. lib. vii. cap. 13.
[m] Plutarch. Solone.
[n] Terentius, Phorm. act. ii. scen. i.
[o] Demosth. Orat. adv. Pantænet. Aristophan. Ran. act. ii. scen. vi.
[p] Alex. ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 20.
[q] Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. xiii.
[r] Strabo, lib. vii.

words chiefly of two syllables;[r] and hence when slaves had obtained their freedom, they changed their servile denominations for others which consisted of more syllables.

Particular care was observed that the slaves did not wear arms, as their number, which was nearly twenty times more than that of the citizens, might have rendered them dangerous to the state.[t] Sometimes, however, in cases of extreme danger, when no other means of saving the republic remained, they were permitted to be armed in defence of their masters and themselves.[u] Sometimes during war slaves deserted to the enemy, which was called *αὐτομολεῖν*,[v] and which, excepting theft, was the most common offence that they committed; but if they were taken, they suffered severely for their desire of freedom, being bound fast to a wheel, and unmercifully beaten with whips:

> Ἡ δοῦλος αὐτομολεῖν παρεσκευασμένος,
> Ἐπὶ τροχοῦ χ' ἕλκοιτο μαστιγούμενος.[w]
> If wretched slaves, harass'd and wearied out
> Under the thraldom of dire servitude,
> Should but anticipate sweet freedom's joys
> And make revolt to their more gentle foes,
> Fast to a wheel they're bound with cords and whipt.

The same punishment was inflicted on them for theft, to which they were very much addicted.

> Non furtum feci, nec fugi, *si mihi dicat*
> *Servus*, habes pretium, loris non ureris, *aio*.[x]
> Suppose my slave should say, *I neither fly*
> *Nor steal: Well, thou hast thy reward*, say I;
> *Thou art not scourg'd*. Creech.

Sometimes they were racked on the wheel to extort confession, when they were suspected of any villainous design.[y] The usual manner of correcting slaves for an offence was to scourge them with whips; and hence a person guilty of a crime that deserved punishment, was said *μαστιγιᾶν*, to stand in need of stripes. Sometimes, to prevent their escape, they were tied fast to a pillar during the flagellation.[z]

Slaves convicted of any notorious offence were condemned to grind at the mill, which was a fatiguing and laborious operation at that time, when grain was beaten into meal;[a] and besides the labor to which they were thus subjected, they were punished with scourges, and sometimes, if the offence was very great, till they died, or as long as they lived.[b] These mills were generally termed *μύλωνες*, which, on account of the cruelties there exercised on slaves, was considered *οὐκ εὔφημος*, an unlucky or inauspicious word, and therefore called *σιτοποιϊκὸς οἶκος*. Several names were given to mills from the different sorts of grain ground in them, as Κονδροκόπια or Κονδροκοπεῖα, Ἀλφιτεῖα, Ζώτεια, Ζώντεια or Ζωντεῖα, and Ζητρεῖα, whence the word *ζατρεύειν*, to examine on the rack, as was usual in that place.[c]

[r] Demosth. Orat. *περὶ Στεφάν.*
[t] Virgil. Æn. lib. ix. v. 545.
[u] Pausanias; Plutarch. Cleomene.
[v] Aristoph. Equit.
[w] Aristoph. Pace.
[x] Horatius Epist. lib. i.
[y] Aristoph.
[z] Pollux Onomast. lib. iii. cap. 8.
[a] Cicero de Orat.
[b] Terentius, Andria.
[c] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 8. Hesychius, Suidas, Etymolog.

It was also customary to mark slaves on the forehead, or to stigmatize them in the offending member.[d] The mode of stigmatizing was to burn the member with a red-hot iron, which was marked with certain letters, till a fair impression appeared, and then to pour ink into the marks, in order that the inscription might be more conspicuous. Those who were thus treated were called στιγματίαι and στίγωνες,[e] or Attagæ, because that bird was ποικιλόπτερος, of divers colors;[f] and they were also denominated inscripti,[g] and literati.[h] But though this was accounted by the Athenians the greatest mark of infamy that could be inflicted, it was considered by the Thracians and others as a badge of honor which belonged exclusively to persons of rank and distinction.[i]

Slaves were treated with more kindness at Athens than in other places; and if they were grievously oppressed, they were allowed to flee for sanctuary to the temple of Theseus, from which it was sacrilege to force them.[k] In that case they required to be transferred to the service of a less rigorous master,[l] and sometimes were so fortunate as to be able to withdraw themselves from the yoke of the tyrant who oppressed them.[m] Those who had been barbarously treated by their masters might commence against them a suit at law, which was called ὕβρεως δίκη, or αἰκίας δίκη: the former was against such as had attempted to violate their chastity; the latter against those who had employed too much severity in punishing them; and if it appeared that the complaint was well founded, the master was obliged to sell his slave.[n] Nor did the laws protect them against their own masters only; but if any other citizen injured them, they were allowed to vindicate themselves by a course of law.[o]

Besides the power of freeing themselves from the injurious treatment of tyrannical masters, slaves at Athens possessed many advantages of which their brethren in other places were deprived; and we are told that the condition of an Athenian slave was preferable to that of a free denizen in some cities of Greece.[p] They were permitted to acquire estates for themselves, and paid only a small annual tribute to their masters; and if they could amass as much private property as would purchase their ransom, their masters could not prevent them from buying their liberty.[q] Sometimes, if they had been faithful and diligent in their service, their masters would voluntarily dismiss them; and if they had performed any useful action to the commonwealth, the state commonly rewarded them with liberty. Such of them as were allowed to fight for the republic, were seldom left in the condition of slaves, lest the remembrance of their former servitude should induce them to revolt to the enemy, or to excite sedition at home; or

[d] Galen. lib. vi.
[e] Poll. ibid.
[f] Aristoph. Avibus.
[g] Plinius lib. xviii. cap. 3.
[h] Plautus. Aristophan. Plutarch. Pericle.
[i] Herodotus lib. v. Claud. lib. i. in Rufin.
[k] Pollux lib. vii. cap. 12. Plutarch. Theseo.
[l] Plutarch. de Superst.
[m] Demosth. in Mid. Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. vi.
[n] Pollux lib. vii. cap. 2.
[o] Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. vi.
[p] Demosthenes Philip. iii. Plautus, Sticho.
[q] Plautus, Casina.

for the purpose of animating them in opposing the enemies of Athens. Certain it is, that those who in any emergency of the state took arms in support of the republic, seldom failed in obtaining their freedom.[r]

Slaves, so long as they were under the government of a master, were called *οἰκέται*; but after they obtained their freedom they were denominated *δοῦλοι*, and were only obliged to the performance of some grateful acknowledgments and small services,[s] similar to those required from the *μέτοικοι*, to whom they were in some respects inferior. They seldom, indeed, arrived at the dignity of citizens, especially if they had obtained their freedom from a private person, and not on a public account; but if they had acquired their liberty by services performed to the state, they were held in greater repute, and were sometimes advanced to the honor of citizens, though not without the opposition or disapprobation of many.[t] Hence was enacted a law that prohibited public criers from proclaiming the freedom of a slave in the theatre, which was a place of public concourse, and frequented by persons of other nations, who on that account might less respect the privileges of Athens.[u] The *ἀπελεύθεροι*, or slaves made free, were called *νόθοι*, bastards, or illegitimate citizens.[v]

A tribute of twelve drachms and three oboli was exacted from every one who obtained his freedom.[w] They were also obliged to choose a *προστάτης*, who was to be the master from whose service they had been released. If they behaved themselves improperly towards him, he had power to arrest them and carry them before a judge, by whom, if they were found guilty, they were deprived of their liberty and reduced to their former condition; but if the judge acquitted them, they became *τελέως ἐλεύθεροι*, entirely free from the master. This action was termed *ἀποστασίου δίκη*, which was the name also given to the complaints of slaves and freed-men against their masters and patrons, when they were not treated with the humanity due to their respective conditions. As the public business of those who had obtained their freedom was, like that of the *μέτοικοι*, to be managed by proxies, they had also the privilege of choosing an *ἐπίτροπος*, or curator, who, if his client received any injury from his patron, was to defend him, to appeal for him, and to plead his cause before the judges, who from respect to the patron were appointed out of his own tribe.[x]

The Athenian slaves cultivated the lands, conducted the manufactures, worked the mines, labored at the quarries, and performed all the domestic offices in private houses: for the law prohibited the maintenance of idle slaves; and those who, born in a servile condition, were unable to apply themselves to laborious occupations, endeavoured to become useful by their address, their talents, or application to the arts.[y] In proof of this it is necessary to mention only Æsop the author of the Fables, Alcman the poet, and Epictetus the

[r] Aristophanes Ranis act. i. scen. i.
[s] Chrysippus de Concordia lib. ii.
[t] Aristophan. Ranis act. ii. scen. vi.
[u] Æschines Orat. in Ctesiphontem.
[v] Nonnus in Nazianzeni Στηλιτ. α'.
[w] Harpocrat.
[x] Suidas; Harpocrat.
[y] Ulpian. in Mid.

famous moralist, whose poverty and servile condition are noticed in the following lines:

Δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην, καὶ σώματι πηρὸς,
Καὶ πενίην Ἰρὸς, καὶ φίλος Ἀθανάτοις.

To me the gods their kindest gifts dispense,
Though maim'd, a vassal, and in indigence.

Some manufacturers employed upwards of fifty slaves,[z] from whom they derived a considerable profit. In some of these works one slave would clear for his master a hundred,[a] and in others a hundred and twenty drachms per annum.[b] They frequently enriched their masters, and themselves also by retaining part of their earnings; and of the private property which they were thus permitted to amass, they employed some in presents to their masters on festive occasions, as when a child was born, or a marriage took place in the family.[c] The profits which they accumulated enabled them to live in the most unbecoming luxury, and to unite the insolence of arrogant pretensions with sordidness of sentiment.[d]

Slavery was occasioned by different means: first from poverty, by which men unable to subsist themselves, and perhaps greatly in debt, were obliged to forego their freedom and yield themselves slaves to such as could maintain them, or sell themselves to their creditors, and pay by service what they could not pay in money. Secondly, vast numbers were reduced to slavery by the chance of war, by which the conquered became wholly at the disposal of their conquerors. Thirdly, by the treachery of the traders in slaves, who frequently stole persons of birth and education and sold them. The Thessalians were notorious for this kind of villainy.[e] If, however, any person was convicted of betraying a free man, he was severely punished, unless it were his daughter or sisters, whom, when found guilty of fornication, the laws permitted to be sold for slaves.[f]

At Athens, several places in the forum were appropriated for the sale of slaves. On the first day of every month the merchants, called ἀνδραποδοκάπηλοι, brought slaves into the market and exposed them to sale,[g] the crier standing upon a stone, denominated πρατὴρ λίθος, and assembling the people;[h] and hence Cicero designates the tribunes *emptos de lapide*, because they were suspected to have been hired for the management of a certain matter.[i] The slaves were heaped together like the vilest merchandize; and when a purchaser appeared, the merchants obliged them to dance in a circle to enable him to judge of their powers and agility.[k] The price they fetched varied according to their talents. Some were valued at three hundred drachms; some at six hundred;[l] and several sold for much more.

At Athens, when a slave was first carried home, an entertainment was provided to welcome him to his new service, and upon his head

[z] Plato de Rep. lib. ix. Demosth. in Aphob. i.
[a] Demosth. ibid.
[b] Æchin. in Timon.
[c] Terentius Phormio act. i. scen. i.
[d] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen.
[e] Aristophan. Plut. act. ii. scen. v.
[f] Plutarch. Solone.
[g] Aristophan. Σχ. Equit.
[h] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 8.
[i] Orat. in Pisonem.
[k] Menand. in Harpocrat. in Κύκλοι.
[l] Demosth. in Aphob. i.

were poured certain sweetmeats, which on that account were called καταχύσματα.[m] The Thracians purchased their slaves with salt; hence they were called πρὸς ἁλὸς ἠγορασμένα, bought with salt; and ἁλώνητα δουλάρια signified slaves purchased at a very low rate.[n] The Chians are reported to have been the first that gave money for slaves,[o] who had previously been bartered for other commodities; and Homer's heroes are frequently said to have exchanged their captives for provisions.[p] In the reign of Adrian masters were first prohibited from putting their slaves to death.

CHAP. V.

Magistrates.

According to the laws of Solon, no man, who was not possessed of a considerable estate, could bear the office of a magistrate; but by the law of Aristides the lowest of the Athenians were admitted to a share in the government; and every free citizen was rendered capable of attaining the highest preferments.[q] Such offices, however, as might affect the safety of the state, were very rarely granted to any but the most distinguished citizens.[r]

On the last four days of the year, the people assembled to nominate to the different offices of the magistracy.[s] The places disposed of at that time were very numerous. The persons who were appointed to them underwent an examination before the Heliastæ,[t] and gave an account of themselves and their past lives before certain judges in the forum, the place selected for the examination, which was called δοκιμασία.[u] Nor was this considered sufficient; for though at this time they passed the examination with credit, yet in the first ordinary κυρία, assembly, they were a second time brought to the trial; and the people were asked whether they had any complaints to allege against their magistrates.[v] On the slightest accusation the chiefs of the assembly proceeded to put the matter to the vote; and if the question was decided against the accused magistrate, he was removed from his office and brought before a court of justice, the determination of which was final.[w] Those magistrates who had been appointed by lots, and who, after their election, had been deprived of their office, were prohibited from attending the public assemblies, and from addressing the people.[x] It was a capital crime for any man to enter on the office of a magistrate whilst unable to pay his debts; and all actions of this nature were heard before the Thesmothetæ.[y]

[m] Aristoph. Pluto; Pollux lib. iii. cap. 8.

[n] Eustathius.

[o] Cœl. Rhod. Antiq. lib. xxv. cap. 9.

[p] Iliad. H'. v. 472.

[q] Thucyd. lib. ii. cap. 37. Plutarch. Aristide.

[r] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. Plutarch. Phocione.

[s] Æschin. in Ctesiph. Suidas in 'Αρχαι. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demosth. adv. Androt.

[t] Æschin. ibid. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 44. Harpocr. et Hesych. in Δοκιμ.

[u] Lysiæ Orat. in Evandr. Æschin. contra Timarch.

[v] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 87.

[w] Harpocr. et Suid. in Καταχειρ.

[x] Demosth. in Aristogit.

[y] Demosth. Leptin. et Timocr.

The Athenian magistrates were divided into three sorts,[z] distinguished by the different methods of their election.

1. Χειροτονητοὶ were such as received their dignity from the people, convened in a lawful assembly, which was held in the Pnyx; and they were so called from the manner of election, in which the people voted by *holding up their hands*.

2. Κληρωτοὶ were those who owed their promotion to lots, which were drawn by the Thesmothetæ in the temple of Theseus. It must, however, be observed, that no person was permitted to try his fortune by lot, unless he had been first approved by the people, who reserved to themselves the power of appointing any one without referring the decision to lots. The manner of casting lots was as follows: the name of every candidate was inscribed on a tablet of brass, and put into an urn with beans; and the choice fell on those whose tablets were drawn out with white beans. If any man put more than one tablet into the urn, he suffered capital punishment.[a]

3. Αἱρετοὶ were extraordinary officers, appointed by particular tribes or boroughs, to superintend any public works.

When their offices expired, the magistrates were obliged to give an account of their management to the γραμματεῖς, Notaries, and the Logistæ; and this was called εὐθύνη. If any man neglected to give such account, the people were forbidden by an express law to present him with a crown, which was the usual reward of those who had gained themselves honor and reputation by their careful and prudent management of the public affairs. Till their accounts were passed, they were also not permitted to accept any other office or place of trust, to travel into foreign countries, or to dispose of their estates, which were to remain entire for the purpose of satisfying the state in case they should be found to have embezzled the public revenues.[b]

The Λογισταὶ, Logistæ, who examined the accounts, were ten in number. If any magistrate refused to have his accounts inspected, an action, termed ἀλογίου δίκη, was preferred against him.[c] If any dispute existed, it was determined by proper judges. If the dispute regarded money, the Logistæ were themselves empowered to decide it; if affairs which belonged to the popular assembly, to that assembly it was referred; if it regarded the committal of injuries, it was brought before the judges who took cognizance of such causes.[d] Every man was permitted to offer his complaint, and the proclamation of the public crier was, Τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; *Who will accuse?*[e] The time limited for complaints was thirty days, after which no magistrate could be accused. If any person, against whom a complaint had been preferred, neglected to appear at the time appointed, he was summoned to defend himself before the senate of five hundred; and if he refused to appear before that body, he was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.

[z] Æschin. Orat. in Ctesiph. Ulpian. in Androtiana.

[a] Demosth. Orat. in Bœotum de Nomine.

[b] Suidas; Hesych. Æschin. de Ement. Legat. et in Ctesiphont.

[c] Hesychius.

[d] Ulpianus in Demosth. Orat. de Falsâ Legat. Pollux.

[e] Æschin. Orat. in Ctesiphontem.

Nor were the magistrates exempted from being brought to trial during the time they were in office; for the nine archons, in every ordinary and stated *κυρία*, assembly of the people, inquired whether the magistrates faithfully discharged their several duties. If any of them was accused, the crier proclaimed that those who thought the accusation just should hold up their hands; which action was called *καταχειροτονία*. Afterwards, the rest of the assembly, to whom the magistrate appeared innocent, held up their hands, which was termed *ἀποχειροτονία*. The votes were then numbered on both sides; and the majority decided the matter.

The day on which the magistrates entered on their offices was the first of Hecatombæon, the first month of the Athenian calendar; and it was a solemn festival, which, from the occasion, was denominated *Εἰσητηρία*, and was celebrated with every demonstration of mirth and joy. Sacrifices were also offered to the gods by the senators and other magistrates; and prayers were made for the prosperity of the city, in the chapel of Jupiter and Minerva the Counsellors.[f]

CHAP. VI.

The Nine Archons.

The first and most important of the magistracies was that of the Archontes, Archons, or rulers, composed of nine of the principal citizens, who were elected by lots. Their nomination was preceded, or immediately followed, by two examinations, one of which was in the senate-house, and was called *ἀνάκρισις*; the other was in the forum before the Heliastæ, and was named *δοκιμασία*.[g] The questions proposed to them in the senate were, Whether they were descended from ancestors who had been citizens of Athens for three generations? To what tribe and hundred they belonged, and whether they were related to Apollo Patrius and Jupiter Herceus?[h] Whether they had paid a proper veneration to their parents, had borne arms in the service of their country, and were possessed of a competent estate?[i] and, lastly, whether they were *ἀφελεῖς*, without any personal defect?[k] However, in later periods of the republic, when the glory of Athens was in the decline, illegitimate citizens, and even foreigners, who had been admitted into the city, were created Archons.[l]

Before they were admitted to their office, the Archons took an oath that they would observe the laws, administer justice impartially, and accept no presents, or, if they received any, that they would dedicate a statue of gold of equal weight with themselves to the Delphian Apollo.[m] This oath was administered on the originals of the laws themselves, and was first taken in the portico called *βασίλειος στοὰ*, or

[f] Suidas; Ulpian. in Median. Antiphon. Orat. de Choreuta.

[g] Æschin. in Ctesiph. Demosth. in Leptin. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 86.

[h] Aristophan. Nubibus et Avibus.

[i] Demosth. in Eubul. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.

[k] Dicæarchus contra Aristogit.

[l] Xiphilinus Hadriano; Phlegon Tralianus; Plutarch. Sympos. lib. i. prob. 10. et lib. x. problem. ultimo.

[m] Plutarch. Solone; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 85 et 86. Plato.

πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, at the stone tribunal, in the forum, and was repeated afterwards in the citadel. The principal motive, however, which disposed them inviolably to observe what they had sworn, was that, on going out of office, they had hopes, after another examination, of being admitted into the senate of the Areopagus, the highest object of ambition to a virtuous mind.[n]

The Archons were invested not only with the superintendence of the police, but were also empowered to receive, in the first instance, all public informations, and the complaints of oppressed citizens. They possessed the entire power of punishing malefactors with death. They had a joint commission for appointing the δικασταὶ and ἀθλοθέται by lots, electing one from each tribe; for constituting the ἵππαρχοι, φύλαρχοι, and στρατηγοὶ; and for enquiring into the conduct and management of the other magistrates, and deposing those who by the suffrages of the people were declared unworthy of their office.[o]

As a recompense for their services they were exempted from the payment of taxes for building ships, an immunity never granted to other citizens. They wore upon their heads garlands of myrtle; and whoever insulted them by any act of violence, or improper language, when they had the crown of myrtle,[p] the symbol of their authority, upon their heads, was excluded from most of the privileges of a citizen, sentenced to pay a fine, or punished with ἀτιμία, infamy, as guilty of a disrespect not only to the persons injured, but to the whole commonwealth.[q]

The first three Archons had each a particular tribunal where they sat, accompanied by two assessors chosen by themselves.[r] The last six, called Thesmothetæ, formed only one and the same jurisdiction. The Archons had functions and prerogatives common to them all; and others that were peculiar to a single Archon.

Ἄρχων, so called by way of eminence, was chief of the nine, and was sometimes denominated ἐπώνυμος, from his name appearing at the head of the acts and decrees passed during his year of office, and the year by that means taking its name from him. His jurisdiction extended to both civil and ecclesiastical affairs. It appertained to his office to determine all causes between married people;[s] concerning wives delivered of posthumous children;[t] wills and testaments, dowries and legacies; to take care of orphans, and provide tutors and guardians for them; to hear the complaints of those who had been injured by their neighbours, and punish persons addicted to drunkenness; and to take the first cognizance of certain public actions, such as εἰσαγγελίαι, φάσεις, ἐνδείξεις, ἐφηγήσεις. He kept a court of judicature in the Odeum, where he heard and determined causes regarding victuals and other necessaries. It was his duty also to appoint ἐπιμεληταὶ, curatores, who were to provide for the celebration of the feasts called Διονύσια and Θαργήλια, and some other solemnities; and

[n] Plutarch. Solone; Id. Pericle; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 118.

[o] Idem lib. viii. cap. 9.

[p] Idem lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 86. Hesychius in Μυρρίν.

[q] Demosthenes in Midiana.

[r] Æschines adv. Tim. Demosth. in Neær. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 92.

[s] Plutarch. Alcibiade.

[t] Demosth. in Macart. Id. in Locrit. et in Pantæn.

to regulate stage plays, and procure for them singers, choristers, and other necessaries.[u] He was punished with death, if convicted of drunkenness during the administration of his office.

Βασιλεὺς, or king-archon, was the name of the second Archon,[v] who had a court of judicature in the royal portico, where he decided all disputes which happened among the priests and sacred families, as the Ceryces, Eteobutadæ, &c. to whom certain offices in the celebration of divine worship belonged by inheritance.[w] Those accused of impiety, or of profaning the mysteries or temples, were brought before him.[x] It was his office to assist in the celebration of the Eleusinian and Lenæan festivals,[y] and of all those in which they ran races with torches in their hands, as the Panathenæa, Hephæstia, and Promethea; and to offer public sacrifices for the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth. It was requisite that his wife, who was termed Βασίλισσα, should be a legitimate citizen of Athens, and a virgin.[z] He had some concern in secular affairs; and disputes regarding inanimate things were brought before him. He also took accusations of murder, which he referred to the Areopagites, among whom he had a right of suffrage; but, during the trial, he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which was one of the badges of his office.[a]

Πολέμαρχος had under his care all the strangers and sojourners in Athens, over whom he exercised the same authority as the ἄρχων used over the citizens.[b] It appertained to his office to offer a solemn sacrifice to Enyalius, who was Mars or one of his attendants, and another to Diana, surnamed Ἀγροτέρα, from an Athenian borough; to celebrate the funeral rites of the patriot Harmodius; to appoint games in honor of those who had fallen in war;[c] and to take care that the children of those who had lost their lives in the service of their country should be maintained from the public treasury.

But as these three magistrates were frequently, by reason of their youth, not sufficiently skilled in the laws and customs of their country, it was usual for each of them to choose two persons, whose age and experience might direct them on every occasion, and who were called πάρεδροι, assessors.[d] These sat on the bench with the Archons, and were obliged to undergo the same examinations in the Senate-house and the forum as the other magistrates, and to give an account in what manner they had conducted themselves in their respective employments, after their offices had expired.

Θεσμοθέται was the name given to the other six Archons.[e] They received complaints against persons guilty of false accusations, of calumny, bribery, or impiety; but those against impiety were delivered in writing, and the accused were prosecuted before the Thesmothetæ, who, however, referred all causes of great importance to the decision

[u] Pollux Onomastic. Lysias in Alcibiadem; Demosth. in Macar. Suidas; Harpocrat.
[v] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 85.
[w] Idem ibid. seg. 90.
[x] Idem ibid. Demosth. in Neæram.
[y] Pollux ut supra; Harpocrat.
[z] Demosth. in Neæram.
[a] Demosth. in Locritum et in Neæram.
[b] Schol. Aristophan. ad Vespas.
[c] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 91.
[d] Pollux ibid. seg. 92. Harpocrat. in Πάρεδ.
[e] Pollux ibid.

of the people.[f] Disputes between citizens, strangers, sojourners, and merchants, were brought before them; and they were appointed to guard the rights of the people, and, as their name implied, to vindicate the laws.[g] They publicly examined several magistrates, and took the votes in the assemblies.[h] They ratified all public contracts; appointed days on which the judges were to sit and hear causes in their several courts of judicature;[i] took care that such laws only should be established as were conducive to the safety and prosperity of the state; and prosecuted those who attempted to mislead the ignorant and the unwary into any act injurious to the commonwealth. They were accustomed to go their rounds during the night for the purpose of maintaining order and tranquillity in the city.[k]

Εὔθυνοι were ten officers appointed to assist the Archons, to examine the accounts of the magistrates, and to impose a fine on those who had been guilty of embezzling the public treasure, or of injuring the commonwealth in any way by their mal-administration. They were sometimes called Ἐξεταστὰι and Συνήγοροι; and some think them to be the same as the Λογισταὶ; but others are of a different opinion.[l]

CHAP. VII.

Other Magistrates.

Οἱ ἕνδεκα, the eleven, were so called from their number, and were elected from the ten tribes, one from each; and to them was added a γραμματεὺς, registrar, to complete the number. Sometimes they were called νομοφύλακες, keepers of the laws, from the nature of their office, which consisted in superintending the execution of malefactors, and taking charge of such as were committed to the public prison. They had also power to arrest persons suspected of theft and robbery, and, if they confessed themselves guilty, to put them to death; but, if not, they were obliged to prosecute them in a judicial manner.

Φύλαρχοι were magistrates who presided over the Athenian tribes, one of which was allotted to each of them. Afterwards, this name was peculiar to a military command; and the governors of tribes were denominated ἐπιμεληταὶ φυλῶν. Their office consisted in taking care of the public treasure that belonged to each tribe, in managing all its concerns, and in convening the people whenever occasion required an assembly of the whole body.

Φυλοβασιλεῖς seem to have held the same office in most matters, with respect to particular tribes, as the βασιλεὺς had with regard to the commonwealth. They were elected from the εὐπατρίδαι, nobility; and they had the care of public sacrifices, and other religious cere-

[f] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 87 et 88.
[g] Harpocrat. in Θεσμοθ. Schol. Aristophan. ad Ἐκκλησ. v. 290.
[h] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[i] Pollux ut supra.
[k] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid.
[l] Aristot. Polit. lib. vi. cap. ult.

monies peculiar to their respective tribes, and held their court in the portico called Βασίλειον, royal, and sometimes in the Βουκολεῖον.

Φρατρίαρχοι and Τριττύαρχοι had the same power in the several φρατρίαι and τριττύες over which they presided, as the φύλαρχος exercised over the whole tribe.

Δήμαρχοι held the same offices in the δῆμοι, boroughs; managed their revenues, from which they paid all the duties required of them; assembled the people in the boroughs under their jurisdiction, all whose names were entered in a register; and presided at the election of senators and other magistrates chosen by lots. Sometimes they were called ναύκραροι, and the boroughs ναυκραρίαι, because each of them was obliged, besides two horsemen, to furnish one ship for the public service.

Ληξίαρχοι were six principal officers, who were assisted by thirty others in imposing fines on those who did not attend the public assemblies, and in taking the votes of such as were present. They also compelled those who were employed in the market to leave their own affairs, and attend to the public business; and in doing this they were assisted by the τοξόται, who were inferior officers or servants, and who lived in tents in the forum, and afterwards in the Areopagus, and amounted to one thousand in number in the city of Athens. The τοξόται were nearly similar to the Roman lictors, or our sheriffs' officers, and received their name from τόξον, a bow, the arms which they commonly carried with them, in like manner as the guards of kings were denominated δορυφόροι. Sometimes they were called δημόσιοι ἐπόπται from their offices; sometimes πευσίνιοι from Peusinus, an Athenian who either instituted or regulated this office; and not unfrequently Σκύθαι from Scythia, of which country many of them were natives.[m] Besides the employments already mentioned, the Lexiarchi kept the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, or λεύκωμα, public register, in which were inscribed the names of those citizens who were of age to enter on their paternal inheritance, called λῆξις.

Νομοφύλακες were officers, whose business consisted in observing that neither the magistrates nor the people made any innovation in the laws, and in punishing the stubborn and disobedient.[n] In public assemblies, therefore, they had seats with the πρόεδροι, that they might be ready to oppose any one who should act contrary to the laws and received customs, or promote any thing against the public good. As a mark of their office they wore a white ribband in the solemn games and public shows, and had chairs erected for them opposite to the archons.

Νομοθέται were one thousand in number, and were commonly chosen by lot from the judges in the court Heliæa. Their office did not consist, as the name would seem to imply, in enacting new decrees by their own authority, but in inspecting the old laws; and if they found any of them useless, prejudicial to the state, or contradictory to others, they caused them to be abrogated by an act of the people. They were also to take care that no man ploughed, or dug deep

[m] Aristophanes ejusque Scholiast. Acharn. et Thesmoph.

[n] Cicero de Leg. lib. iii. Columella de Re Rust. lib. xii. cap. 3.

ditches, under the Pelasgian wall, to apprehend the offender, and send him to the archon.

CHAP. VIII.

Revenue.

THE revenues of Athens have been divided into the four following kinds :—

1. Τέλη denoted those revenues which arose from lands, mines, woods, and other public possessions appropriated to the use of the commonwealth ;[o] from the tributes paid by the sojourners and freed servants ;[p] and from the customs imposed on certain arts and trades, and particularly on merchants for the exportation and importation of their goods.[q]

2. Φόροι were the annual payments exacted from all tributary cities; and these payments were first levied by the Athenians after the defeat of Xerxes, and were intended as contributions for carrying on the war, in case the Persian monarch had attempted another invasion. The first collector of this tax was Aristides, who assessed every person in each town or city according to his ability, and who thus raised the sum of four hundred and sixty talents.[r] At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians received from their confederates six hundred talents ;[s] and after the death of Pericles this tax amounted to one thousand and three hundred talents.[t]

3. Εἰσφοραὶ were taxes imposed on the citizens, as well as on sojourners and freed servants, by the assembly and senate, for the purpose of defraying extraordinary charges occasioned by long and unsuccessful wars, or by other causes.

4. Τιμήματα were fines and amercements, all of which were deposited in the exchequer, excepting a tenth part which was given to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other gods, and to the heroes called ἐπώνυμοι.[u]

Though the revenues of the republic sometimes amounted to the sum of two thousand talents annually,[v] yet they were not always sufficient to defray the expenses of the state ;[w] and recourse was frequently obliged to be had to free gifts and forced contributions. Sometimes the senate declared to the general assembly the pressing necessities of the state; on hearing which some endeavoured to make their escape, and others kept a profound silence, while the reproaches of the people forced them to blush either for their avarice or their poverty. At length others declared aloud the sum which they were willing to contribute to the service of the republic, and received such applause that the merit of their generosity might be doubted.[x]

[o] Andocid. de Myster. Xenophon. Rat. Redit. Demosth. in Eubulid.

[p] Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ.

[q] Demosth. in Neær. Id. in Locrit. Theophrast. Charact. cap. 23.

[r] Plutarch. Aristide.

[s] Plutarch. Pericle; Thucyd.

[t] Plutarch. Aristide ; Andocid. de Pace.

[u] Demosth. in Timocrit. Id. in Macart.

[v] Aristophan. in Vesp. v. 685.

[w] Demosth. in Timocr.

[x] Theophrast. Charact. cap. 22. Plutarch. Alcibiade.

Sometimes each of the ten tribes, and all the citizens that composed it, were taxed in proportion to their property; and an individual who had possessions within the districts of different tribes, paid in several places.[y] The collection of this tax was often attended with great difficulties. At first, the person who failed in his payment might be imprisoned; but this practice was abolished as contrary to the nature of the government; and if he neglected to pay after a certain time, his goods were seized and sold by auction.[z] There was a law, which, according to the number of the tribes, divided into ten classes of one hundred and twenty persons each, all the citizens who possessed lands, manufactories, or money employed in trade, or placed in the hands of bankers. As these divided among them almost all the riches of Attica, they were obliged to pay all the taxes, and especially to maintain and increase the naval force of the republic. Each of them being only obliged to furnish his contingent every other year,[a] the twelve hundred persons liable to contribute were subdivided into two great classes of six hundred each, of which three hundred were richer than the other three hundred. The former were answerable for the latter, and made advances in cases of emergency.[b]

When an armament was to be fitted out, each of the ten tribes levied in its district the same number of talents as there were gallies to be equipped, and demanded them from the same number of companies, composed sometimes of sixteen persons liable to contribute.[c] These sums, when collected, were distributed to the trierarchs, or captains of the ships,[d] two of whom were appointed to each galley, and served six months each.[e] They provided for the subsistence of the crew;[f] for, in general, the republic furnished only the rigging and sailors.[g] But as this arrangement was found unequal and defective, the collection of this tax was rendered more easy and equitable by the following proceeding:—every citizen, whose fortune amounted to ten talents, furnished the state with a galley; if he possessed twenty talents, he furnished two; but however rich, no more was required of him than three gallies and a shallop. Those, whose property was less than ten talents, joined in contributing a galley.[h] This tax, from which the archons alone were exempted,[i] was proportioned, as nearly as possible, to the abilities of the citizens, and was founded on the principle that taxes ought to be imposed only on persons of property.[k] If any one gave information against a person that he was less taxed, though more wealthy, than himself, and this charge was admitted, or substantiated upon enquiry, the person accused was substituted for the informant in the list of contributors, and obliged to exchange his property for that of his accuser.[l]

The greater part of the duties were farmed, and put up by auction

[y] Demosth. in Polycl.
[z] Thucyd. lib. iii. cap. 18. Demosth. in Androt. Id. in Timocr.
[a] Isæus de Success. Apollod. Demosth. in Leptin. Idem in Polycl. passim.
[b] Demosth. de Class. Id. in Phœnip. Ulpian. in Olynth. ii.
[c] Demosth. de Cor.
[d] Id. in Mid. Ulpian. ibid.
[e] Demosth. in Polycl.
[f] Plutarch. de Gloriâ Athen.
[g] Demosth. in Mid.
[h] Idem de Corona.
[i] Id. in Leptin.
[k] Idem in Androt.
[l] Idem in Philipp. i. Id. in Phœnip.

in a public place, in the presence of ten magistrates, who received the different offers, and assigned them to the best bidder.[m]

CHAP. IX.

Treasurers, &c.

THE persons who had the disposal and management of the public revenue were the following:—

Ἐπιστάτης was elected by lot from the Prytanes, and kept the keys of the treasury. This office was considered as so important, that no person could enjoy it more than once, or longer than one day.[n] He was also keeper of the public seal, and of the keys of the citadel, and was president of the Proedri.

Πωλῆται were ten in number,[o] and, in conjunction with those who were entrusted with the money allowed for shows, were empowered to let out the public revenues, and to sell estates that were confiscated; all which contracts were ratified in the name of their president. It formed also a part of their office to convict those who had not paid the tribute called μετοίκιον, and to sell them by auction. Under the πωλῆται were certain officers called ἑκλογεῖς, that collected the public money for those who had leases of the revenues of the city, and who were denominated τελῶναι. The τελῶναι were persons of credit, and, besides their own bond, were obliged to give other security for the payment of the money due on their leases; and if they failed in payment longer than the ninth Prytanea, they forfeited double the sum, to be paid by themselves or their sureties; and in neglect of this they and their sureties were imprisoned, and their estates confiscated.[p] After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, certain officers called σύνδικοι were created, with power to take cognizance of all complaints which regarded the confiscation of goods.[q]

Ἐπιγραφεῖς were officers that assessed all those who paid taxes and contributions, and who kept the public accounts, and prosecuted such as were in arrears.

Ἀποδέκται were ten general receivers, to whom all the public revenues, contributions, and debts owing to the state, were paid. The senate regulated with them the destination of the sums received,[r] conformably to the decrees of the people. The receivers kept lists of the sums in which the citizens were respectively taxed;[s] and they effaced, in the presence of the senate, the names of those who had paid, and lodged an information before one of the tribunals against those who had not. Disputes, however, arising from the payment of taxes, were commonly decided by them, except in matters of difficulty or

[m] Harpocrat. et Suidas in Πωλητ. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 90.

[n] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 96. Suid. in Ἐπιστάτ. Eustath. in Odys. Γ'. Ulpian. in Androt.

[o] Æschin. in Ctesiph.

[p] Suidas; Ulpianus in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr.

[q] Lysias pro Nicia.

[r] Harpocrat. in Ἀποδέκτ. et in Ἑλληνοτ. Suidas in Ἀποδέκτ. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 97.

[s] Harpocrat. et Suid. ibid. Aristot. de Rep. Athen. lib. vi. cap. 8.

of great importance, which were referred to the courts of judicature.[t]

Ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς was a public notary, who was at first appointed by election and afterwards by lot, and who kept a transcript of the accounts of the ἀποδέκται in order to prevent fraud and mistakes.[u]

Ἑλληνοταμίαι, or ἑλληνοταμιαῖοι, held the same offices in the tributary cities that belonged to the ἀποδέκται in their own jurisdiction.

Πράκτορες were those who received the money due to the city from fines imposed on criminals.

Ταμίαι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν were those who received that part of the fines which was due to Minerva and the other gods. This was done in the presence of the senate. They were ten in number, and were chosen by lot from the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, nobles. They possessed the singular right of reversing the sentences of the judges, in the first instance, and of moderating or remitting the fines, if they considered them as too heavy.[v] They were the same as the κωλακρέται, who received not only the money belonging to the gods from fines, but other incomes designed for civil uses, and in particular the τριώβολα, which were distributed among the judges, and therefore called δικαστικὸς μισθός. They were called κωλακρέται, as if κωλαγρέται, because they were priests, and claimed as their due the relics of sacrifices, among which were the skins and the κωλαί.[w]

Ζητηταὶ were officers appointed on extraordinary occasions to enquire after public debts, when, through the negligence of the receivers, or by any other means, the sums had become considerable, and were likely to be lost.

The public money was divided according to the various uses to which it was applied, and consisted of the three following divisions:—

1. Χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως denoted such as was expended in civil uses.

2. Στρατιωτικὰ was money appropriated to defray the expenses of war.

3. Θεωρικὰ signified such as was consecrated to pious uses, in which were included the expenses of plays, public shows, and festivals, because most of them were celebrated in honor of some god or deceased hero.[x] The money given to the judges, and to the people convened in the public assemblies, was also called by this name.[y] When the expenses of war could not otherwise be defrayed, this money was ordered to be appropriated to that use;[z] but this law was repealed through the influence of Eubulus, who wished to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was decreed that the punishment of death should be inflicted on any one, who should propose to employ the θεωρικὰ χρήματα in the service of the state when exhausted by a long war.[a] The annals of nations do not furnish a second example of such folly.

[t] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 97.
[u] Harpocrat. in Ἀντιγρ.
[v] Lysias pro Milit. Pollux, ibid.
[w] Aristophan. Schol. Avibus, Vespis; Pollux ibid.
[x] Harpocrat. in Θεωρ.
[y] Pollux.
[z] Demosth. in Neær.
[a] Ulpian. in Olynth. i. Liban. Argum. ejusdem Orat.

The following were the officers employed in disbursing the public money:—

Ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως, sometimes called ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν κοινῶν προσόδων, was the principal treasurer, and greatly superior to all the rest both in honor and power. He was created by the people, and continued in office for five years; and after the termination of that period, if he had conducted himself with propriety and integrity, he was commonly re-elected a second and a third time.

Ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως was a person who kept a duplicate of the principal treasurer's account, for the purpose of preventing mistakes, or detecting fraud.

Ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν was the general paymaster of the army.

Ταμίας τῶν θεωρικῶν, or ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, was the person who had the disposal of the θεωρικὰ χρήματα for the uses before mentioned; but the principal and most troublesome part of his office consisted in distributing money to poor citizens to buy seats in the theatre; for the people being anxious to see the public shows, and those who were poor unable to pay the money required for admittance, every man was allowed to demand from the public treasury a sum for that purpose.[b]

CHAP. X.

Other Officers.

Σιτῶναι were so called from their office, which consisted in providing corn for the use of the city; and the ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως was to furnish them with as much money as was sufficient for this purpose. This office was instituted in consequence of Attica producing little corn, and being unable to furnish its inhabitants with necessary provisions; and hence the exportation of corn was prohibited,[c] and those who fetched it from distant countries were forbidden under rigorous penalties to carry it to any other market than that of Athens.[d]

Σιτοφύλακες were fifteen in number, ten of whom officiated in the city, and five in the Piræeus. It was their business to take care that meal and flour were sold at a reasonable price, and to appoint the standard weight of bread.[e] Nearly related to these were the σιτομέτραι, or ἀποδεκταῖοι, whose office consisted in superintending the measures of corn, and seeing that they were just and equal.

Ἀγορανόμοι, sometimes called λογισταὶ,[f] were ten in number, five of whom officiated in the city, and five in the Piræeus. Others say that their number was fifteen, ten of whom belonged to the city, and five to the Piræeus, which was reckoned a third part of Athens. To them a certain toll or tribute was paid by those who brought any thing into the market to sell; and hence Dicæopolis is introduced

[b] Plutarch. Pericle; Harpocrat. in Θεωρ.

[c] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr.

[d] Demosth. in Lacrit. Idem in Phorm. Liban. in Demosth. adv. Timocr.

[e] Harpocrat. et Suid. in Σιτοφύλακες.

[f] Aristophanes Scholiast. in Acharn.

demanding an eel from a Bœotian for the *τέλος τῆς ἀγορᾶς*, toll of the market:

'Αγορᾶς τέλος ταύτην γέπου δώσεις ἐμοὶ,[g]
This thou shalt give me for toll of the market.

They had the care of all saleable commodities in the market, except corn; and they were employed in maintaining order, and in seeing that no man defrauded another, or took any unwarrantable advantage in buying or selling.[h]

Μετρονόμοι were officers who inspected all kinds of measures, except those of corn. Five of them were stationed in the city, and ten in the Piræeus, in which was the greatest mart in Attica.

'Οψονόμοι were officers who took care of the fish market, and who were two or three in number, and elected by the senate.[i] Their name is derived from ὄψον, which, though originally of a more general signification, is frequently appropriated to fish.[k]

'Εμπορίου ἐπιμεληταὶ were officers who belonged to the harbour. They were ten in number, and their principal business was to take care that at least two-thirds of the corn which was brought into the port should be carried into the city;[l] and that no silver was exported by any private person, except by those who traded in corn.[m]

Ναυτοδίκαι, or ὑβριστοδίκαι, took cognizance of such disputes as happened between merchants and mariners, and examined persons, who, being the children of strangers both by the father's and mother's side, had fraudulently inserted their names in the public register, and by that means claimed the privileges of freeborn citizens. This was done on the twenty-sixth day of every month. Not much different from them were the ἐπαγωγεῖς, who heard such causes relating to trade as required dispatch and could not be deferred to the monthly meetings of the ναυτοδίκαι, and who, besides those trials, took cognizance of disputes concerning feasts and public entertainments.[n]

'Αστυνόμοι were officers who took care of the streets, and several other matters, especially such as any way concerned the streets. They were ten in number, five of whom officiated in the city, and five in the Piræeus;[o] but some say that they were fifteen in number. No man served this office more than once.[p]

'Οδοποιοὶ were the surveyors of the roads.

'Επιστάται τῶν ὑδάτων were those who took care of the aqueducts, and other conveyances of water; but the fountains were under the inspection of other officers called κρηνοφύλακες. These last four offices were sometimes comprehended under the name ἀστυνομία.[q]

'Επιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων were persons entrusted with the care and superintendence of all public edifices, except the walls of the city, which were under the peculiar direction and management of officers called τειχοποιοὶ, whose number was commonly the same as

[g] Aristophanes in Acharn. act. i. scen. 4.
[h] Demosth. in Lacrit. Theophrast. Charact. cap. 23.
[i] Athenæus lib. vi. Eustath. ad Iliad. λ'.
[k] Plutarch. Sympos. lib. iv. prob. 4.
[l] Dinarch. et Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in 'Επιμελ. Etym. Mag. ibid.
[m] Demosth. in Lacrit. Harpocrat.
[n] Pollux.
[o] Aristot.
[p] Demosth. Proœm. lxiv.
[q] Aristoteles.

that of the tribes, each of which had the choice of a separate τειχοποιός.

Σωφρονισταὶ were ten in number, and, as their name imports, took care that the young men conducted themselves with temperance and sobriety.[r]

Οἰνόπται were three officers who provided lights and torches at the public entertainments, and who observed that every one drank his proper quantity.[s]

Γυναικονόμοι were also officers who attended at festivals, sacrifices, marriages, and other public solemnities, and who took care that nothing was done contrary to custom.[t]

Γυναικόκοσμοι were officers whose business consisted in regulating the dress of women, according to the dictates of modesty and decency, and who imposed a fine on such as were too fantastical in their dress, which was exposed to public view in the Ceramicus.

Λειτουργοὶ were persons of considerable estates, who, either by their own tribe or by the whole people, were ordered to perform some public duty, or to supply the commonwealth with necessaries at their own expense. Of these were different descriptions. They were elected from twelve hundred of the richest citizens, who were appointed by the people to perform, when required, all the burdensome and expensive offices of the commonwealth; every tribe choosing one hundred and twenty from its own body. This was contrary to Solon's constitution, which, though it obliged every man to serve the public according to his ability, required that two offices should not be held by the same person at one time.[u] These twelve hundred were divided into two parts, one of which consisted of those who were possessed of the greatest estates, and the other of persons of less property. Each of these was divided into ten companies called συμμορίαι, which were distinct bodies, and had separate governors and officers of their own. They were again subdivided into two parts, according to the estates of those who composed them. Thus from the first ten συμμορίαι were appointed three hundred of the most wealthy citizens in Athens, who in every exigency of the state were required to furnish the republic with necessary supplies of money, and, with the rest of the twelve hundred, to perform all extraordinary duties in rotation.[v]

The συμμορίαι were instituted about the third year of the one hundredth olympiad, and in the archonship of Nausinicus. Before that time, they who were unable to bear the expense of any λειτουργία assigned them, were relieved by the ἀντίδοσις, exchange of property, which was a regulation of Solon, and was performed in the manner following:—if any person, appointed to undergo one of the λειτουργίαι, duties, required of every man in every second year,[w] could find another citizen who was richer than himself, and who was free from all duties, the informer was then excused. But if the person thus substituted denied that he was the richer of the two, they exchanged estates in the following manner:—the doors of their houses were

[r] Æschin. in Axiocho.
[s] Athenæus lib. x.
[t] Idem lib. vi.
[u] Demosth. in Leptin.
[v] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. ii. et Aphob. i.
[w] Demosth. in Leptin.

closely shut up and sealed, lest any thing should be carried away. Both the men then took the following oath: Ἀποφανῶ τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀργυρείοις, ὅσα καὶ νόμοι ἀτελῆ πεποιήκασι· "I will truly and faithfully discover all my property, except that which is in the silver mines, and which the laws have exempted from all imposts and taxes." Within three days a full discovery was made of the value of their estates; and this was called ἀπόφασις. This custom was not wholly set aside by the institution of the συμμορίαι; but if any one of the three hundred citizens could give information of another person who was more wealthy than himself, and who had been omitted in the nomination, he was excused.[x] This controversy was called διαδικασία, which by some is interpreted by κρίσις and ἀμφισβήτησις,[y] and by others is confined to the disputes which happened between the χορηγοὶ,[z] who perhaps may be understood in general for the λειτουργοὶ, one remarkable part being put for the whole. It must also be observed, that if any controversy took place between those appointed τριήραρχοι, it was brought before the στρατηγὸς, who had the care of all warlike preparations, and by him referred to the customary judges. The rest of the διαδικασίαι belonged to other magistrates.

Of the duties of the λειτουργοὶ, some related to the affairs of peace, others to those of war. The duties of peace were three, χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία, and ἑστίασις; those of war two, τριηραρχία, and εἰσφορά.

Χορηγοὶ were at the expense of players, singers, dancers, and musicians, as often as there was occasion for them at the celebration of public festivals and solemnities.[a]

Γυμνασίαρχοι were at the charge of the oil and other necessaries for the wrestlers and other combatants.[b]

Ἑστιάτορες τῶν φυλῶν were such as on public festivals made entertainments for their whole tribe.[c] Besides those who were appointed by lots, some voluntarily undertook this office that they might ingratiate themselves with the people.[d] It may be also observed, that the μέτοικοι, sojourners, had also their ἑστιάτορες, by whom they were entertained.

Τριήραρχοι were obliged to provide all kinds of necessaries for the fleet,[e] and to build ships. To this office no certain number of men was appointed; but their number was increased or diminished according to the value of their estates, and the exigencies of the commonwealth. Usually, however, two were appointed to each galley, and served six months each.[f]

Εἰσφέροντες were required, according to their ability, to supply the public with money for the payment of the army, and for other purposes.[g]

Ἐπιδίδοντες ἐπιδόσεις, εἰσφέροντες, ἐκόντες, ἐθελονταὶ, &c. were such as on extraordinary occasions, when the usual supplies were insuffi-

[x] Demosth. in Leptin. et Phœnip.
[y] Hesychius.
[z] Suidas.
[a] Lysias Orat. de Muneribus; Plutarch. de Prudentiâ Atheniensium.
[b] Ulpian. in Leptin.
[c] Demosth. Mediana et Leptiniana.
[d] Pollux.
[e] Plutarch. de Prudentiâ Atheniensium.
[f] Demosth. in Polycl.
[g] Lysias Orat. de Muneribus.

cient, and in long and dangerous wars, contributed voluntarily, and more than the state required them to pay.[h]

Σύνδικοι were orators appointed by the people to plead on the subject of any law which was to be repealed or enacted. They were sometimes denominated ῥήτορες and συνήγοροι, from whom, however, they differed; and their fee was called τὸ συνηγορικόν. Lest this office, which was created for the benefit of the commonwealth, should be abused, and rendered subservient to the private views and advantages of particular persons, the people were prohibited by law from conferring it twice on the same person.[i]

Ῥήτορες were ten in number, and elected by lots, to plead public causes in the senate-house or assembly; and for every cause in which they were retained, they received a drachm from the public treasury. They were also sometimes called συνήγοροι; and their fee was termed τὸ συνηγορικόν.[k] No person was admitted to this office under the age of forty years;[l] though some think that it was lawful to plead both in the senate-house and before the assembly at the age of thirty. They were not permitted to execute this office till they had been examined in regard to their valour in war, their affection to their parents, their prudence, temperance, and frugality. These examinations were registered among the laws of Athens; and every citizen was allowed to proceed judicially against him who had found the secret of concealing the irregularity of his manners from the severity of this inquiry.[m]

Πρεσβεῖς were ambassadors chosen by the senate, or more commonly by the people, to treat with foreign states. Sometimes they were sent with full power to act as they should judge most conducive to the safety and honor of the commonwealth, when they were called πρεσβεῖς αὐτοκράτορες, plenipotentiaries, and were not obliged after their return home to give an account of their proceedings. Their power, however, was usually limited; and they were liable to be questioned if they exceeded their commission, either by concluding any business foreign to that on which they were sent, or by acting in a different manner from what had been prescribed. During their employment they received a salary from the treasury. Whether their salary was always the same is not certain; but it is probable that it was at first small, and afterwards raised in value, when the commonwealth had become rich and powerful. When Euthymenes was archon, they received two drachms a day.[n] They who faithfully discharged their embassies were publicly entertained by the senate in the Prytaneum;[o] but those who had been deficient in care and diligence were fined.[p] They who undertook an embassy without the appointment of the senate or the people, were punished with death.[q] The πρεσβεῖς were usually attended by a κῆρυξ, herald; and sometimes the κήρυκες were sent on embassies by themselves. This was the case

[h] Pollux.
[i] Demosthenes in Leptin. ibidemque Ulpian.
[k] Aristophanis Scholiast. in Vesp.
[l] Aristophan. Scholiast. Nubibus.
[m] Æschin. in Timar. Harpocrat. et Suidas in ῥητορ. γραφ.
[n] Aristophan. Acharnensibus act i. scen. 2.
[o] Demosth. Orat. de Falsâ Legat. ibique Ulpian.
[p] Thucydidis Schol. lib. vi.
[q] Demosthenes ut supra.

particularly in the primitive times, when all embassies were performed by the κήρυκες, who were accounted sacred not only as being descended from Mercury and employed in his office, but as public mediators, without whom all intercourse and hopes of reconciliation would have been at an end. Hence when Ulysses in his travels sent spies to discover the nature of the country whither he had been driven, they were always accompanied by a κῆρυξ, who secured them from harm in all parts, except in the countries of the Læstrygones, Cyclopes, and such savages as were void of humanity.[r]

Γραμματεῖς, notaries, were of several sorts, and were employed by several magistrates; concerning whom it may be observed in general, that, for the prevention of fraud and deceit, a law was enacted that no man should serve the same magistrate in the capacity of a notary more than once. Besides these were other γραμματεῖς, notaries, to whom was committed the custody of the laws and public records, which they were to transcribe and repeat to the people and senate, when they should be required. They were three in number, of whom one, chosen by the popular assembly, recited before the people or senate; and two were appointed by the senate, one of whom was keeper of the laws, the other of the rest of the public records.[s] It was customary for every Prytanea to appoint a notary, who resigned his office at the end of thirty days, when he underwent the usual εὐθύνη, examination.[t] At Syracuse this office was esteemed very honorable; but at Athens it was considered εὐτελὴς ὑπηρεσία, a mean employment,[u] and was executed only by those called δημόσιοι, who were generally slaves that had learned to read and write, in order that they might become more serviceable to their masters.[v]

CHAP. XI.

The Council of the Amphictyons.

The council of the Amphictyons is commonly thought to have been instituted by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, and to have received its name from him;[w] but some say that it was founded by Acrisius, king of the Argives, who enacted laws by which it was regulated;[x] and if this latter opinion be adopted, the name must be derived from Ἀμφικτίονες, because the inhabitants of the surrounding countries met in that council.[y]

The place in which the council assembled was called Thermopylæ, and sometimes Pylæ, because it was a narrow passage, and a gate or inlet into the country. Hence these counsellors were sometimes denominated πυληγόραι, and the council was called πυλαία;[z] but some say that they obtained this name from Pylades, the son of Orestes, who,

[r] Eustathius in Iliad. A'.
[s] Pollux lib. viii.
[t] Lysias in Nicomachum.
[u] Libanius Argumento Orat. Demosth. de Falsâ Legat.
[v] Ulpianus in Olynthiac. B'.
[w] Theopomp. apud Harpocrat. in Ἀμφικτ. Pausan. lib. x. cap. 8.
[x] Strabo Geograph. lib. ix.
[y] Suidas.
[z] Herodot. Hesychius; Suidas; Harpocration; Strabo; Pausanias Achaicis.

having assisted in the murder of Clytæmnestra, was the first person arraigned in this court. Sometimes they met at Delphi, where they were entrusted with the care of the temple of Apollo, and superintended the Pythian games, which were celebrated at that place.[a] The situation of Delphi, which was in the centre of Greece, rendered it convenient for the meeting of this assembly. It appears, indeed, that the Amphictyonic council was held in the spring at Delphi, and in autumn at the town of Anthela, which was distant a few stadia from the straits of Thermopylæ.[b] These two were the only appointed meetings, unless some extraordinary occurrence required them to assemble at another time.

Whoever instituted this council, certain it is, that in the most remote periods twelve nations in the north of Greece formed a confederation to prevent the evils attendant on war. These nations are said to have been the Thessalians, the Bœotians, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perrhæbians, the Magnesians, the Locrians, the Œteans, the Phthians, the Malians, the Phocians, and the Dolopians;[c] but ancient authors differ respecting the states which sent deputies to this council. Each of the twelve nations had two suffrages in the persons of its deputies, and engaged to carry into execution the decrees of this august tribunal.

The league was ratified by the following oath: "We swear never to destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor ever to divert, either in peace or war, the springs or streams necessary to supply its wants. If any power shall dare to attempt it, we will march against that power and destroy its cities. Should impious men seize on the offerings in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, we swear to employ our feet, our arms, our voices, and all our powers, against them and their accomplices."[d]

The jurisdiction of this tribunal extended with the nations which left the northern parts of Greece, and which, remaining united to the Amphictyonic league, carried with them to their adopted countries the right of attending and voting at these assemblies. This was the case with the Lacedæmonians, who anciently inhabited Thessaly, and who, when they settled in Peloponnesus, retained one of the two suffrages to which the Dorians, of whom they formed a part, were originally entitled. In like manner, the double suffrage granted to the Ionians was, in process of time, divided between the Athenians and the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor.[e] But though the number of votes at this council never exceeded twenty-four, the number of deputies was not limited; and the Athenians had sometimes three or four.[f]

The Amphictyonic council attracted a numerous concourse of spectators, and opened by sacrifices offered up for the tranquillity and prosperity of Greece. Besides the objects specified in the oath, the assembly decided all differences between cities which claimed the right of presiding at the sacrifices offered by several cities in conjunction,[g] or which, after a battle gained, attempted to appropriate

[a] Pausanias Phocicis, et Achaicis, aliique.
[b] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 200. Strabo, lib. ix. Æschin. de Falsa Legat.
[c] Æschin. ibid.
[d] Idem ibid.
[e] Id. ibid.
[f] Id. in Ctesiphon.
[g] Demosth. de Cor. Plut. Rhet. Vit.

exclusively to themselves honors that belonged to all.[h] Other causes, civil as well as criminal, were brought before this tribunal, but more especially such offences as openly violated the law of nations.[i] Contests between states were always considered proper objects of its jurisdiction, but the superintendence of the religion of the Greeks was more particularly its office. The question was discussed by the deputies of the contending parties, and decided by the majority of voices. A fine was imposed on the offending nations or cities, which, if not paid within a stated time, was followed by a second sentence, by which it was doubled.[k] If those against whom it was awarded still continued refractory, the assembly might call for assistance to support its decree, and arm against them the whole Amphictyonic body, consisting of a great part of Greece. It might also exclude them from the Amphictyonic league, or common union of the temple.[l]

Powerful nations, however, did not always submit to its decrees. Of this we have an instance in the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, who having, in a time of profound peace, taken possession of the citadel of Thebes, the magistrates of that city summoned them before the Amphictyonic council. The Lacedæmonians were first sentenced to pay five hundred talents, and afterwards a thousand, which they refused, alleging that the decision was unjust.[m]

The judgments pronounced against nations that profaned the temple of Delphi were more tremendous. Their soldiers marched with the more repugnance on such an enterprise, as they were punished with death, and deprived of sepulture when taken in arms;[n] while those called on by the council to avenge the profanation of the altars were the more willing to obey, since every man who favored or tolerated the act was deemed a sharer in the impiety. On these occasions the guilty people, besides the anathemas thundered out against them, had to dread the policy of the neighbouring princes, who frequently found the means of gratifying their own ambition by espousing the cause of the gods. In the reign of Philip, king of Macedon, and father of Alexander the Great, the Amphictyonic council declared war against the Phocians, who had plundered the temple at Delphi. This war was maintained for ten years by all the Grecian states. The Phocians, with the Lacedæmonians their allies, were deprived of the honour of sitting in this assembly; and their place was supplied by the Macedonians, who were admitted into the council on account of their services during the war; but about sixty-eight years afterwards, when the Gauls, under the command of Brennus, invaded Greece and despoiled the temple at Delphi, the Phocians behaved with so much spirit that they were reinstated in all their former privileges.[o]

Some authors say that this council was dissolved in the reign of Augustus;[p] but others assure us that it still existed in the reign of

[h] Demosthen. in Neær. Cicero de Invent. lib. ii. cap. 23.
[i] Plut. in Cimone.
[k] Diodorus Siculus lib. xvi.
[l] Plutarch. in Themistocle; Pausanias lib. x. Æschines de Falsa Legat.
[m] Diodorus Siculus lib. xvi.
[n] Idem ibid.
[o] Pausanias Phocicis.
[p] Strabo lib. ix.

Antoninus Pius, when the number of the Amphictyons was increased to thirty.[q]

Of disputes between private persons this assembly took no cognizance. Before the members engaged in business, they sacrificed an ox, cut into small pieces, to the Delphian Apollo, intimating that concord and unanimity prevailed in the several cities which they represented. Their proceedings were generally conducted with prudence and dignity; and their decrees were deemed sacred and inviolable.

CHAP. XII.

The Public Assemblies.

Ἐκκλησία was an assembly of the people convened according to law, for the purpose of consulting on the interests of the commonwealth. It consisted of all such as were freemen of Athens, of what description soever; but persons who had been punished with ἀτιμία, infamy, slaves, foreigners, women, and children, were excluded. In the reign of Cecrops, women are said to have been allowed to vote in the popular assembly; and Minerva, contending with Neptune for the protectorship of Athens, is reported to have gained the victory by means of the women, whose votes were more numerous than those of the men.[r]

The Ἐκκλησία was of two sorts, one of which was called κυρία, and the other σύγκλητος.

Κυρίαι were so denominated ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρεῖν τὰ ψηφίσματα, because in them the people ratified and confirmed the decrees of the senate; or rather because they were held on ἡμέραι κυρίαι, or ὡρισμέναι καὶ νόμιμοι, days appointed by law.[s]

They were held four times in thirty-five days, which was the time that each πρυτανεία, or company of prytanes, presided in the senate. The first assembly was employed in approving or rejecting magistrates; in hearing actions called εἰσαγγελίαι, and proposals concerning the public good; and in reviewing the catalogue of such possessions as were confiscated to the service of the commonwealth. The second made provisions for the community, and for individuals; and every man was allowed to prefer any petition, or to speak his opinion concerning either of them. The third was employed in receiving heralds and ambassadors who have first given an account of their mission,[t] or presented their credentials to the senate.[u] The fourth was wholly devoted to religion, and to matters relating to divine worship, such as festivals, sacrifices,[v] &c.; and at this assembly, the prytanes, who were obliged θύειν ἑκάστοτε κοινῇ, to offer sacrifices every day for the public safety, acquainted the people with the success of their oblations.[w] The first assembly was held on the eleventh day

[q] Pausanias Phocicis.
[r] Varro apud Sanctum Augustinum de Civitate Dei lib. xvii. cap. 9.
[s] Suidas; Aristophan. Schol. in Acharn.
[t] Æschines de Falsa Legat. Demosth. de Falsa Legat.
[u] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 96.
[v] Id. lib. viii. cap. 8.
[w] Demosth. Proœm. 63.

of the prytanea; the second, on the twentieth; the third, on the thirtieth; and the fourth, on the thirty-third. Some reckon by the month, and say that they had three assemblies every month, on the first, tenth, and thirtieth day; or on the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth.[x] The former computation, however, seems more agreeable to the custom of the ancient Athenians, who, according to the number of their tribes, had ten *πρυτανείαι*, each of whom ruled thirty-five days, during which were four assemblies; but afterwards, the number of tribes being increased to twelve, the *πρυτανείαι* were also increased to the same number, and each of them ruled a month; and at this period, it is probable that the latter computation took place. These were the ordinary assemblies in which the people voluntarily met.[y]

Σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι were the extraordinary assemblies, and were so denominated *ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκαλεῖν*, because the people were called or summoned together; whilst in the *κυρίαι*, they met of their own accord, without receiving any notice from the magistrates.[z] These extraordinary assemblies were held when the state was menaced with approaching danger.[a] The persons, who in the name and with the permission of the senate summoned the people, were usually the *στρατηγοὶ*, the *πολέμαρχοι*, or the *κήρυκες*; because these extraordinary assemblies were commonly occasioned by some sudden, unexpected, and dangerous war;[b] but sometimes the prytanes convened the assembly by order of the senate, when any civil affairs, in which the *στρατηγοὶ* were not concerned, required a more ready dispatch than they could receive in the *κυρίαι*. The *κήρυξ*, crier, seems to have summoned the people at least twice, as it is said to be time to attend the assembly because the crier had called twice.[c]

Κατεκκλησίαι,[d] *κατακλήσεις*,[e] or *κατακλησίαι*[f] were assemblies held on very important affairs, to which were summoned not only the citizens who resided in Athens, but all the inhabitants of Attica, or those who were in the ships at harbour.

The places where the *ἐκκλησίαι* were held were the following:—

1. *Ἀγορὰ*, the market-place, in which not only the Athenians, but the Greeks in general, had their public meetings, because it was commonly large and capacious; and hence the assemblies themselves were denominated *ἀγοραὶ*, and to make a speech was termed *ἀγορεύειν*.[g]

2. *Πνὺξ*, which was a place near the citadel,[h] and which was so denominated *διὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι τοῖς λίθοις, ἢ διὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς βουλευτὰς*, because it was filled with stones, or seats placed close to each other, or because it was crowded with men in the assemblies: hence *πυκνίτης* signifies in the comic writers the thronging and pressing of a multitude.[i] It was chiefly remarkable for the mean-

[x] Ulpian. in Demosth. Aristoph. Schol.
[y] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. Aristoph. Schol. in Acharn. Ulpian. in Demosth. de Falsa Legat.
[z] Æschines de Falsa Legat. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 116.
[a] Demosth. de Corona.
[b] Idem ibid.
[c] Aristophan. Concionatricibus.
[d] Pollux.
[e] Ammonius.
[f] Hesychius.
[g] Harpocration.
[h] Thucyd. lib. viii. cap. 97. Schol. Aristophan. ad Equites v. 42.
[i] Idem ad Acharn. Equit. &c.

ness of its buildings and furniture, which in ages that affected gaiety and splendor rendered it a monument of ancient simplicity.[k]

3. The theatre of Bacchus, which in the latter periods of the republic was the usual place of holding the assemblies;[l] but the Pnyx was not even in those times wholly deserted, it being illegal to decree any man a crown, or to elect the *στρατηγοὶ*,[m] or other magistrates, in any other place.[n]

These were the places for holding the stated assemblies. The extraordinary assemblies were not confined to any particular place; but they were sometimes held in the Piræeus, where was a forum called Ἱπποδαμεία ἀγορὰ, in the Munychia, or in any other place sufficiently capacious for containing the people.

The magistrates who had the care and management of these assemblies were the *πρυτάνεις*, *ἐπιστάτης*, and *πρόεδροι*.[o]

The *πρυτάνεις*, prytanes, sometimes convened the people, and always before the meeting hung up in some conspicuous place of general resort a *πρόγραμμα*, which gave an account of the matters to be debated in the assembly, in order that every one might have time to consider the subjects before he delivered his opinion.[p]

Πρόεδροι were so denominated from the front seats which they occupied in the assemblies. Whilst the tribes of Athens did not exceed ten, the *πρόεδροι* were nine in number, and were appointed by lots from the nine tribes, which at that time were exempted from being *πρυτάνεις*. Their business consisted in proposing to the people the subjects on which they were to deliberate and decide;[q] and the office of the *πρόεδροι* commenced and expired with the meeting. In order to preserve the laws and commonwealth from the attempts of ambitious and designing men, it was customary for the *νομοφύλακες*, in all assemblies, *συγκαθίζειν τοῖς προέδροις, ἕνια διακωλύοντας ἐπιχειροτονεῖν ὅσα μὴ συμφέρει*, to sit with the proedri, and to prevent the people from decreeing any thing contrary to the public interest.[r] It was also enacted, that in every assembly one of the tribes should be appointed by lots, *προεδρύειν*, to preside at the suggestum, and defend the commonwealth[s] by preventing the orators and others from proposing any thing inconsistent with the received laws, or destructive of the peace and welfare of the city.

Ἐπιστάτης, the president of the assembly, was chosen by lots from the *πρόεδροι*: the chief part of his office consisted in granting the people liberty to vote, which they were not permitted to do till he had given the signal.[t]

If the people were remiss in attending the assemblies, the magistrates endeavoured to compel them by shutting up all the gates except that through which they had to pass to the meeting; and by taking care that all commodities were removed from the markets, that there

[k] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 8.
[l] Thucyd. lib. viii. cap. 93. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 133. Demosth. in Mid.
[m] Hesychius.
[n] Pollux.
[o] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 95 et 96. Harpocration.
[p] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 8.
[q] Ulpianus in Timocrat.
[r] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.
[s] Æschines in Timarchum.
[t] Harpocration; Demosth. Androt. Æschin. in Ctesiph.

might be nothing to obstruct or divert their attendance. If these endeavours were not sufficient, the λογισταὶ (whose business this was) took a cord dyed with vermilion, with which they sent into the market two of the τοξόται, who, extending it through the forum, marked all those who appeared there; and on those who were thus marked a fine was imposed:

Οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι, κἄνω καὶ κάτω
Τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον.[u]
They in the forum chat, and up and down
Scamper t' avoid the cord vermilion-dy'd.

To encourage the people to frequent the assemblies, it was decreed that an obolus should be paid from the treasury to every one who attended the place of meeting at an early hour. This was afterwards increased to three oboli; and the expectation of this reward induced many of the poorer citizens to attend, who would otherwise have absented themselves. Hence the poet, speaking of Plutus the god of money, observes,

Ἐκκλησία δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον γίγνεται;[v]
Is not the assembly frequented for his sake?

Those who came late to the assembly received nothing, as appears from the lines of the same author:

ΒΔΕ. Τριώβολον δῆτ' ἔλαβες; ΧΡ. Εἰ γὰρ ὤφελον·
Ἀλλ' ὕστερος νῦν ἦλθον, ὥστ' αἰσχύνομαι,
Μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐδέν' ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θύλακον.[w]

As there was no punishment for absence, it unavoidably happened that poor persons attended in greater numbers than the rich; a circumstance very consonant to the spirit of democracies.[x]

If boisterous and tempestuous weather, or a sudden storm which they called διοσημεία,[y] arose, an earthquake happened, or any inauspicious omen appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned; but if things continued in their usual course, the business of the meeting proceeded in the following manner:—

The place appointed for meeting was purified by killing young pigs, which, as usual in such lustrations, were carried round the utmost bounds of it; and on the outside of the place no one was permitted to stand, because it had not been cleansed by the blood of victims, and was therefore accounted profane and unholy, and unfit for the transacting of business which so nearly concerned the welfare and safety of the state. Hence the public crier exhorted the people to stand on the inside of the κάθαρμα, which was the name given to sacrifices at expiations:

Πάριθ', ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ἦτε τοῦ καθάρματος.[z]
Go within, that of the cleansing ye may partake.

The person who officiated in the lustration was denominated καθαρτὴς,

[u] Aristophan. in Acharn. et Schol. ibid.
[v] Aristophanes Plut. act. i. scen. 2.
[w] Aristophan. Concionatricibus.
[x] Xenophon. Memorab. Aristot. de Repub. lib. iv. cap. 13.
[y] Aristophan. Schol. in Concionatricibus.
[z] Aristophan. Concionatr.

περιστίαρχος, from περίστια (another name for καθάρματα[a]), and ἐστίαρχος.[b]

The expiatory sacrifices being ended, the κήρυξ, public crier, arose and repeated a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the commonwealth, and for the good success of their counsels and undertakings.[c] This prayer was followed by dreadful imprecations against those who should attempt any thing in that assembly to the prejudice of the commonwealth, and with wishes that he and his family might become remarkable examples of the divine vengeance.[d]

Silence being next enjoined,[e] the κήρυξ, public crier, at the command of the πρόεδροι, read with a loud voice the προβούλευμα, or decree of the senate, on which the assembly was met to deliberate.[f] The κήρυξ then proclaimed, Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων; *Who above fifty years of age will speak?* The old men then began the debate; for in the ancient periods of the republic, it was necessary to have passed the age of fifty to be permitted to speak first on any subject under deliberation; but this regulation in time became neglected.[g] The κήρυξ again proclaimed, Λέγειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον οἷς ἔξεστι, *That every Athenian whom the laws allowed might then speak.*[h] For as it was deemed unreasonable that any man, whose age was not under thirty years, should be prevented from debating on the public good; so it was thought unbecoming in young men to give their opinions before they had first heard the sentiments of those whose age and experience rendered them more able to decide.

From the moment, therefore, that the κήρυξ had made the second proclamation, every man present, who was not under thirty years of age, might give his opinion on the subject under consideration, provided he had not been guilty of impiety, cowardice, or any heinous crime, or was in debt to the state.[i] Few, however, in the latter periods of the republic availed themselves of the privilege to ascend the rostrum except the state orators, who were ten citizens distinguished by their abilities, and especially employed to defend the interests of their country in the assemblies of the senate and the people.[k] When any one was considered by the πρυτάνεις as an improper person to speak to the people, he was enjoined silence:

Σὺ μὲν βάδιζε, καὶ κάθησ', οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶ.[l]
Go you and sit down, for you are nobody.

If he refused to obey the prytanes, he was dragged from the suggestum by the τοξόται, lictors.[m]

When the question had been sufficiently discussed, the κήρυξ, by command of the ἐπιστάτης, or, as some say, of the πρόεδροι, called for

[a] Aristophan. Schol. in Acharn. et Concionatr. &c. Suidas; Harpocration; Hesychius in verb. κάθαρμα.
[b] Pollux.
[c] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[d] Demosth. Περὶ Παραπρεσβ. et in Aristocr. Dicæarch. in Aristog.
[e] Aristophan. Thesmoph. v. 302.
[f] Demosth. de Falsa Legat.
[g] Æschin. in Timocr. in Ctes.
[h] Aristophan. Acharn. Demosth. et Æschin. in Ctesiph. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.
[i] Demosth. in Aristogit. Æschin. in Timocr. et Ctesiph.
[k] Aristot. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 689. Æschines in Ctesiph. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit.
[l] Aristoph. Concionatr.
[m] Aristoph. Acharn. act. i. scen. 2.

a decision of the people, and asked, "Whether they would consent to the decree which had been proposed to them?" They were then allowed to give their votes, and to confirm or reject it, which was called *ἐπιψηφίζειν τὸ ψήφισμα*, or *διδόναι διαχειροτονίαν τῷ δήμῳ*.

The manner of giving their suffrages was by holding up their hands, which was called *χειροτονία*; and hence *χειροτονεῖν* signified to ordain or establish any decree, and *ἀποχειροτονεῖν* to disannul or reject it by suffrage. This was the common method of voting; but in some cases, and particularly when magistrates were deprived of their offices on account of mal-administration, the suffrages were given in private, lest the power and influence of the persons accused should impose any restraint on the people, or cause them to act contrary to their opinion and inclination. The manner of voting privately was by casting *ψήφους*, pebbles, into *κάδους*, vessels, which the *πρυτάνεις* were obliged to place in the assembly for that purpose. Before the use of pebbles they voted with *κύαμοι*, beans.[n]

As soon as the people had finished voting, the *πρόεδροι* carefully examined the number of the suffrages, and pronounced the *ψήφισμα*, decree, ratified or rejected, according to the votes given. It is observable that it was unlawful for the *πρυτάνεις* to propose any subject twice in the same assembly.[o] The business being ended, the *πρυτάνεις* dismissed the assembly:

> Οἱ γὰρ πρυτάνεις λύουσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.[p]
> For the prytanes dissolve the assembly.

The meeting then broke up with the same noise and tumult as had prevailed through the whole course of the deliberations.[q]

On certain occasions, when the popular leaders had reason to dread the influence of powerful men, they had recourse to a method practised in other cities of Greece.[r] They proposed to vote by tribes,[s] the vote of each tribe being always in the power of the poorer citizens, who were more numerous than the rich. It is generally thought that the too great influence of the orators was the greatest defect in the Athenian government: they subdued the mind, chained the will, and determined the opinions of the multitude.

By the various modes which they practised, however, the supreme authority, which resided essentially in the people, manifested its pleasure. It was the people who decided on peace or war,[t] who received ambassadors, who confirmed or abrogated laws, who nominated to almost every office, imposed taxes, granted the privileges of a citizen to foreigners, and decreed rewards to those who had rendered services to their country.[u]

[n] Suidas.
[o] Nicia Orat. ap. Thucyd. lib. vi.
[p] Aristoph. Acharn.
[q] Aristoph. Concionatr. Plato de Rep. lib. vi.
[r] Æneæ Poliorc. Comment. cap. 11.
[s] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. i.
[t] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 139. Demosth. et Æschin. de Falsa Legat.
[u] Demosth. Thucyd. Xenoph. &c.

CHAP. XIII.

The Senate of Five Hundred.

By the constitution of Solon, the whole power and management of affairs were vested in the people; but as it was dangerous that matters of the greatest importance should be at the disposal of a giddy and unthinking multitude, who might be persuaded by eloquent demagogues to enact laws contrary to their own interests and those of the commonwealth, that prudent legislator judged it necessary for the preservation of the state, to institute a great council consisting only of men of the best credit and reputation in the city. To this council it belonged to inspect all matters before they were proposed to the people, and to permit no subject to be brought before the general assembly till it had been carefully examined, and had received their approbation.[v]

Ἡ *βουλὴ ἡ τῶν πεντακοσίων*, the senate of five hundred, at its first institution consisted only of four hundred senators, of whom one hundred were appointed from each tribe; for in the time of Solon the tribes were only four in number.[w] They were elected by lots, in drawing which they used beans; and hence the senators were sometimes denominated *βουλευταὶ ἀπὸ κυάμου*, and the senate was called *βουλὴ ἀπὸ κυάμου*.[x] The manner of their election was as follows:—on a certain day, before the commencement of the month Ἑκατομβαιών, the president of every tribe presented the names of all persons within his district, who were eligible to this dignity, who wished to offer themselves candidates for this office, and who had attained at least the age of thirty years.[y] Their names were then engraven on tables of brass, which were called *πινάκια*,[z] and cast into a vessel prepared for that purpose. Into another vessel was put the same number of beans, of which one hundred were white, and the rest black. The names of the candidates and the beans were drawn singly; and those whose names were drawn out with the white beans were admitted into the senate.[a]

About eighty-six years after the establishment of the constitution by Solon, the number of tribes being increased by Clisthenes from four to ten, the senate received an addition of one hundred members; and from that time the senate was properly called *βουλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων*.

Afterwards, two new tribes being added to the former, in honor of Antigonus and his son Demetrius, from whom they were denominated, the number of senators was again augmented by one hundred members more;[b] and in both these alterations it was ordered that from every tribe fifty persons should be elected into the senate. The manner of election continued the same, except that, instead of one hundred, fifty white beans were drawn by ach tribe according to the number of

[v] Plutarch. in Solon.
[w] Idem ibid.
[x] Thucyd.
[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. i.
[z] Harpocration.
[a] Sigonius et Emmius de Rep. Athen.
[b] Stephan. Byzant. de Urbb. et Populis.

senators. To these fifty a similar number of subsidiaries was added, to supply the places which became vacant by the death or irregular conduct of any of the acting deputies.[c] The substitutes, who were denominated ἐπιλαχόντες, were also chosen by lots.[d]

After the election of senators, officers, who were called πρυτάνεις, were appointed by lot to preside in the senate.[e] The manner of their election was as follows:—the names of the tribes and nine black beans being cast into one vessel, and a white bean into another, the tribe which was drawn with the white bean presided first, and the rest according to the order in which they were taken out of the vessel. Every tribe presided in its turn; and therefore, agreeably to the number of tribes, the Attic year was divided into ten parts, each of which consisted of thirty-five days. The first four tribes, however, were allowed thirty-six days, and the rest thirty-five,[f] in order that the lunar year might be rendered complete, which, according to the computation of the Greeks, consisted of three hundred and fifty-four days.[g] Others are of opinion that the four supernumerary days were employed in electing magistrates, and that during that time the Athenians had no magistrates;[h] and hence those days were called ἄναρχοι ἡμέραι, and ἀρχαιρέσιοι. When the tribes were increased to twelve, every one of them presided a whole month in the senate.[i] The time that each company of the πρυτάνεις continued in office was termed πρυτανεία, during which they were exempted from other public duties.

To avoid confusion, every πρυτανεία was divided into five weeks of days, by which the fifty πρυτάνεις were ranked into five decuriæ, each decuria governing a week, during which they were called πρόεδροι. Of these one, who was elected by lot, presided over the rest each of the seven days; and hence, of the ten πρόεδροι three were excluded from presiding.

The president of the πρόεδροι was called ἐπιστάτης. To his custody were committed the public seal, and the keys of the citadel and the public treasury. This, therefore, being an office of great trust and importance, no man was allowed by the laws to hold it longer than one day, or to be elected to it a second time.[k]

There were also nine πρόεδροι who were distinct from the former, and who were elected by the ἐπιστάτης at every meeting of the senate from all the tribes, except from that of which the πρυτάνεις were members.[l] The πρόεδροι and ἐπιστάτης in the senate were both different from those in the popular assemblies. On certain occasions, these nine presidents carried the decrees of the senate to the general assembly; and the first of them in order collected the suffrages of the people. On others, this was performed by the chief of the πρυτάνεις, or by one of his assistants.[m]

[c] Harpocrat. in Ἐπιλαχ.
[d] Id. ibid. Andocyd. de Myst.
[e] Argum. in Androt. Orat. Suidas in Πρυταν.
[f] Suidas in Πρυταν. Pet. Leg. Att. Corsin. Fast. Att.
[g] Harpocration.
[h] Liban. Argum. in Androtian.
[i] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.
[k] Pollux lib. viii. Ulpianus in Androtianam.
[l] Pollux; Suidas.
[m] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 60. Schol. ibid. Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 14. Isocrates de Pace; et alii.

The authority of the πρυτάνεις consisted chiefly in assembling the senate, which met every day, except on festivals and days considered as unfortunate, and oftener if occasion required. In order that the πρυτάνεις might be always ready to give audience to all who wished to propose any matter which regarded the commonwealth, they constantly resorted to a common hall called the Prytaneum, which was near the senate-house, in which they offered sacrifices, and in which they were maintained at the public expense.[n] It was the duty of the πρυτάνεις to prepare the subjects of deliberation in the senate. As the senate represented the tribes, it was in its turn represented by the πρυτάνεις, who, being constantly collected in one place, were always at hand to watch over such dangers as threatened the republic, and to give timely notice to the senate.

Every time the senate assembled, they offered sacrifices to Jupiter Βουλαῖος and Minerva Βουλαία, the counsellors, who had a chapel adjoining to the senate-house.[o] This was termed εἰσιτήρια θύειν.[p]

If any man proposed any subject which seemed worthy of consideration, it was engraven on tablets, in order that the senators might be made acquainted with what was intended to be discussed at their next meeting. After the πρυτάνεις, or ἐπιστάτης, had proposed the subject of deliberation, every man was at liberty to give his opinion, and to declare his reasons for or against it. This was done standing; for no person of what rank or quality soever presumed to speak sitting; and in ancient authors, when a hero addresses a public assembly, he is first said to rise:

Τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς. Hom.

When all had finished what they had to say, the intended decree was drawn up in writing by any of the πρυτάνεις or other senators, and openly read in the house.[q] After this, leave being given by the πρυτάνεις or ἐπιστάτης, the senators proceeded to vote in private by casting beans into a vessel placed for that purpose. The beans were black and white; and if the former were more numerous, the proposal was rejected; if the latter, it was enacted into a decree,[r] which was called ψήφισμα and προβούλευμα, because it was agreed to in the senate with the design of having it afterwards proposed in an assembly of the people, without whose consent it could not pass into a law. Independently, however, of this consent of the people, the ψήφισμα was obligatory till the end of the year, when the senators and other magistrates retired from their offices.

The power of this council was very great, and upon it devolved nearly the whole care of the republic; for, by the constitution of Solon, the common people being invested with supreme authority, and entrusted with the management of all affairs both public and private, it was the peculiar province of the senate to restrain them within proper limits, to take cognizance of every subject of deliberation, and to be careful that nothing was proposed to the general assembly of

[n] Demosth. de Coron. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 15. seg. 115. Ammon. apud Harpocrat. in Θόλ.

[o] Antiphon. de Choreuta.

[p] Ulpianus.

[q] Demosth. Orat. in Ctesiph. et in Neæram.

[r] Ulpianus.

the people, unless it appeared conducive to the safety and interest of the state. Besides these duties, the senate examined the accounts of magistrates at the expiration of their offices,[s] and took care of poor persons who were maintained from the public treasury.[t] They also appointed gaolers for prisons; examined and punished those who were guilty of such crimes as were not forbidden by any positive law;[u] and took care of the fleet, and superintended the building of men of war.[v] As this was a situation of great trust, no man could be admitted into the senate till he had undergone a strict *δοκιμασία*, scrutiny, as to his life and conduct, which if not approved he was rejected.[w]

To impose a greater obligation on the senators, they were obliged to take a solemn oath that in all their deliberations they would endeavour to promote the public good, and not advise any thing contrary to the laws; that they would sit as judges into whatever court they should be elected by lots (for several of the courts of justice were supplied with judges chosen from the senate); and that they would send no citizen to prison who was able to find bail, unless accused of a conspiracy against the state, or of embezzling the public revenue. This, however, was understood of criminals before condemnation only;[x] for to imprison them after conviction was not a breach of the laws. The highest punishment that the senate was allowed to inflict on criminals was a fine of five hundred drachmæ. When this was considered insufficient, they sent the criminal to the *Θεσμοθέται*, by whom he was arraigned in the usual manner.[y] After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, the senators took an oath to observe *τὴν ἀμνηστίαν*, *the act of oblivion*, by which all the disorders committed during the government of the thirty tyrants were remitted.

The senate was annually re-elected, and at the expiration of its trust delivered up its accounts, and submitted its conduct to the public.[z] In order, therefore, to prevent this body from being exposed to the rage of the people, it severely punished, while its authority continued, whatever offences were committed by any of its members, and excluded those whose conduct had been reprehensible.[a] If any one of the senators was convicted of breaking his oath, of committing any injustice, or of conducting himself improperly in any respect, the rest of the members expelled him, and substituted in his place one of the *ἀντιλαχόντες*. This was called *ἐκφυλλοφορῆσαι* from the leaves used in voting, in the same manner as the *ὄστρακα* were employed by the people in decreeing the ostracism; but the custom of voting with leaves instead of beans was not very ancient, and was first used in consequence of an officer having changed the beans which had been hitherto employed for that purpose, and thereby corrupted the suffrages.[b] It was lawful *τοὺς ἐκφυλλοφορηθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κατα-*

[s] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 8.
[t] Harpocration.
[u] Pollux.
[v] Aristoph. Avibus; Libanius Argument. in Androt.
[w] Æschines in Timarch. Lysias adv. Philon.
[x] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[y] Demosth. in Euerg. et Mnesib. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.
[z] Æschines in Ctesiph.
[a] Idem in Timarch.
[b] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 5. Harpocration; Suidas.

δέχεσθαι, *to admit those as judges who had been expelled from the senate;* and hence we may conclude that it was usual to deprive senators of their office for very small offences.

On the contrary, those who had conducted themselves with propriety and integrity were rewarded with an allowance of money out of the public treasury.[c] The members who composed the senate received each a drachm every day for his maintenance; and hence βουλῆς λαχεῖν, *to be elected by lot into the senate,* means the same as δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας λαχεῖν, *to obtain a drachm every day.*[d] If the people were satisfied with the conduct of the senate, and any ships of war had been built, they decreed in the public assembly that the members should have the honor of wearing a crown; but this reward was withheld if no gallies had been built, for in that case the law considered them as having been wanting to the republic, whose interest and safety depended so much on the strength of its navy.[e]

CHAP. XIV.

The Court of Areopagus.

THE senate of the Areopagus, though the most ancient, was yet the most upright of the Athenian tribunals. It sometimes assembled in the royal portico;[f] but its ordinary place of meeting was upon an eminence at a small distance from the citadel,[g] and in a kind of hall, defended from the weather only by a rustic roof.[h] It received its name from this eminence, which was called Ἀρειοπάγος, or Ἄρειος πάγος, *the hill of Mars,* or *Mars's hill,* from Mars the god of war and blood, because all murders were under the cognizance of this court;[i] or from the arraignment of Mars, who is fabled to have been the first criminal tried in this court;[k] or, lastly, because the Amazons, whom the poets pretend to have been the daughters of Mars, when they besieged Athens, pitched their camp and offered sacrifices to the god of war in this place.[l]

At what period this court was first instituted is uncertain. Some think that its origin may be traced back to the time of Cecrops, the founder of Athens; some, that it was founded in the reign of Cranaus; and others that it was instituted by Solon.[m] Certain, however, it is that this court was much more ancient than the time of Solon;[n] that the Areopagus, when originally constituted, was merely a criminal tribunal, and possessed not the smallest influence on the civil government of the republic; and that Solon, guided by motives which cannot now be easily explained, rendered it superior to the Ephetæ, ano-

[c] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[d] Hesychius in Βουλ.
[e] Demosth. Androtiana; Argum. ejusd. Orat.
[f] Demosth. in Aristog.
[g] Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 52.
[h] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 118.
[i] Suidas.
[k] Pausan. Aristides Panath. Suidas.
[l] Æschyl. Eumenid. Etymol. Auctor.
[m] Plutarch. in Solone; Cicero de Offic. lib. i.
[n] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. Demosth. in Aristog. Pausan. Attic. cap. 28.

ther court instituted by Draco, and greatly augmented its power and authority.[o]

The number of persons who composed this venerable assembly is not certainly known. Some say they were nine, some thirty-one, and some fifty-one, besides the archons;[p] whilst some state that the Θεσμοθέται only were admitted members of this tribunal,[q] and others that their number was unlimited.[r] It appears probable, however, that their number was not always the same; and when Socrates was condemned by this court, we find that two hundred and eighty-one gave their suffrages against him, besides those who voted for his acquittal.

The archons were admitted into this court after their year of office had expired;[s] but not till they had proved, in a solemn examination, that they had discharged their duty with equal zeal and fidelity.[t] This examination took place before the λογισταὶ, after the performance of certain sacrifices at Limnæ, a place at Athens dedicated to Bacchus.[u] If, in the examination, any should be found either artful or powerful enough to elude the severity of their censors, it was impossible for them, after they had once become Areopagites, to resist the authority of example and not appear virtuous.[v] To have been sitting in a tavern was considered a sufficient reason for not admitting an archon into this court;[w] and though the dignity annexed to those who were members was usually continued to them during their lives, yet if any one of them was convicted of immorality, he was immediately expelled. Nor was it sufficient that their lives were innocent and unblamable; it was required that their words and actions and the whole of their demeanour should be grave and serious beyond what was expected from other men. To laugh in this assembly was considered an unpardonable levity;[x] and by an express law the members were forbidden to write a comedy.[y] For many ages the regulations of Solon were carefully observed, and men of the strictest virtue only were admitted into this court; but in the latter periods of the republic, when the grandeur of Athens was on the decline, the ancient ordinances were neglected, and men of vicious and profligate lives were elected into this assembly.

The reputation which the Areopagus enjoyed during so many centuries was founded on titles that have transmitted its fame to succeeding ages.[z] Innocence, summoned to appear before it, approached without apprehension; and the guilty, convicted and condemned, retired without daring to murmur.[a] So impartial and upright were its proceedings, that for many centuries neither plaintiff nor defendant had any reason to complain of its determinations.[b] The integrity of this tribunal was so remarkable, and so well known in every part of

[o] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.
[p] Plutarch. Solone et Pericle.
[q] Liban. in Argum. Androt.
[r] Argum. Orat. Demosth. adv. Androt.
[s] Plutarch. in Solone; Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Lept.
[t] Plutar. in Pericl. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 118. Demosth. in Timocr.
[u] Demosth. in Neæram.
[v] Isocrat. Areopagit.
[w] Athenæus lib. xiv.
[x] Æschines in Timarch.
[y] Plutar. de Gloria Atheniens.
[z] Cicero Epist. ad Atticum lib. i. epist. 14.
[a] Demosth. in Aristocr. Lycurg. in Leocrat. Aristides in Panath.
[b] Demosth. in Aristocrat.

Greece, that even foreign states, when any differences happened among them, voluntarily submitted to its decisions.[c]

The Areopagus kept a strict eye over the conduct of its members, and judged them without partiality, sometimes even for trivial offences. A member was punished, for having stifled a little bird, which from fear had taken refuge in his bosom.[d] He was thus taught that he, whose heart was shut against pity, ought not to have the lives of the citizens at his mercy. Hence the decisions of this court were considered as standards not only of wisdom, but of humanity. A woman, endeavouring to gain the affections of a man whom she passionately loved, administered to him a philter of which he died. Being accused of procuring the death of this person by poison, she was dismissed without punishment, the court deeming her more unfortunate than culpable.[e] Another woman, exasperated at the barbarity of a second husband, and of a son she had by him, who slew a promising youth that she had born to her former spouse, determined to poison them both. After a prosecution before several tribunals that ventured neither to condemn nor to acquit her, the matter was brought before the Areopagus, which after a long examination ordered the parties to appear again before the court in one hundred years from that time.[f]

The members of this tribunal held their office for life.[g] It is said to have been the first court that sat upon life and death.[h] After Solon had reformed the constitution, the Areopagus took cognizance of almost all crimes, all vices, and abuses. Murder, poisoning, robbery, conflagrations, libertinism, and innovations either in the system of religion or the form of government, by turns excited its vigilance. It punished with death all incendiaries, deserters of their country, persons convicted of treason,[i] and those who conspired against the life of any man, whether the attempt succeeded or not; but some are of opinion that these last were tried before the tribunal of the Palladium.[k] Some say that there was no appeal from the decisions of the Areopagus to the people; but others assure us that their determinations might not only be questioned, but rescinded, by an assembly of the people;[l] and if the members of this court exceeded the bounds of moderation in inflicting punishments, they were accountable for their conduct to the λογισταί.[m] The Areopagus was afterwards empowered to reverse the sentence of an assembly, if the people had acquitted a criminal that deserved punishment;[n] and to save an innocent person who had been unjustly condemned. On important occasions, when the people, inflamed by their orators, were on the point of adopting some measure injurious to the welfare of the state, the Areopagites have sometimes presented themselves to the assembly, and by arguments or entreaties prevailed on them to listen to reason.[o] A citizen, who

[c] Pausan. Messeniacis.
[d] Hellad. apud Phot.
[e] Arist. in Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. 17.
[f] Valerius Maximus lib. viii. cap. i. Aulus Gellius lib. xii. cap. 7. et alii.
[g] Argum. Orat. Demosth. adv. Androt.
[h] Hesychius Etymolog. v. Ἄρειος Πάγος.
[i] Lycurgus in Leocratem.
[k] Harpocration; Suidas.
[l] Dinarch. Orat. in Aristogit.
[m] Demosth. in Neær. Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[n] Demosth. pro Corona.
[o] Plutarch. in Phoc.

had been banished from Athens, had the temerity to return. He was accused before the people, who thought proper to acquit him at the instigation of a favorite orator. The Areopagus taking cognizance of the affair ordered the criminal to be seized, recommenced the prosecution, and prevailed on the people to condemn him.[p]

To this court were committed the inspection and custody of the laws.[q] It disposed of the public fund according to its discretion.[r] To it belonged the guardianship of all young men in the city; and it was the business of this institution to appoint them tutors,[s] and see that they were educated according to their abilities.[t] Its authority was extended even to persons of all ages, and of both sexes; and it was empowered to reward the meritorious, and to punish those guilty of any impiety or immorality. To effect this, the Areopagites, accompanied by the *γυναικονόμοι*, frequented the public meetings, marriages, and solemn sacrifices, that they might observe whether the people conducted themselves with decency and propriety.[u] Idleness was a crime which came especially under the cognizance of this tribunal; and the Areopagus was obliged to inquire strictly into every man's course of life, and examine whether any supported themselves by theft, rapine, or other unlawful means.[v] All matters of religion, blasphemy, contempt of holy mysteries, the consecration of new gods, the erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies in divine worship, were referred to the judgment of this court.[w] Hence St. Paul was arraigned before it as "a setter forth of strange gods," because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection.[x] The Areopagus seldom interfered in the management of public affairs, except in cases of great emergency or danger; and to it the commonwealth had recourse as the last and safest refuge.[y] As it exhibited the greatest firmness in punishing crimes, and the nicest circumspection in reforming manners; and as it never employed chastisement till advice and menaces were found of no effect;[z] it acquired the esteem and love of the people, even while it exercised the most absolute power.

This court at first met on the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth days of every month,[a] and afterwards almost every day.[b] On any urgent business they assembled in the *βασιλικὴ στοὰ*, royal portico, which, as well as the other courts of justice, was encompassed with a rope to prevent the multitude from incommoding them.[c]

It was usual for the Areopagites to hold their meetings in the open air,[d] partly because it was considered unlawful that the criminal and accuser should be under the same roof, and partly that the judges, whose persons were esteemed sacred, might contract no pollution by conversing with profane and wicked men.[e] They also heard and

[p] Demosthenes de Corona.
[q] Plutarch. in Solon.
[r] Plutarch. in Themistocle.
[s] Æschines Philosoph. in Axiocho.
[t] Isocrates Areopagitic.
[u] Athenæus lib. vi.
[v] Plutarch. Solone; Valer. Max. lib. ii. cap. 6.
[w] Justinus Martyr.
[x] Act. Apostol. xviii. 18. 19.
[y] Liban. Argum. Orat. Androt.
[z] Isocrat. Areopagitic.
[a] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.
[b] Lucian.
[c] Demosth. Orat. i. in Aristogit.
[d] Pollux loc. citat.
[e] Antiphon. Orat. de Cæde Herodis.

determined all causes at night and in darkness, in order that they might not be influenced in favor of either the criminal or the accuser,[f] and that no one might know the number, or discern the countenances of the judges.[g]

Actions concerning murder were introduced into the Areopagus by the *βασιλεὺς*, who, laying aside the crown, the badge of his office, was allowed to sit as judge among the members,[h] and to pronounce with them the punishment prescribed by laws engraven on a column.[i]

The usual method in which they proceeded was as follows :—the court being met and the people excluded, they divided themselves into several committees, each of which heard and determined separate causes, if the multiplicity of business would not give time for them to be brought before the whole senate. These appointments were made by lots, that no one might be corrupted by bribes, or prejudge the cause which he was to hear.[k] The Areopagites sat on seats of stone, and held in their hands, as a mark of their authority, a sort of batoon made in the form of a sceptre.[l]

Before the trial commenced, the plaintiff and defendant, placed near the testicles of a goat, a ram, and a bull, took a solemn oath by the *σεμναὶ θεαὶ*, furies. Near relations only were allowed to prosecute a murderer; and the plaintiff swore that he was related to the deceased person, and that the prisoner was the cause of his death. On the contrary, the prisoner swore that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge. Both of them confirmed their oaths by dreadful imprecations, and wished that, if they swore falsely, they, their houses, and their whole families, might be utterly destroyed by the divine vengeance.[m] This was considered as so dreadful and certain, that the law inflicted no penalty on those who, at such a time, were guilty of perjury; but they were left to the inexorable *σεμναὶ θεαὶ*, furies, who from a neighbouring temple, dedicated to their worship, seemed to listen to their invocation, and prepared to punish the perjured.

After these preliminaries, the parties were placed upon two *ἀργυροῦς λίθους*, silver stones:[n] the accuser sat on the stone of Ὕβρις, Injury; and the accused on that of Ἀναιδεία, Impudence,[o] or of Ἀναιτία, Innocence.[p] To these two goddesses temples and altars were erected in the Areopagus.[q] The accuser then proposed to the prisoner *τρία παλαίσματα*, three questions,[r] to each of which he was to give a distinct answer. The first was, Εἰ *κατέκτονας*; *Are you guilty of this murder?* to which he answered, Ἔκτονα, *I am guilty*, or Οὐκ ἔκτονα, *I am not guilty*. The second question was, Ὅπως *κατέκτονας*; *How did you commit this murder?* The third was, Τίνος *βουλεύμασι κατέκτονας*; *Who were your accomplices in this murder?*

The parties next impleaded each other; and the prisoner was al-

[f] Lucian. Hermotino.
[g] Pausan. lib. vi.
[h] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 90. Antiphon. Orat. xvi.
[i] Lysias in Eratosth.
[k] Lucian. Bis Accusato.
[l] Suidas.
[m] Demosth. Aristocrat. Dinarch. in Demosth. Lysias in Theomnest. Pollux lib. viii. cap 10.
[n] Pausan. lib. i. cap. 28.
[o] Id. ibid.
[p] Adrian Junius.
[q] Pausan. Cicero de Legibus lib. ii.
[r] Æschyl. Eumenid.

lowed to make his defence in two speeches. At the end of the first he might secure himself by flight, and go into voluntary banishment if he feared the issue of the trial; but if he made use of this privilege, all his property was confiscated and exposed to sale by the πωληταί.[s] In the ancient periods of the republic both parties spoke for themselves;[t] but in later ages they were allowed counsel to plead for them.[u] But whoever spoke, truth alone was entitled to present herself to the judges, who dreaded eloquence not less than falsehood; and the advocates, who were ten in number,[v] were required to banish from their harangues all exordia, perorations, digressions, every ornament of style, and even the language of sentiment; that language which so violently inflames the imagination, and which has such an ascendancy over commiserating minds.[w]

Both parties having been heard, and the question sufficiently discussed, the judges proceeded to give sentence with the most profound gravity and silence; and hence Ἀρεοπαγίτου σιωπηλότερος, *more silent than an Areopagite*, and Ἀρεοπαγίτου στεγανώτερος, *more severe than an Areopagite*, became proverbial sayings;[x] though some think that these expressions originated from the reserve and severe gravity of their manners, whence Ἀρεοπαγίτης usually denotes a grave and austere person; and others, from the great care with which they concealed their transactions in the senate, as the poet observes:

> Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis,
> Therefore you secrets shall conceal, as the Court of Mars at Athens.[y]

The manner of giving sentence was as follows:—in the court were two urns, of which one was of brass, the other of wood. The former was called ὁ ἔμπροσθεν, from the situation in which it stood; κύριος, because the votes that were cast into it deemed the accusation *valid;* and θανάτου, because they decreed the death of the prisoner. The urn of wood was placed *behind* that of brass; and into it were cast the votes of those who acquitted the prisoner. Hence the urn of wood was called ὁ ὕστερος, ὁ ὀπίσω, ὁ ἄκυρος, and ὁ ἐλέου the urn of mercy.[z] When the numbers were equal, an inferior officer added, in favor of the accused, another vote, which was called the suffrage of Minerva, who, according to an ancient tradition, being present in the court of Areopagus at the trial of Orestes, gave her casting vote to turn the scale of justice.[a] Afterwards the thirty tyrants, having rendered themselves masters of the city, ordered the members of the Areopagus to deliver their votes in public by casting their calculi, flints, on two tables, of which one contained the votes of those who acquitted, the other of those who condemned the prisoner. This public manner of voting was enforced by the tyrants for the purpose of knowing how each member was affected towards their interests

[s] Demosth. in Aristocrat. Pollux lib. viii.

[t] Sextus Empir. adv. Mathem. lib. ii.

[u] Lucian. de Gymnas. et in Bis Accusat.

[v] Harpocrat. in Συνήγορ. Schol. Aristophan. ad Vesp. 689.

[w] Lys. adv. Simon. Lycurg. in Leocr. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. i. Lucian. Anacharsid. Demosth. &c.

[x] Demosth. in Aristog. Macrobius Saturn. vii. 1.

[y] Juvenal. Sat. ix. 101.

[z] Schol. Aristoph. ad Vesp. 981 et 985.

[a] Aristid. Orat. in Minerv. Julian. Orat. iii.

and proceedings.[b] As soon as the accused person was condemned, he was bound and led to punishment.[c]

Besides the crimes of which the Areopagus took cognizance, other causes were sometimes brought before it in which its sentence was not final, and an appeal might be made to the courts to which they belonged.

The members of the Areopagus were never rewarded with crowns for their services, not being permitted to wear them;[d] but they received a maintenance from the public, which was called κρέας;[e] and they had also three oboli allowed them for every cause in which judgment was given.[f]

This institution was preserved entire till the time of Pericles, who, as he had never filled the office of archon, could not be admitted a member of the Areopagus, and therefore employed all his power and influence in undermining an authority which was incompatible with his own.[g] Having obtained the interest of the people, he unfortunately succeeded in his design; and most of the causes which had been formerly tried in this court, were withdrawn from its cognizance.[h] Its jurisdiction was afterwards confined to murder, maimings, poisonings, conflagrations of buildings,[i] and some other less considerable offences.[k] From the time that Pericles succeeded in enfeebling the authority of the Areopagus, there was an end to censors in the state, or rather all the citizens assumed that office. Accusations and informations multiplied; the people sensibly degenerated from their ancient virtue; and morals received a fatal blow.[l] The same vices and excesses which disgraced the city gradually insinuated themselves among the members of the Areopagus.[m]

CHAP. XV.

Other Courts of Justice for Criminal Offences.

SOLON ordained that the nine archons, who till that time had been the supreme judges in most causes, should be empowered only to examine into matters which were brought before them, and which they were obliged to refer to the determination of the people, who were constituted final judges of right and wrong in the several courts at Athens. Each of the nine archons carried into the court in which he sat the causes that had fallen within his department, and presided whilst they were pending.[n]

The judges were chosen from the citizens without any regard to

[b] Lysias in Agorat.
[c] Lycurg. Orat. adv. Leocrat.
[d] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[e] Hesychius in Κρέας.
[f] Lucian. Bis Accusat.
[g] Aristot. de Repub. lib. ii. cap. 12. Diodorus Sicul. lib. ii. Plutarch. in Pericle.
[h] Plutarch. in Pericle.
[i] Lysias in Simon. Demosth. adv. Bœot. 2. Idem in Lept. Liban. in Orat. adv. Androt. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 117.
[k] Lysias Orat. Areopag.
[l] Isocrates Areopagit.
[m] Athenæus Δειπνοσοφ.
[n] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. Harpocr. in Ἡγεμ. δίκας.

rank or property, the very lowest of them being eligible to the office provided they were thirty years of age, and had not been convicted of any crime. Strictly speaking, these judges were merely jurymen to assist the presiding magistrate.

Besides the Areopagus there were ten other courts of justice, four of which took cognizance *ἐπὶ τῶν φοινικῶν πραγμάτων, of actions concerning blood;* the other six, *ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, of civil affairs.* These ten courts were painted with different colors, from which they were denominated Βατραχιοῦν, Φοινικιοῦν, &c.; and on each of them was engraven one of the letters, A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H, Θ, I, K. Hence they were likewise called Alpha, Beta, &c.

Those who were at leisure to hear and determine causes delivered their names and the names of their father and borough, inscribed on a tablet, to the Θεσμοθέται, who returned it to them with another tablet, on which was inscribed the letter of one of the courts to which they had been appointed by lots. They carried these tablets to the crier of the several courts denoted by the letters, who gave to every man a tablet inscribed with his own name and that of the court which fell to his lot, together with a staff or sceptre. These being received, they were each admitted to sit in the court;[o] but if any person, who had not received one of the before-mentioned letters, presumed to sit among the judges, he was fined. The court into which each was to be admitted was determined annually by lots.[p] It may not be improper to mention in this place that *σκῆπτρον*, the *sceptre* or *staff*, was always the ensign of judicial and sovereign power; and hence in Homer it is accounted sacred, and the most solemn oaths are sworn by it:

> Ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι,
> Ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὔποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
> Φύσει, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν,
> Οὐδ' ἀναθηλήσει, περὶ γὰρ ῥά ἑ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε
> Φύλλα τε, καὶ φλοιόν· νῦν αὖτέ μιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
> Ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας
> Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται.[q]
>
> But harken, I shall swear a solemn oath:
> By this same sceptre which shall never bud,
> Nor boughs bring forth as once, which having left
> Its parent on the mountain-top, what time
> The woodman's axe lopp'd off its foliage green,
> And stript its bark, shall never grow again;
> Which now the judges of Achaia bear,
> Who under Jove stand guardians of the laws. Cowper.

Sometimes the sceptres of kings and great persons were studded with gold or silver:

> ———ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ
> Χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον———.[r]
>
> ———He cast his sceptre on the ground,
> Emboss'd with studs of gold.———

The judges, having heard the causes which they had been appointed

[o] Aristophan. Scholiast. in Pluto.
[p] Demosth. in Aristog. Aristoph. Scholiast. in Pluto, v. 277.
[q] Iliad. A'. v. 233.
[r] Ibid. v. 245.

to determine, went immediately and returned the sceptre to the prytanes, from whom they received the reward which was due to them, and which was called δικαστικὸν,[s] or μισθὸς δικαστικός. This reward was sometimes an obolus, and sometimes three oboli, to each for every cause that was decided.[t] This trifling recompence formed an annual expenditure to the state of about one hundred and fifty talents;[u] for the number of judges was prodigious, and amounted to about six thousand.[v] As all the citizens might be present at the assembly of the nation and decide on the interests of the state, all were likewise entitled to give their suffrages in the courts of justice, and to regulate the interests of individuals. The office of judge, therefore, was neither an employment nor a function of magistracy; it was a temporary commission, respectable for its object, but degraded by the motives which determined the greater part of the Athenians to accept it. The temptation of gain rendered them assiduous at the tribunals; but no one was permitted to sit as judge in two courts on the same day;[w] and if any of the judges was convicted of bribery, he was fined.[x]

Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ was a court of judicature instituted in the reign of Demophoon the son of Theseus, on account of the following circumstance:—some of the Argives, under the conduct of Diomedes, or, as others say, of Agamemnon, being driven in the night on the coast of Attica, landed at the harbour of Phalerus, and supposing it to be an enemy's country began to plunder. The Athenians being alarmed, united in a body under the command of Demophoon, repulsed the invaders with great loss, and compelled them to return to their vessels. The next day Acamas, the brother of Demophoon, finding among the slain the Palladium or statue of Minerva, brought from Troy, discovered that the persons whom they had killed were their friends and allies. Being warned, therefore, by an oracle, which called the Argives ἀγνῶτας, unknown, they gave them an honorable burial, consecrated the statue of the goddess, to whom they dedicated a temple, and instituted a court of justice which took cognizance of accidental murder.[y] The first that was arraigned in this court was Demophoon, who, returning from the conflict with the Argives, accidentally killed one of his own subjects by a sudden turn of his horse. Others say that Agamemnon, being enraged at the loss of his men, and dissatisfied with the conduct of Demophoon, referred the quarrel to the decision of fifty Athenians and as many Argives, who were called Ἐφέται, διὰ τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐφεθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς κρίσεως, because both parties committed to them the determination of their cause,[z] or ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐφιέναι, from appealing.[a]

Afterwards, the Argives were excluded, and the Ἐφέται were reduced to fifty-one by Draco, who augmented their privileges, rendered their power superior to that of the court of Areopagus, and

[s] Hesych. in v. δικαστικ.
[t] Id. ibid. Aristophan. in Plut. v. 329. Id. in Ran. v. 140. Id. in Equit. v. 51 et 255; Schol. ibid. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 5. seg. 20.
[u] Schol. Aristophan. in Vesp. v. 661.
[v] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 660.
[w] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[x] Schol. Thucyd. lib. vi.
[y] Schol. Sophocl. in Œd. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 15.
[z] Harpocration.
[a] Pollux lib. viii.

enacted that no person under fifty years of age should be admitted a member.[b] In this state they continued till the time of Solon, who lessened their authority, and allowed them only the cognizance of manslaughter, and of conspiracies against the lives of citizens which were discovered before put in execution.[c]

Fifty of them were appointed by election, five being chosen out of every tribe; and one of them was nominated by lots.[d] All of them were to be men of rigid morals and virtuous lives.[e]

If a person involuntarily killed a man or woman, he was brought before this court[f] and sentenced not ἀειφυγίᾳ, to perpetual banishment, but to remain abroad till he should pay to the kindred of the slain a sum of money, which was called ποινὴ, as though it were the price of blood.[g] But if he could not obtain permission to return from the kindred of the slain, he continued abroad for one year.

The proceedings in this court were διωμοσία, the oath of the accuser and the defendant; λόγοι, the speeches of each party; and γνῶσις δικαστηρίου, the judgment. Causes were introduced by the βασιλεύς.[h]

Ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον, was a court of justice in the temple of Apollo Delphinius and Diana Delphinia.[i] It took cognizance of such murders as were confessed by the criminals, who contended that they were committed by permission of the laws, as in the case of self-preservation or adultery; for any one was allowed to kill an adulterer who was taken in the fact.[k] The first person tried in this court was Theseus, who slew the robbers that infested the roads between Trœzen and Athens.

Ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ was a court of judicature that took cognizance of murders occasioned by inanimate things, as a stone, a tree, &c.[l] These, if they killed a man by accident, or by the direction of an unknown person, or of one who had escaped, were ordered to be cast out of the Athenian territories by the φυλοβασιλεῖς.[m] This court was instituted in the time of Erechtheus; and the first thing tried in it was an axe, with which the priest, whom they called βουφόνος, had killed an ox that ate of the consecrated cakes.[n] This was also the common hall in which public entertainments were held, and where the sacred lamp, that burned with perpetual fire, was guarded by widows, who, having survived the years and the desires of marriage, were devoted to the mother of the gods. This lamp was extinct under the tyranny of Aristion; and it was always managed with the same rites and ceremonies as those used at Rome in preserving the

[b] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 124. Demosth. Orat. adv. Macart. Suidas in Ἐφέτ.

[c] Plutarch. in Solone. Demosth. Orat. adv. Macart. et in Aristocr. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 124.

[d] Schol. Aristophan. ad Plut. v. 277.

[e] Idem ibid.

[f] Demosth. in Neær.

[g] Demosth. in Midian. Eustath. in Iliad. A'. Schol. Sophocl.

[h] Pausanias; Harpocrat. Suidas; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. Demosth. in Aristocr. Hesych. Schol. Aristophan. in Plut. v. 277.

[i] Plutarch.

[k] Idem in Solone; Hesych. Demosth. in Aristocr. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 122.

[l] Demosth. ibid. Pollux ibid.

[m] Pollux; Æschines in Ctesiph.

[n] Pausanias; Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 3. Harpocr.

vestal fires, which were instituted after the pattern of this and another holy fire at Delphi.[o]

Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, ἐν Φρεάττου, was situated on the sea shore in the Piræeus, and received its name ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, from its standing in a pit, and was therefore sometimes called ἐν φρέατι;[p] but some think it more probable that it was so denominated from the hero Phreatus. The causes determined in this court were such as concerned those who had escaped from their own country for murder, or who, having fled for involuntary homicide, had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate murder.[q] The proceedings were as follows:—the judges being assembled ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, the criminal, τῆς γῆς οὐχ ἁπτόμενος, not being allowed to land or cast anchor, pleaded his cause in his vessel, and, if found guilty, was committed to the mercy of the winds and waves, or, as some say, suffered there condign punishment; if he proved himself innocent, he was pardoned only for the second offence, and was banished twelve months for the homicide.[r]

CHAP. XVI.

Courts of Justice for Civil Affairs, and their Judicial Proceedings.

Παράβυστον was so denominated either from its taking cognizance only of trivial matters, the value of which did not exceed one drachm, or because it was situated ἐν ἀφανεῖ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως, in an obscure part of the city.[s] There were two courts of this name, one of which was called Παράβυστον μεῖζον, and the other Παράβυστον μέσον. The persons who sat as judges in the latter were οἱ ἕνδεκα, the eleven magistrates.[t] By some, therefore, it is not placed among the ten courts, in which all the common people of Athens were permitted to sit as judges; and instead of it was reckoned another, which was called Τὸ Καινὸν, the New Court.[u]

Τρίγωνον was probably so denominated from its triangular form.[v]

Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκου received its name from the temple of Lycus in which it was erected. In all the courts of justice the same person had a statue, by which he was represented with the face of a wolf; and, therefore, λύκου δεκὰς denotes sycophants, and τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας, those who received bribes, and who by tens, or in great numbers, frequented these places.[w]

Τὸ Μητίχου was so called from one Metichus, an architect, by whom it was built.[x]

The judges in all these courts were obliged to swear by the paternal Apollo, Ceres, and Jupiter the king, that they would pass a just sen-

[o] Plutarch. in Numa.
[p] Pollux lib. viii.
[q] Demosth. in Aristocr. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 122.
[r] Demosth. ibid. Harpocr. Pollux ibid. Hesychius.
[s] Aristot. Polit. lib. iv. Pausan. Atticis. Demosth.
[t] Harpocrat. Suidas; Pausan. loco citato.
[u] Aristophan. Vespis.
[v] Ibid.
[w] Aristophan. Schol. in Vesp. Harpocr. Suid. Pollux, &c.
[x] Pollux, &c.

tence and according to law, or in matters concerning which the laws had not determined, according to the best of their judgment. This oath, as well as that taken by those who judged in the Heliæa, was administered near the river Ilissus, in a place called Ardettus, from a person of that name, who in a public sedition united the contending parties, and engaged them to confirm in this place their treaties of peace by mutual oaths. Hence common and profane swearers were denominated ἄρδηττοι.[y]

Of all the courts that took cognizance of civil affairs, Ἡλιαία was the most celebrated and frequented. It derived its name ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁλίζεσθαι, from the thronging of the people,[z] or rather ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, from the sun, because it was an open place and exposed to the sun's rays.[a] The judges who sat in this court were at least fifty, but generally two or five hundred. When causes of importance were to be tried, it was customary to summon all the judges of the other courts.[b] Sometimes one thousand were called in, and then two courts were joined; sometimes fifteen hundred or two thousand, and then three or four courts met;[c] and the number of the ἡλιασταὶ has been sometimes increased by this means to six thousand.[d] Before this tribunal all causes of consequence either to the state or individuals were brought. The judges engaged by a solemn oath to decide according to the laws and the decrees of the people and the council of five hundred, to receive no present, to listen impartially to both parties, and to oppose with their utmost power all those who should make the least attempt to introduce innovations in the form of government. Dreadful imprecations against themselves and their families, should they violate it, concluded this oath, which contained several other particulars of less importance; as that they would not discharge private debts, make any division of lands, elect into public employments persons who had not rendered an account of their proceedings in a former office served by them, restore any one sent into banishment, nor pardon those who were condemned to die, &c.[e] To try causes in this court was denominated ἡλιάζειν.[f]

Besides these ten public courts, there were others of less consequence, in which the διαιτηταὶ, the τεσσαράκοντα, or other magistrates, took cognizance of causes belonging to their several offices. Such were the courts at Cynosarges, the Odeum, the temple of Theseus, the Bucoleum, and some others.

The judicial proceedings were as follows. The plaintiff delivered the name of the person against whom he brought the action, with an account of the offence, to the magistrate whose office it was εἰσάγειν, to introduce it into the court where causes of that description were heard.[g] The magistrate then enquired whether the cause belonged to his cognizance, and also εἰ ὅλως εἰσάγειν χρὴ, whether it deserved

[y] Pollux; Suid. Hesychius; Harpocrat.
[z] Ulpian. in Demosth.
[a] Idem; Schol. Aristoph. in Nubes v. 860. et alibi.
[b] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 11. seg. 123. Ulpian. in Timocr.
[c] Pollux ibid. Harpocration.
[d] Pollux ibid. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. Lysias in Agorat. Andoc. de Myst.
[e] Demosth. in Timocr.
[f] Aristoph. Lys. v. 381.
[g] Suidas; Ulpian. in Midian.

to be tried in a court of justice. This inquiry was called *ἀνάκρισις*.[h] By permission of the magistrate, the plaintiff summoned his adversary to appear before the magistrate, which was called *κλητεύειν*.[i] This was sometimes done by apparitors or bailiffs, who were denominated *κλήτορες* or *κλητῆρες*;[k] and sometimes by the plaintiff himself, who always carried with him sufficient witnesses to attest the giving of the summons; and these were also called *κλήτορες* or *κλητῆρες*.[l] Of this latter mode of proceeding we have an example in Aristophanes:

——*προσκαλοῦμαί σ' ὅστις εἶ,*
Πρὸς τοὺς ἀγορανόμους βλάβης τῶν φορτίων,
Κλητῆρ' ἔχουσα Χαιρεφῶντα τουτονί.[m]

I summon thee, whoever thou art, to answer before the agoranomi for the damage done to my goods: this Chærephon is witness. Hence it appears that this was the form in which the plaintiff himself summoned his adversary: *Προσκαλοῦμαι τὸν δεῖνα τοῦδε ἀδικήματος πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνγε, κλητῆρα ἔχων τὸν δεῖνα,*[n] *I summon such a one to answer for this injury before this magistrate, having such a person as my witness.* When the plaintiff employed an apparitor, the form was thus varied: *Κατηγορῶ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦδε, καὶ προσκαλοῦμαι τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ δεῖνος εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε, I accuse such a person of this injury, and summon him by such a one to answer before this magistrate.* It was necessary to mention in the summons the name of the *κλητήρ*. When a married woman was cited to appear before a magistrate, her husband was also summoned in the following form: *Τὴν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν κύριον, such a woman and her lord,* &c.; because wives being under the government of their husbands, were not permitted to appear in any court without them. If the criminal refused to appear before the magistrate, he was carried to the court by force,[o] or beaten to compel him:

——ni sequitur, pugnos in ventrem ingere,
Vel oculum exclude.[p]

Unless he follows, strike him in the stomach,
Aye, or put out an eye.

Sometimes the criminal was not summoned to appear immediately, but on a certain day, which was mentioned in his citation:

Καλοῦμαι Πεισθέταιρον ὕβρεως
Εἰς τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα μῆνα.[q]

I summon Pisthetærus to answer the next month of Munychion for the injury done me. When the plaintiff and defendant were both before the magistrate, he inquired of the former whether all his witnesses were ready, or whether it was necessary to summon any other person. This was the second *ἀνάκρισις*, to which the plaintiff was obliged to answer under the penalty of *ἀτιμία*, infamy. If some of his witnesses were not ready, or any other requisite was wanting, he desired farther time to make his pro-

[h] Suidas; Ulpian. in Midian.
[i] Ulpian. in Demosth. Orat. de Corona.
[k] Schol. Aristophan. ad Vesp. v. 189. et ad Aves.
[l] Ulpian. in Demosth. Orat. de Corona; Suidas; Harpocrat.
[m] Aristophan. Vespæ.
[n] Ulpian. in Midian.
[o] Terent. Phormio act. v. scen. 7.
[p] Idem ibid.
[q] Aristophanis Avibus.

secution, and swore that this delay was not voluntary on his part: to take this oath was termed *ὑπόμνυσθαι*, and the oath itself *ὑπωμοσία*.[r] The same excuse was admitted in behalf of the defendant, who had also another plea called *παραγραφὴ* or *παραμαρτυρία*, when he alleged by sufficient witnesses that the action brought against him was not *δίκη εἰσαγώγιμος*, a cause which could then be lawfully tried.[s] This happened when the injury had been committed five years before the accusation, for after that time no action was valid; when the dispute had been compromised before credible witnesses, for a voluntary agreement before witnesses was binding, provided it was not concerning any thing unlawful; when the defendant had been already tried, and punished or acquitted; or when it was a cause of which that magistrate was not empowered to take cognizance.[t] To this *παραγραφὴ* the plaintiff was obliged to give an answer, proved by sufficient evidence; and both the exception and answer, as sworn by the witnesses, were termed *διαμαρτυρία*.[u] The defendant might put off the trial, bring an action against his adversary, and defer for some time the judgment which he feared.

If, however, the defendant did not allege any plea or excuse, and was willing to proceed to a speedy trial, he was said *εὐθυδικεῖν*, and the trial was termed *εὐθυδικία*. An oath was then administered to both parties. The plaintiff swore that he would *ἀληθῆ κατηγορεῖν*, prefer no false accusation; and if the crime was of a public nature, he also swore that he would not be prevailed on, either by bribes, promises, or any other temptation, to desist from the prosecution. The defendant swore *ἀληθῆ ἀπολογήσειν*, that his answer should be just and true, or *μὴ ἀδικεῖν*, that he had not injured the plaintiff. The oath of the accuser was called *προωμοσία*; that of the criminal *ἀντωμοσία*, or, as some say, *ἀντιγραφὴ*;[v] and both their oaths were denominated *διωμοσία*. These oaths, and those of the witnesses, with other matters relating to the action, being written on tablets, were put into a vessel termed *ἐχῖνος*, and afterwards delivered to the judges.[w]

The magistrate then proceeded to the election of judges, who were chosen by lots, and who on the *κυρία ἡμέρα*, appointed day, came to the tribunal and took their seats; the public crier having first commanded all those who had no business to depart, by saying, *Μετάστητε ἔξω*. To keep off the crowd the court was surrounded with a rope; and door-keepers, called *κιγκλίδες*, who were the same as the cancellatæ of the Romans, were appointed by a magistrate.[x] Lest any of the judges should be wanting, it was proclaimed, *Εἴ τις θύραισιν ἡλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, If any judge be without, let him enter;* for if any one came after the trial had begun, he could not be admitted, and was prohibited from passing sentence, because he had not heard all that both parties had said on the subject.[y]

[r] Demosthenes in Olympiad. Isæus de Philoctemone; Ulpian. in Midiana.

[s] Ulpian. in Midiana; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 57.

[t] Demosth. ad. Pantæn. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 57.

[u] Pollux ibid. Harpocration v. *Διαμαρτυρία*.

[v] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 55. Ulpian. in Orat. de Falsa Legat. Schol. Aristophan. ad Vesp. v. 1036.

[w] Pollux; Aristoph. Schol. ad Vesp. Harpocration; Suidas.

[x] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.

[y] Schol. Aristoph. ad Vesp.

The magistrate then proposed the cause to the judges, and gave them power to determine it, which was called *εἰσάγειν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*;[z] the cause itself was denominated *δίκη εἰσαγώγιμος*,[a] and the person who entered it, *εἰσαγωγεύς*. For by the laws of Athens certain causes were brought before the magistrates, who had no power to determine them by a final decision, but who were to examine them, and, if they deserved to be publicly heard, to refer them to the cognizance of the judges appointed for that purpose on such days as the magistrates should fix. This reference of the cause from the magistrate to the judges was called *ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίων*.

The public crier read the indictment, which contained the reasons of the accusation, with an account of the injury sustained by the plaintiff, and the manner in which it had been inflicted; all of which were noted down by the judges.[b]

If the person accused did not appear, sentence was immediately passed against him; and this sentence was called *ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικασθῆναι*, and *ἐρήμην ὀφλισκάνειν*. But if he presented himself within the space of ten days, and proved that he had been detained by sickness or by some other unavoidable cause, the former sentence was disannulled, and this was denominated *δίκη μὴ οὖσα*. The trial was then to be brought forward by the defendant, within the space of two months; and this was called *ἀντίληξις*, and the action itself *ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκην*;[c] but if he neglected to bring on the trial at that time, the former sentence was confirmed and put in execution.[d] Hence appears the reason of inserting the name of the person who was witness to the citation of the accused; and if any one pretended that his adversary was legally summoned, and could not produce any *κλήτορες* who were present at the citation, he was prosecuted by an action termed *γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας*.[e]

Before the trial commenced, both parties were obliged to deposit a certain sum of money, which was called *πρυτανεῖα*, in the hands of the magistrate who introduced their cause into the court, and who, in default of payment of this money, erased the cause from the roll. If the cause in dispute was of the value of one hundred drachms, and not more than one thousand, they deposited three drachms; if its value was more than one thousand, and not above ten thousand, they deposited thirty drachms. After the decision of the cause, the sum deposited was divided among the judges; and the person against whom sentence was given, besides the payment of other charges, was obliged to restore the money to his adversary.[f]

Παρακαταβολὴ was a sum of money deposited by those who sued the commonwealth for confiscated goods, or for goods claimed by the public treasury, or by private persons for the inheritances of heiresses; the former deposited a fifth, and the latter a tenth part of the value of the estates for which they contended.[g]

[z] Harpocr. Lys. contra Alcibiad. et Nicomach.

[a] Demosth. in Zenothem. et in Lacrit. Lys. in Pancleon.

[b] Ulpian. in Demosth.

[c] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 61.

[d] Id. ibid. Ulpian in Demosth.

[e] Ulpian. in Demosth. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6.

[f] Pollux ibid. Harpocration.

[g] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. Harpocration.

Παραστάσις was a drachm deposited in law-suits for small and trifling matters, which were decided by the διαιτηταί.[h]

Ἐπωβελία was a fine imposed on those who were unable to prove the indictment which they had brought against their adversaries. It was so denominated, because they were obliged to pay the sixth part of the value of that for which they contended, and derived its name from ὀβολὸς, because for every drachm they deposited one obolus, which is the sixth part of a drachm.[i] Some of these sums were deposited in most law-suits, before the trials could proceed.

If any of the witnesses refused to appear, he was summoned by a serjeant, who was κλητὴρ; and if he seemed unwilling to give evidence, he was required either to swear to the fact, to abjure it, or to deny that he was privy to it, or to pay a fine of one thousand drachms. He who was fined for refusing the oath, or who took it through fear, was said ἐκκλητεύεσθαι; but he who was only summoned, and voluntarily took the oath, κλητεύεσθαι.[k] The oath was administered with great solemnity before altars erected for that purpose in the courts of judicature.

It was necessary that the witnesses should be free-born, disinterested, and deserving of credit; for no person's oath was allowed in his own cause; and those, who by misconduct had forfeited their privileges and were reckoned ἄτιμοι, infamous, were considered as unworthy of credit. Slaves were not permitted to take any part in public affairs, and therefore could not give evidence in a court of justice, unless they were examined by torture. The accuser, indeed, might require that the slaves of the adverse party should be examined on the rack;[l] and sometimes one of the parties, of his own free will, presented his slaves to this inhuman proof,[m] persuaded that he had the right, as unfortunately he had the power, to commit so cruel an act. Sometimes he refused the requisition made to him for this purpose,[n] either from the dread of a deposition extorted by the violence of the tortures, or that his heart listened to the remonstrances of humanity; but his refusal, from whatever motive it proceeded, failed not to excite against him the strongest suspicions. The testimony of the μέτοικοι and ἀπελεύθεροι, sojourners and freedmen, was received in all cases, except the διαμαρτυρία in actions called ἀπροστασίου δίκαι.

There were two kinds of evidence, the first of which was when the person who gave it had been an eye-witness to the fact, and which was called μαρτυρία;[o] the other was when he received what he declared from another person, who had been an eye-witness, but who was dead, absent in a foreign country, or prevented by sickness or some unavoidable cause from appearing, and was called ἐκμαρτυρία.[p] The witnesses were required by the laws to deliver their testimony in writing, by which means it became impossible to recede from what they had sworn; and he, who had borne false witness, was convicted

[h] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. Harpocration.
[i] Pollux ibid. Harpocr. Kuster. ad Aristophan. Nubes v. 1134 et 1182.
[k] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. Harpocr.
[l] Demosth. in Neær. in Onet. et in Pantæn.
[m] Idem in Aphob. in Nicostr.
[n] Demosth. in Steph. Isocrates in Trapezit.
[o] Pollux lib. viii.
[p] Harpocration; Pollux.

with less difficulty. The tablets, however, of those witnesses, who on a citation before given had come from home with the intention of giving their testimony, were different from the tablets of such as accidentally appeared in court. The latter were composed only of wax, and formed in such a manner as to give the witness an opportunity of making any alterations in his evidence, which after due consideration seemed to him to be necessary.[q]

After the witnesses had been sworn, the plaintiff being seated on the left, and the defendant on the right of the tribunal,[r] each of them generally spoke what their orators had prepared for them in private.[s] Sometimes, if they desired it, the judges allowed them *συνήγοροι*, advocates, to plead for them, which was called *ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν*, *to plead for a fee*.[t] Lest, however, the length of their speeches should weary the patience of the judges, and prevent them from proceeding to other business, they were limited to a certain time, called *διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα*,[u] which was measured by a *κλέψυδρα*, hour-glass, used with water instead of sand;[v] and that no fraud or deceit might be practised, a person, whom from his office they called *ἐφύδωρ*, or *ἐφ' ὕδωρ*, was appointed to distribute the water equally to both parties.[w] When the water had run out of the glass, they were to conclude their speeches; and hence the phrases *πρὸς τῇ κλεψύδρᾳ*, *πρὸς ὕδωρ ἀγωνίζεσθαι*,[x] and *ἄλλως ἀναλίσκειν ὕδωρ*. The speakers were so careful not to lose or mispend their water, that whilst the laws quoted by them were read, or if any other business intervened, they stopped the glass.[y] If, however, any person had ended his speech before the time allowed him had expired, he was permitted to give the water that remained in the glass to another speaker; and this is the meaning of the orator, who said *τῷ ὕδατι τῷ ἐμῷ λαλείτω*, *let him speak till my water be run out*.[z]

When both parties had finished their speeches, the public crier, by command of the magistrate who presided in the court, ordered the judges to bring in their verdict; and in crimes for which the laws had appointed penalties, and which were called *ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι*, a single verdict, declaring the accused guilty or not guilty, was sufficient; but in cases which the laws did not notice, and which were denominated *ἀγῶνες τίμητοι*, if the person accused was brought in guilty, a second sentence was required to determine the punishment due to the offence.[a] Before the judges proceeded to pass sentence, the condemned person was asked what injury he thought his adversary had received from him, and what reparation he ought in justice to make him. The plaintiff's account, and the indictment which had been previously delivered, were taken into consideration; and the circumstances on both sides being carefully examined, the decretory sentence

[q] Pollux; Harpocration.
[r] Aristotel. Problem.
[s] Idem Rhetor. lib. i. cap. 33.
[t] Clemens Alexandrin. Suidas; Æschines in Ctesiph.
[u] Harpocration.
[v] Plato in Theæt. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 693. Schol. ibid. Demosth. et Æschin. passim; Lucian. Piscat. cap. 28.
[w] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 113. Kuster. ad Suid. in *διαμεμετ.*
[x] Demosth. in Macart.
[y] Demosth.
[z] Idem.
[a] Harpocration; Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timarch.

was passed. Sometimes the judges limited the punishment in criminal as well as in civil causes, concerning which the laws were silent. This happened in the case of Socrates, who was condemned not only by the first sentence of the judges, which determined whether the criminal should be acquitted or found guilty, but also by that which the laws obliged them afterwards to pronounce; for in crimes not capital, the judges were empowered to estimate the offence, and to inquire of the criminal what punishment he thought his offence deserved. This question being proposed to Socrates, he replied that "he had merited very great dignities and rewards, and to have a daily maintenance in the Prytaneum,"—one of the highest honors in the Athenian commonwealth. This answer incensed the judges so much, that they condemned that most innocent man to death.[b]

The most ancient manner of giving sentence was by black and white sea shells, called *χοιρίναι*, or by pebbles denominated *ψῆφοι*:

> Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque lapillis,
> His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.[c]
>
> White stones and black the ancients used of old;
> The first acquit, the latter guilt unfold.

Afterwards, *σπόνδυλοι*, small balls of brass, were employed for that purpose. To these succeeded *κύαμοι*, beans, which were of two sorts, white and black; the former were whole, and used in acquitting; the latter were bored through, and employed in condemning.[d] Hence judges who lived by the gifts which they received in distributing justice, were called *κυαμοτρῶγες*, eaters of beans;[e] and *λευκὴ ψῆφος* was a proverbial expression not much different from *αἶξ οὐρανία*, or Amalthea capra, and was usually applied to that which produced large profits and maintained the owner.[f]

The judges took the beans from the altar, and cast them through a small tunnel, called *κημὸς*, into two urns, which were denominated *κάδοι*, or *καδίσκοι*. They were permitted to hold the beans only with three fingers, the fore-finger, middle, and thumb, that it might be impossible for them to cast in more than one at a time. The rest of the customary rites were nearly similar to those described in the judicial proceedings of the Areopagus, except that in private causes four urns were placed in the court.[g] This, however, might probably be occasioned by the number of those who were concerned in the trial; for if there were more than two competitors for an estate, each of them had a distinct urn into which were cast the beans in his favor, and he who had the greatest number of beans won the trial.

When the judges had finished voting, lest any one through favor should have suspended his suffrage, the crier proclaimed, *Εἴ τις ἀψήφιστος, ἀνιστάσθω, If there be any person who has not given his vote, let him arise.*

The urns were then opened, and the suffrages numbered in presence of the magistrate, who stood with a rod in his hand, which he placed over the beans as they were reckoned, lest any person through

[b] Cicero de Oratore lib. i.
[c] Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xv.
[d] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 123. Hesychius; Harpocration; Aristophan. Schol. in Ran. et Vesp. &c.
[e] Aristophan. Equit.
[f] Hesychius; Eustathius Iliad. γ.
[g] Demosthen. Orat. in Macart.

treachery or mistake should omit any, or count the same twice. If there was a majority of black beans, the magistrate pronounced the accused guilty, and, as a mark of condemnation, traced out a long line on a tablet covered with wax, exposed to every eye; and hence ἅπασι τιμᾶν μακρὰν signifies *to condemn all.* On the contrary, if the white exceeded or only equalled the number of the black beans, he drew a short line as a mark of acquittal;[h] for such were the clemency and moderation of the Athenian laws, that if the votes were equal, and the case appeared doubtful, the rigorous exactions of justice yielded to the dictates of mercy and compassion, and the prisoner was acquitted;[i] and this rule was always observed in the courts at Athens:

Καὶ τοῖσι λοιποῖς δδε νόμος τεθήσεται,
Νικᾶν ἴσαις ψήφοισι τὸν φεύγοντ' ἀεί.[k]

——————In future times
This law for ever shall be ratified,
That votes in equal number shall absolve. POTTER.

——————νόμισμ' εἰς ταὐτό γε,
Νικᾶν, ἰσήρεις ὅστις ἂν ψήφους λάβῃ.[l]

On this account shall after-ages save
Such criminals, as equal voices have.

The plaintiff was denominated διώκων; the cause itself, δίωξις; and the defendant, φεύγων. The indictment before conviction was called αἰτία; after conviction, ἔλεγχος; and after condemnation, ἀδίκημα. During the time that the cause was in suspense and undetermined, it was engraven on a tablet, together with the name of the person accused, and hung up at the statue of the heroes surnamed ἐπώνυμοι, which was the most public place in the city: this was called ἐκκεῖσθαι, and seems to have been done with the design of giving sufficient notice of the trial, that all persons who could inform the court on the subject should present themselves for that purpose.[m]

If the person convicted had been guilty of a capital crime, he was delivered into the hands of the ἕνδεκα to receive punishment; but if a pecuniary fine was imposed on him, the ταμίαι τοῦ θεοῦ took care to see it paid. If he had not sufficient to pay the fine, he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment.[n]

On the contrary, he who, having commenced a prosecution, either dropped it, or failed in obtaining a fifth part of the suffrages,[o] was commonly sentenced to a penalty of one thousand drachms. If it appeared that the plaintiff had accused his adversary unjustly, and produced false evidence against him, he underwent in some places the punishment due to the crime of which he had accused an innocent person; but at Athens a fine only was imposed on him. The witness, however, who had forsworn himself, and he who had suborned him, were severely prosecuted; the former by an action of ψευδομαρτυρία, the latter of

[h] Aristoph. ejusque Schol. in Vesp. v. 106. et in Ran.
[i] Æschin. in Ctesiph. Aristot. Prob. seg. 29. Idem de Rhetor. cap. 19.
[k] Euripid. Electra v. 1265.
[l] Euripid. Iphig. Tauric. v. 1469.
[m] Demosthen. ejusque Schol. in Midian.
[n] Demosth. Androtian. Cornel. Nepos in Miltiade.
[o] Plat. Apol. Socrat. Demosth. de Coron. in Mid. in Androt. in Aristocr. in Timocr. in Theocrin.

κακοτεχνία. And as nothing was so easy or so dangerous as invidious accusations on the subject of religion, the punishment of death was decreed, in certain cases, against the man who should accuse another of impiety without being able to convict him.[p]

When the trials were ended, the judges went to the temple of Lycus, where they returned their ῥάβδοι, staves or sceptres, which were the ensigns of their office, and where they received from the officers, called κωλακρέται, the money due for their services. This money was at first only one obolus; afterwards it was increased to two, three, and at length to six oboli, or a drachm.[q]

In several particulars, private causes were conducted in the same manner as public prosecutions, and for the most part were brought, in the first instance, before the tribunals of the archons, who sometimes pronounced a sentence subject to an appeal,[r] and sometimes contented themselves with taking the necessary informations, which they laid before the superior courts.[s]

Certain causes might be prosecuted civilly by a private accusation, and criminally by a public action; and such was the nature of an insult committed on the person of a citizen. The choice of the mode of proceeding was left by the laws to the person offended; but the orators frequently abused the laws by changing, by insidious artifices, those suits into criminal, which in their origin were merely civil.

Nor was this the only danger the parties had to apprehend. Sometimes the judges, inattentive during the reading of the documents, lost sight of the question, and gave their verdict at a venture.[t] Sometimes men, powerful from their wealth, publicly insulted the poorer citizens, who durst not demand reparation for the offence;[u] sometimes they in a manner eternized a law-suit by obtaining successive delays, and preventing the tribunals from determining on their crimes till the public indignation had subsided;[v] sometimes they appeared in court escorted by a numerous retinue of corrupted witnesses, and even of honest men, who from weakness submitted to increase the train of their attendants, and lend them the sanction of their presence;[w] and, in a word, sometimes they armed the superior tribunals against subordinate judges who had refused to aid them in their unjust proceedings.[x]

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, there were so many modes of getting rid of a rival, or of taking vengeance on an enemy; so many public accusations were combined with private litigations, that it may be confidently asserted that more causes were brought before the tribunals of Athens than before all those of the rest of Greece.[y] Besides, if public accusations were a terror to some, they contributed to the pleasure and entertainment of the rest of the people, as the Athenians had almost all a decided taste for the chicane and artifices of the bar, to

[p] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 41.
[q] Aristoph. Ran. et Vesp. Suidas; Pollux; Hesychius.
[r] Demosth. in Onet. in Olymp. Plutarch. in Solon.
[s] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid.
[t] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[u] Demosth. in Mid.
[v] Idem ibid.
[w] Idem ibid.
[x] Idem ibid.
[y] Xenophon. de Rep. Athen.

which they gave themselves up with that ardor which characterized them in all their pursuits.[z]

The litigious disposition of the Athenians increased the number of informers, who infested the streets, and employed themselves in seizing every opportunity of accusing persons of credit and reputation. These informers were called *συκοφάνται*, which sometimes signifies *false witnesses*, but which more properly denotes common *barrators*, being derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ σῦκα φαίνειν*, from indicting those who exported figs; for in the time of a dearth, when all sorts of provisions were exceedingly scarce, it had been enacted that no figs should be exported out of Attica; and this law not being afterwards repealed, ill-natured and malicious men accused those whom they found transgressing it; and hence all busy informers were branded with the name of sycophants.[a] Others say that the name originated from the numerous informations occasioned by a law which prohibited the stealing of figs.

CHAP. XVII.

The Τεσσαράκοντα *and the* Διαιτηταί.

Οἱ Τεσσαράκοντα were forty inferior judges, who every year went the circuit through the different towns of Attica,[b] held in them their assizes, decided on certain acts of violence,[c] and terminated all processes for small sums not exceeding ten drachms, referring more considerable causes to arbitration.[d] At their first institution they are said by some to have been no more than thirty;[e] but others are of opinion that the judges called *οἱ τριάκοντα* were those who amerced the people for absenting themselves from the public assemblies.[f]

Διαιτηταὶ, arbitrators, were of two sorts.

1. Κλῆρωτοὶ were forty-four persons, who at the end of every year were drawn by lots out of each tribe,[g] and who were all persons of good reputation, and above the age of fifty[h] or sixty years.[i] It was their office to determine in their own tribes all controversies respecting money, which amounted to a greater sum than ten drachms. Their sentence was not final; and if either of the contending parties thought himself aggrieved by their determination, he might appeal to a superior court of justice;[k] and in that case, the arbitrators, enclosing the depositions of the witnesses and all the documents of the process in a box which was carefully sealed up, transmitted them to the archon, whose duty it was to lay the cause before one of the higher tribunals.[l] If the matter in dispute had been referred to arbitrators who were related to one of the parties, and who might thereby be tempted to pronounce an iniquitous judgment, it was provided that

[z] Aristophan. in Pac. v. 504. in Eq. v. 1314. Schol. ibid.
[a] Suidas; Aristoph. Schol. Pluto, Equit. &c.
[b] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 100.
[c] Demosth. in Pantæn.
[d] Pollux ibid.
[e] Idem ibid.
[f] Idem.
[g] Suidas in Hesych. Διαιτ. Ulpian. in Demosth. Mid.
[h] Suidas.
[i] Pollux.
[k] Demosth. in Aphob. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 127.
[l] Herald. Animadv.

the cause should be removed into one of the sovereign courts.[m] At their first institution, all causes that exceeded ten drachms were heard by them before they could be introduced into the other courts.[n] They passed sentence without binding themselves by an oath; but in all other respects they acted in the same manner as the rest of the judges. They received from the plaintiff a drachm, which was called παράστασις or διάστασις, and another from the defendant, when they administered to him the oath, which was denominated ἀντωμοσία. If either of the parties did not appear at the appointed time and place, they waited for him till the evening, when they determined the cause in favor of him who was present. Their office continued a year, at the end of which they delivered up their accounts, when, if they had permitted themselves to be corrupted by presents, or influenced by private prejudices, the injured party had a right to prosecute them in a court of justice, and compel them to defend and show the reasons of their award.[o] If it was proved that they had been corrupted, they were punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.[p] The fear of such a scrutiny might likewise have induced them to elude the exercise of their functions; but the law provided against that by fixing the stigma of ἀτιμία, infamy, on every arbitrator, who, when drawn by lot, refused to perform his duty.[q] Under them were certain officers called εἰσαγωγεῖς, whose office was εἰσάγειν τὰς δίκας, to receive the complaints which fell under the cognizance of the διαιτηταὶ, and to *introduce* them into their court.[r]

2. Διαλλακτήριοι, or κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν διαιτηταὶ, were arbitrators chosen by two parties to determine and compromise any dispute. From their determination there was no appeal; and, therefore, as a greater obligation to justice, the arbitrators took an oath that they would pass sentence without partiality.[s]

The determination of the διαιτηταὶ was called δίαιτα, and ἐπιτροπὴ; and to refer any thing to them, δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαι.[t]

CHAP. XVIII.

Public Judgments.

The Athenian judgments were of two kinds, δημοτικαὶ and ἰδιωτικαὶ, public and private: the former regarded crimes which tended to the injury and prejudice of the republic, and those actions were called κατηγορίαι; the latter comprehended all controversies that happened between private persons, and were denominated δίκαι.[u] Nor did they differ only in the matters which they regarded, but also in the process and management; for in private actions no one could prosecute the offender except him who had been injured, or some of his relations;

[m] Demosth. adv. Phorm.
[n] Pollux; Ulpian.
[o] Demosth. in Mid. Ulpian.
[p] Idem ibid.
[q] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. seg. 126.
[r] Pollux.
[s] Demosthen.
[t] Pollux.
[u] Isocrates; Demosthen. in Timocrat.

whilst in public actions, the laws encouraged all citizens to avenge the general wrong by bringing the criminal to punishment.[v]

The public judgments were of different kinds.

1. Γραφὴ was an action brought against those who had been guilty of any of the following crimes:—[w]

Φόνος, murder, which was punished with death.

Τραῦμα ἐκ προνοίας, a wound given in malice.

Πυρκαϊὰ, setting the city on fire.

Φάρμακον, poison.

Βούλευσις, a conspiracy against the life of another; or the crime of the treasurers of the city, who entered in the public books the names of persons that were not indebted to the city;[x] and in this it differed from ψευδεγγραφὴ, by which the treasurers charged men with debts that were already paid.[y]

Ἱεροσυλία, sacrilege, which was punished with death.[z]

Ἀσέβεια, impiety, which was punished with death.[a]

Προδοσία, treason, which was punished with death.

Ἑταίρησις, fornication.

Μοιχεία, whoredom, which was punishable by a fine.[c]

Ἀγάμιον, celibacy.

Ἀστρατεία, refusing to serve in war, which was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.

Λειποστράτιον, desertion from the army, which was punished sometimes by a fine,[d] and sometimes with death.[e]

Λειποτάξιον, desertion from his station, as when a man refused to serve in the infantry and enlisted into the cavalry, which was considered as great a crime as if he had deserted from the army.

Δειλία, cowardice, which was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.

Λειποναύτιον, desertion from the fleet, which was punished only by a fine.

Ἀνανμάχιον, refusing to serve in the fleet, which was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.

Τὸ ῥίψαι τὴν ἀσπίδα, to lose the shield, which was also punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.

Ψευδεγγραφὴ, ψευδογραφὴ, or ψευδὴς ἐγγραφὴ, the crime of charging men with debts already paid, which was punished by a fine.

Ψευδοκλητεία, false arrests.[f]

Συκοφαντία, frivolous accusation, which was punished by a fine. It differed from ψευδομαρτυρία, false evidence, which being thrice committed was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.

Δῶρα or δωροδοκία, receiving bribes for managing any public business, or for perverting justice. It was not thought sufficient to punish the receiver; but the person who offered the bribe was prosecuted, and the action against him was called δεκασμός. The same action in

[v] Plutarch. Solone.

[w] Harpocration in Γραφὴ; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6.

[x] Harpocration.

[y] Suidas in ψευδὴς ἐγγραφή.

[z] Xenophon. Histor. Græc. lib. i. Idem Memorabil. lib. i. Diodorus lib. xvi. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 16.

[a] Lys. in Andocid.

[b] Xenophon. ut supra; Andocid. de Myst. Plutarch. in Publ.

[c] Thucyd. Schol. lib. vi.

[d] Thucyd. Schol. loco citato.

[e] Suidas; Hesychius.

[f] Pollux.

causes regarding the freedom of the city was, by a peculiar name, called *δωροξενία*. All who had been guilty of receiving bribes were fined ten times the value of what they had thus obtained, and punished with the highest degree of *ἀτιμία*, infamy; but if the accuser could not prevail with a fifth of the number of judges to credit his information, he was fined one thousand drachms, and underwent the lowest degree of *ἀτιμία*, infamy.

Ὕβρις, beating a freeman, or binding him as a slave.

Ἀγράφιον, erasing a name out of the public debt-book before the debt was paid.[g]

Ἄγραφον μέταλλον, digging a mine without acquainting the public officers; for before any person could dig a mine, he was obliged to inform certain officers appointed by the people, in order that the twenty-fourth part of the metal might be reserved for the public use.

Ἀλόγιον was an action against magistrates for neglecting to give up their accounts.

Παρανόμων γραφή, an action against those, who in proposing a new law acted contrary to the ancient and established institutions.

Εὐθύνη, an action against magistrates, ambassadors, or other officers, who had misemployed the public money, or committed some other offence in the discharge of their trusts. The action against ambassadors was sometimes peculiarly called *παραπρεσβεία*.

Δοκιμασία, a probation of the magistrates, and of persons employed in public affairs.

Προβολή, an action against those who were disaffected to the government, and such as imposed on the people; against sycophants, and those who at the celebration of a festival had caused a tumult, or done any thing indecent and improper at the solemnity.

Ἀπογραφή was when any person, who was sued for debts which were said to be due to the public, produced all the money he had, and declared by what means it had come into his possession. *Ἀπογραφή* was also sometimes used for an action against those who, before the ninth *πρυτανεία* after their sentence, had not paid the fines imposed on them, and who were unable to give sufficient security to the city.[h]

Ἀπόφασις was sometimes the same as *ἀπογραφή*,[i] but was commonly used for an account given of estates when exchanged to avoid a public employment; for when any one wished to be exempted from a troublesome and expensive office by devolving it on a person richer than himself, he whom he produced was allowed to challenge him to exchange estates, and by that means compel him to undertake the office which he had before refused.

2. *Φάσις*, which is derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ φαίνειν*, was commonly the discovery of any secret and concealed injury,[k] but more particularly signified an action brought against those who exported corn from Attica, embezzled the public revenue which they converted to their own use, or appropriated to themselves any of the lands or other possessions that belonged to the republic. It sometimes also signified an action brought against the guardians of orphans, who had been negligent in

[g] Demosthen. contra Theocrin.
[h] Suidas.
[i] Idem.
[k] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 47.

the discharge of their trust, or had misapplied the property committed to their care.

3. Ἔνδειξις was an action against those who held an office, or performed any act for which they were disqualified by law; as when a person disfranchised, or indebted to the public, endeavoured to obtain an office in the state, or determined controversies in a judicial manner.[l] It was also brought against those who confessed the crimes laid to their charge, without standing a trial.[m]

4. Ἀπαγωγὴ was the conveying to the magistrate of a criminal who had been detected in the fact.[n] If the accuser was unable to carry the criminal before the magistrate, it was usual to bring the magistrate to the place where the criminal lay concealed or defended himself; and this was called ἐφηγεῖσθαι.[o]

5. Ἀνδροληψιον, or ἀνδροληψία, was an action against those who protected persons guilty of murder; and by it the relations of the deceased were empowered to seize three men in the city or house whither the malefactor had fled, till he was surrendered, or satisfaction made for the murder.[p]

6. Εἰσαγγελία was of three sorts: the first regarded great and public offences, by which the state was endangered. Such actions were not referred to any court of justice, but were immediately introduced by the θεσμοθέται, at the first meeting of the πρυτανεία, into the senate of five hundred, or the popular assembly, by whom the delinquent was severely punished; and though the accuser could not prove the indictment, he incurred no danger unless he failed in obtaining a fifth part of the suffrages, when he was fined one thousand drachms.[q] The second sort of εἰσαγγελία was an action of κάκωσις, which was brought before the archon, who received the accusation; but the plaintiff, though sentence was given against him, was not punished by a fine. The third was an action against the διαιτηταὶ, which was brought by persons who considered themselves unjustly treated by them, and who incurred the danger of disfranchisement and of forfeiting their freedom, if they failed in proving the accusation. Indeed, in the greatest part of the above-mentioned actions, the εἰσαγγελίαι only excepted, this penalty, together with a fine of one thousand drachms, was inflicted on the plaintiff if he did not obtain a fifth part of the suffrages.

CHAP. XIX.

Private Judgments.

Ἀδικίου δίκη was an action κατὰ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἀδικούντων, against such as had committed any kind of injury.[r] The delinquent was punished by a fine, which was doubled if not paid within the ninth πρυτανεία.[s]

[l] Ulpian. in Demosth. Schol. Aristoph. ad Vesp. v. 1103. Demosth. in Timocr. Andocid. de Myster.

[m] Aristoph. Equit. Pollux lib. viii.

[n] Ulpian. in Demosth. Lysiasin Agorat.

[o] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 50.

[p] Harpocrat. Pollux ibid. Demosth. contra Arist.

[q] Ulpian. in Demosth. Harpocrat. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. seg. 51.

[r] Etymolog. Auctor.

[s] Harpocration.

Κακηγορίας δίκη was an action of slander, by which the criminal was fined five hundred drachms.[t]

Αἰκίας δίκη was an action of assault, which the Greeks called ἄρξαι πληγῶν ἀδίκων. In this case no particular penalty was inflicted by the laws; but the judges considered the damages suffered by the plaintiff, and compelled the delinquent to make sufficient compensation.[u]

Βιαίων, or βίας δίκη, was an action against those who had forcibly violated the chastity of women, or used violence towards the persons of men.

Βλάβης δίκη was an action of trespass against those who had injured the estate, lands, houses, or property of another.[v]

Κακώσεως δίκη, γραφὴ, or εἰσαγγελία, was an action entered by heiresses against their husbands, by parents against their children, and by orphans against their guardians, when they were ill-treated or injured by them.

Ἀποπομπῆς δίκη was an action of divorce, when the husband had put away his wife. On the contrary, when the woman fled from her husband, the action was called ἀπολείψεως δίκη.[w]

Κλοπῆς δίκη was an action against thieves. If any one had stolen above fifty drachms in the day-time, he was to be indicted in the court of the Οἱ Ἕνδεκα. But if a theft was committed during the night, it was lawful to kill the criminal if he was caught in the fact; and if he resisted, to wound him and drag him before the Οἱ Ἕνδεκα; and this action was called ἐπαγωγή. The prisoner was not permitted to give security for restitution, but suffered death.[x] If any one stole any thing of the smallest value from the Lyceum, Academy, Cynosarges, or any of the gymnasia, or from any of the harbours above the value of ten drachms, he was condemned to die. If any man was convicted of stealing from a private person, he was to make restitution to him whom he had injured by restoring him double the value of what he had stolen; nor was this punishment thought sufficient to expiate his offence, but the judge was empowered to keep him in bonds five days and nights, and to expose him in that condition to the view of all the people; and we are also told that ἀτιμία, infamy, was inflicted for this crime.[y]

Παρακαταθήκης δίκη was an action against those who, having received clothes, household goods, &c. in pawn, refused to restore them;[z] or who had taken money for usury.[a]

Χρέους δίκη was a suit between debtors and usurers, when the latter exacted more than was allowed by law.[b]

Συμβολαίου δίκη was an action against those who would not abide by their contracts or bargains.[c] Not much different from this was συνθήκης παραβάσεως δίκη. The former, however, regarded those who would not fulfil their contracts respecting the loan of money, division of inheritances, and references to the διαιτηταὶ; whilst the latter was

[t] Demosth. contra Con.
[u] Idem ibid. Schol. Aristoph. Conc.
[v] Argum. Orat. Demosth. contra Caricl. contra Callip. contra Timocr. contra Phorm. Schol. Aristoph.
[w] Lysias.
[x] Demosth. in Timocr.
[y] Andocides de Myster.
[z] Schol. Aristoph.
[a] Demosth. contra Phorm.
[b] Ulpian. in Demosth.
[c] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 3.

extended to public negociations between one city or country and another, as well as to private bargains.[d] These *συνθῆκαι*, contracts, were commonly ratified by an oath.[e]

Εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν δίκη was an action against those who would not consent to divide the goods or estates, in which others had a right to participate with them.[f]

Διαδικασίας δίκη was an action *περὶ χρημάτων, ἢ περὶ κτημάτων*, concerning money or possessions,[g] and seems to be a term of equal extent with *ἀμφισβήτησις* or *κρίσις*, which are general names for all law-suits. It is, however, sometimes taken in a more limited sense, for the controversies of those who, being appointed to undertake a public office (*λειτουργία*), excused themselves by informing against others that were more wealthy.[h]

Ἐπιδικασίας δίκη was when daughters inherited the estates of their fathers, and were obliged by law to marry their nearest relations. This was the occasion of the suit, which was commenced by persons of the same family, each of whom pretended that he was more nearly related to the heiress than the rest. Hence the virgin, respecting whom the relations contended, was called *ἐπίδικος*. *Ἐπίκληρος* was a daughter who had no legitimate brothers, and who, therefore, inherited all the property of her father. *Ἐπίπροικος* was a daughter who had brothers, and who shared the estate with them.

Ἀμφισβήτησις was a suit commenced by one who claimed the estate of a deceased person, and who pretended to be his son either by nature or adoption. This term, as has been already observed, is sometimes used in a more extensive sense.

Παρακαταβολὴ was an action commenced by the relations of the deceased, who claimed a right to the estate from consanguinity, or from its being bequeathed to them by will. It received its denomination *ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακαταβάλλειν*, because, if the cause was private, the plaintiff deposited a tenth part, and if public, a fifth part of the inheritance for which he contended; and if he failed in making his plea good, he forfeited the deposit.

Ἀντιγραφὴ was a law-suit respecting kindred, by which a person claimed to be related to such a family, and which, therefore, seems to have been similar to *παρακαταβολή*.

Διαμαρτυρία was a protestation that the person deceased had left an heir, to prevent the relations from occupying the estate.

Ἐπίσκηψις was an action by which the *διαμαρτυρία* was proved to be false and groundless.

Ἐνεπίσκημμα was an action, when any one claimed some part of another man's goods which were confiscated and sold by auction.

Σίτου δίκη was an action brought against a husband, who, having divorced his wife, refused either to restore her portion, or to allow her for each pound nine oboli every month, agreeably to what the law directed. The suit was commenced against him in the Odeum by the woman's *ἐπίτροπος*, guardian, who compelled the husband to allow her a separate maintenance.[i]

[d] Id. lib. iii. cap. 6.
[e] Demosth.
[f] Anachars. apud Laert. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6.
[g] Ulpian. in Timocr.
[h] Ulpian. in Demosth.
[i] Demosthen.

Μισθώσεως οἴκου, &c. δίκη, sometimes called φάσις, was an action against guardians who mismanaged the affairs of their wards, and who either let the houses or estates at too low a rent, or permitted them to remain unoccupied.[k] When a house was vacant, an inscription was placed on the door, intimating that it was to let:

——inscripsi illico
Ædes mercede.[l]——

Over the door I wrote
This house is to be let.

Ἐπιτροπῆς δίκη was an action against guardians for defrauding their wards.[m] It was, however, necessary to be commenced within five years after the ward had come of age, otherwise it was invalid.[n]

Ἐνοικίου δίκη was an action brought to demand the rent of a house from the inhabitant by any person who claimed the property.[o] If he claimed an estate of land, the action was called χωρίου δίκη, or καρποῦ δίκη, because he demanded the produce of the ground. If the plaintiff obtained a verdict in either of these suits, he brought against the defendant a second action, by which he claimed the house or land as a part of his estate, and which was therefore called οὐσίας δίκη. After this, if the person in possession continued obstinate, and refused to deliver up the property to the lawful owner, a third action was commenced, which was called ἐξούλης δίκη, from ἐξέλλω, to eject, because the plaintiff was ἐξελλόμενος, ejected, or prevented from entering on his estate, or rather, perhaps, because the defendant was ejected out of possession. The same term was used when any other property was unjustly detained from its owner, as a slave, and whatever a person calls his own;[p] and also when any one was found guilty in a court of justice, and fined a thousand drachms, which he neglected to pay at the time appointed.[q]

Βεβαιώσεως δίκη was an action by which the buyer compelled the seller to confirm the bargain which he had before covenanted to perform, and of which he had given a pledge.[r]

Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν δίκη was an action intended as an enquiry concerning stolen or concealed goods.[s]

Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη was an action against a freeman, who endeavoured to release a slave without the consent of his master; which was termed μὴ δικαίως ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελέσθαι.[t]

Ἀπροστασίου δίκη was an action against sojourners who neglected to choose a patron, and whose goods were liable to be sold for the public advantage.

Ἀποστασίου δίκη was an action commenced by a master or patron against his clients, such as the freedmen, who refused to perform the services which they were bound to fulfil.[u] If any of the freedmen was convicted of ingratitude, he was reduced to slavery.[v]

[k] Herodotus; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 3.
[l] Terent. Heaut. act. i. scen. 1.
[m] Plutar. in Demosth.
[n] Demosth.
[o] Demosth.
[p] Suidas.
[q] Ulpian. in Demosth.
[r] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6. Terent. Heauton. act. iii. scen. 3. Stobæus.
[s] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 6.
[t] Demosth.
[u] Idem.
[v] Valerius Maximus lib. ii. cap. 1.

Ἀφορμῆς δίκη was a suit concerning money in the hands of bankers. It was called by the ancient Athenians ἀφορμὴ, and afterwards ἐνθήκη.[w]

Ἄφεσις was when a person owed much money, and desired the people to remit a part of the debt, under pretence that he was unable to pay it.[x]

Ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη was against false witnesses.

Κακοτεχνιῶν δίκη was an action against those who suborned false witnesses.

Λειπομαρτυρίου δίκη was against those who, having promised to give evidence in a cause, disappointed the person that relied on their testimony.

Many other judgments, as βολίτου δίκη, ἀχαριστίας δίκη, which need no explanation, are met with in ancient authors.[y]

CHAP. XX.

Punishments and Rewards.

Ζημία, though sometimes used in a general and extensive sense for any punishment, has frequently a limited and particular signification, and denotes a pecuniary fine imposed on the criminal according to the nature of his offence.

Ἀτιμία, infamy, or public disgrace, was of three kinds: 1. when the criminal retained his possessions, but was deprived of some privilege enjoyed by other citizens: 2. when he suffered a temporary deprivation of the privileges of a free citizen, and his property was confiscated; a penalty inflicted on those who were indebted to the public treasury, till their debts were paid: 3. when the criminal, with all his children and posterity, was deprived for ever of all the rights of a free citizen, both sacred and civil. This last punishment was inflicted on those who had been convicted of theft, perjury, or other notorious crimes,[z] and of whom some were appointed to labor at the oars,[a] a drudgery to which prisoners of war were obliged to submit.[b]

Δουλεία, servitude, was a punishment by which the criminal was reduced to the condition of a slave. Those who were sold by law suffered this penalty,[c] which was inflicted only on the ἄτιμοι, sojourners, and freed servants; because it was forbidden by the Athenian constitution that any free-born citizen should be treated as a slave.

Στίγματα were marks impressed with a hot iron on the forehead or hands of slaves who had fled from their masters, or of malefactors who had committed some grievous offences.[d]

Στήλη, as the word imports, was *a pillar*, on which was engraven

[w] Argum. Phorm. Orat.
[x] Ulpian. in Demosth.
[y] Hesychius; Harpocration; Suidas; Pollux; Ulpian. in Demosth. Aristophan.
[z] Andocid. de Myster.
[a] Schol. Aristoph. Ran.
[b] Plutarch. in Lysan.
[c] Argum. Orat. Demosth. contra Eubul. Plutarch. Solone.
[d] Lyps. Electr. Pollux lib. iii. cap. 8. seg. 79.

in legible characters the crime of the offender.[e] The persons who were thus exposed to the derision and reproaches of the people, were called *στηλίται*; and hence *στηλιτευτικὸς λόγος* signifies an invective, or defamatory speech.

Δεσμὸς was a punishment by which the criminal was condemned to imprisonment or fetters. Some offences were expiated by an imprisonment of several years, or of a few days;[f] others, only by perpetual confinement.[g] In certain cases, persons accused might avoid imprisonment by giving bail;[h] in others, the criminals confined were loaded with chains, which prevented them from moving.[i] The common name of prison was *οἴκημα*, house; for the Athenians endeavoured to mitigate the severity of things by giving them mild appellations; hence taxes were called rates, and garrisons guards; and the releasing of the people from their debts was designated by Solon *σεισάχθεια*, the throwing off a burden.[k] There were three kinds of prisons: the first was situated near the forum, and was intended to secure debtors and others from escaping; the second was called Σωφρονιστήριον, or house of correction; and the third was in an uninhabited and solitary place, and was appropriated to malefactors who had been guilty of capital crimes.[l] One of the most remarkable prisons was called Νομοφυλάκιον; and the gate through which criminals were led to execution, Χαρωνεῖον, from Charon, the infernal ferryman. At the door of the prison was erected a statue of Mercury, the tutelary deity of the place, who was denominated Στροφαῖος, from *στροφεὺς*, the hinge of a door.

There were different kinds of fetters, the most remarkable of which were the following:

1. Κύφων, a collar, commonly made of wood, and so denominated from *κύπτω*, because it obliged the criminal to bow down his head.[m] This punishment was called *κυφωνισμὸς*; and hence pernicious fellows were sometimes called *κύφωνες*;[n] and some think that this name was applied to whatever was hurtful and destructive.[o] It was also called *κλοιὸς*, *κολοιὸς*, and *κλφὸς*, from *κλείω*, because the neck of the criminal was shut or inclosed in it.[p] Some say that the neck, hands, and feet, were made fast in it; and hence it is probable that it was the same as the *ξύλον πεντεσύριγγον*, fetters with five holes,[q] which was sometimes called *ξύλον τετρημένον*.[r]

2. Παυσικάπη, a round instrument which was put about the neck, and which prevented the criminal from lifting his hand to his head.

3. Χοῖνιξ, fetters in which the feet or legs were fastened:

> ——αἱ κνῆμαι δέ σου βοῶσιν
> Ἰοὺ, ἰού· τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας παθοῦσαι.[s]
> You are ripe, you rogue, for fetters; the stocks groan for you.

[e] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 7. seg. 73. Demosth. Philip. iii.
[f] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[g] Plat. Apolog. Socrat.
[h] Demosth. in Timocr.
[i] Id. ibid. Ulpian. ibid. Plat. Apolog. Socrat.
[k] Plutarch. Solone.
[l] Plato de Leg. lib. x.
[m] Aristoph. Plut. v. 458.
[n] Schol. Aristoph. ibid.
[o] Hesych.
[p] Suidas in *κύφων*.
[q] Pollux; Aristoph. Equ. v. 1406.
[r] Schol. Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 681.
[s] Aristoph. Plut. v. 276. Schol. ibid.

Nearly similar to this was the *ποδοκάκη, ποδοκάκκη,*[t] or *ποδοστράβη,*[u] which, from its being made of wood, was sometimes called *ξύλον*[v] and *κᾶλον*. But the *ποδοκάκκη* and *ποδοστράβη* differed in this respect, that in the latter the feet were tortured, whilst in the former they were only fastened without any pain or distension of the joints; though this distinction is not always observable.[w]

4. *Σάνις*, a piece of wood to which malefactors were fastened:

———*δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων,*
Ὦ τοξότ', ἐν τῇ σανίδι.[x]
Lictor, bring him in and bind him to the rack.

———*γυμνὸν ἀποδήσαντά με*
Κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σανίδι δεῖν τὸν τοξότην.[y]
Order the lictor me to strip,
And naked bind me to the rack.

5. *Τροχὸς*, a wheel, to which slaves who had fled from their masters or committed theft were bound, and where they were beaten with stripes.[z] It was also sometimes called *ξυλοπέδη*.

Φυγὴ, perpetual banishment, was sometimes inflicted on criminals. Persons condemned to suffer this punishment were deprived of their estates, which were publicly sold; and they were compelled to leave their country without any possibility of returning to it, unless they should be recalled by those who had exiled them. Citizens who granted them an asylum were subject to the same punishment.[a]

Ὀστρακισμὸς, ostracism, derived its name from *ὄστρακον*, a shell or tile, and was a popular form of condemnation, by which those who had power and popularity sufficient to attempt any thing against the state were banished for ten years, with leave to enjoy their estates and to return after that period.[b] This punishment was inflicted only on persons of rank and character, and was a simple method of preventing political convulsions in the state, and an institution necessary in a democratical form of government. It was, however, too often employed to gratify personal animosity, and to encourage the designs of the envious, who wished to depress such as were eminent for their talents and virtues. All whose reputation, riches, or eloquence, raised them above the common rank, were liable to the punishment of the ostracism. The process in this condemnation was as follows:—the people being assembled, every man took an *ὄστρακον*, tile, and carried it to a certain part of the market-place, surrounded with wooden rails for that purpose, in which were ten gates for the ten tribes to enter separately. The archons then numbered all the tiles (which if fewer than six thousand, the ostracism was void); and placing every name by itself, they pronounced that the person, whose name was written by the majority, should be banished for ten years, but might enjoy his estate.[c] This punishment was sometimes called

[t] Lys. Orat. adv. Theomnest. Demosth. in Timocr.
[u] Schol. Aristoph. ad Equ. v. 366.
[v] Aristoph. Equ. v. 393.
[w] Ulpian. in Timocrat. Hesychius; Suidas.
[x] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 938.
[y] Idem ibid. v. 947.
[z] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. v. 876.
[a] Demosth. in Polycl.
[b] Schol. Aristoph. Equit. et Vesp. Aristot. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 13. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. cap. 55. Plutarch. in Aristid. in Pericl. in Alcibiad.
[c] Aristoph. Schol. ad Equ. v. 851. Plutarch. ut supra; Pollux lib. viii. cap. 5. seg. 20.

κεραμεικὴ μάστιξ, from κέραμος, because the ὄστρακα, by which the people gave their suffrages, were earthen tiles or pieces of broken pots.[d] It is not agreed whether it was instituted by Hippias the son of Pisistratus,[e] or by Clisthenes, who is also said to have been the first that suffered by this punishment;[f] but Hyperbolus, a mean and contemptible person, who furnished the writers of comedy with matter for satirical invective, was the last that was banished by ostracism; and the people, offended that it should be employed on so worthless an object, abolished this form of condemnation.[g] A similar mode of punishment was instituted at Argos, Megara, and Miletus.[h] The Syracusian πεταλισμὸς was also borrowed from the ostracism of the Athenians, but differed from it in banishing only for the term of five years; and instead of ὄστρακα, tiles, the Syracusans in giving their votes employed πέταλα, leaves, which were commonly those of the olive-tree.[i]

Θάνατος, death, was inflicted on malefactors in various methods, the principal of which were the following:—

1. Ξίφος, a sword, with which the criminal was beheaded.[k]

2. Βρόχος, a rope, with which he was either strangled or hanged;[l] and it appears that this latter form of punishment was very ancient, as well as considered very ignominious.[m]

3. Φάρμακον, poison, of which there were different kinds; but that which was commonly used was the juice of the herb κώνειον, hemlock, which on account of its extreme coldness was poisonous, but which did not occasion much pain nor symptoms of convulsions.[n] To the death of Socrates, who died by the poison of hemlock, the poet alludes in the following lines:

> Rem populi tractas? barbatum hæc crede magistrum
> Dicere, sorbitio tollit quem dira cicutæ.[o]
>
> Deal you in state-affairs? thus spoke the sage,
> Victim of hemlock and Athenian rage.

4. Κρημνὸς, a precipice, from which malefactors were thrown headlong.[p]

5. Τύμπανα, or τύπανα, clubs with which malefactors were beaten to death;[q] they were hanged on a pole called τύμπανον; and hence τυμπανίζεται is expounded by κρέμαται,[r] and ἐτυμπανίσθησαν by ἐκρεμάσθησαν.[s]

6. Σταυρὸς, the cross, consisted of two beams, one of which was placed across the other; and the form of it was much the same as that of the letter T, differing only in this, that the transverse beam was fixed a little below the top of the straight one.[t] The malefactor was hanged upon the beam that was erect, to which his feet were fixed with nails; and his hands were nailed to each side of the transverse beam.

[d] Hesych. in v. Κέραμος.
[e] Heraclides de Rep.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 24.
[g] Schol. Aristoph. ad Equ. v. 851. Plutarch. in Aristid.
[h] Schol. Aristoph. ad Equit.
[i] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. cap. 87. Hesych. in Πεταλισ.
[k] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 7.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Hom. Odys. κ'. v. 465.
[n] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 16. Plat. in Phæd.
[o] Persius Sat. iv. v. 1.
[p] Euripid. Troad. v. 720. Pausanias, Phocic. cap. ii. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 5.
[q] Schol. Aristophan. ad Plut. v. 476. Suidas; Hesychius; Pollux.
[r] Suidas.
[s] Hesychius.
[t] Lucian Δίκη φωνηέντων; Thucyd. lib. i.

7. Βάραθρον, a deep pit, which belonged to the tribe Hippothoontis, and into which condemned persons were cast headlong.[u] It was sometimes called ὄρυγμα; and hence the public executioner received the name of ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρύγματι. It was a dark hole, with sharp spikes at the top to prevent any one from escaping, and with others at the bottom to wound and pierce those who were cast into the pit.[v] Its depth and extent occasioned it to be used as a proverbial expression to signify a miser or a glutton, who is always craving and never satisfied:

Aufer abhinc lacrymas, barathro, et compesce querelas.[w]
——— Forbear thy sighs,
Thou miser, cease complaints, and dry thine eyes.
Mendici, mimæ, barathrones, hoc genus omne.[x]
Beggars, jack-puddings, gluttons, and such like.

8. Λιθοβολία, lapidation, a common punishment, usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks on those who were taken in adultery.[y] Hence Hector tells Paris that he deserves to die this death:

——— ἦ τέ κεν ἤδη
Λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα, κακῶν ἕνεχ', ὅσσα ἔοργας.[z]
——— Otherwise now,
For all your crimes, you would be stoned to death.

9. Καταποντισμὸς, demersion, or drowning in the sea.[a]

10. Πῦρ, burning.

As the laws inflicted severe penalties on offenders, so they conferred ample rewards on those who deserved them. The principal honors were the following:

Προεδρία was the privilege of having the first seat at all public assemblies and entertainments.[b]

Εἰκὼν was the honor of having a picture or statue erected in the citadel, the forum, or other public place.[c]

Στέφανοι, crowns, were conferred in the public assemblies by the votes of the people, by the senators in council, by the tribes on their own members, or by the δημόται in their own (δῆμος) borough. They were forbidden by law to be presented in other places, it being the intention of Solon that the Athenians should ἀγαπᾷν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ δήμου, be satisfied with the honors paid them by their own people. Hence the Athenians never rewarded any one with a crown in the theatre, or at the solemn games, where there was usually a concourse of people from all parts of Greece; and if a crier proclaimed in the public assemblies the crowns which had been conferred on any one by his tribe or borough, he was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy. Yet στέφανοι ξενικοὶ, hospital crowns, were sometimes presented by foreign cities to particular citizens of Athens; but

[u] Aristophan. Pluto v. 476. Schol. Harpocration.
[v] Aristoph. Plut. Schol.
[w] Lucretius lib. iii.
[x] Horatius lib. i. sat. 2.
[y] Ælian. Var. Hist. Cicero de Offic. lib. iii. cap. 11.
[z] Hom. Iliad. γ'. v. 56.
[a] Schol. Aristoph. ad Equit. v. 1360.
[b] Aristoph. Equit. ejusque Schol. Suidas.
[c] Demosth. Orat. de Falsa Legat. Pausanias.

this could not be done till the ambassadors of those cities had obtained leave from the Athenian people, and the men for whom the honors were intended had undergone a public examination. The crowns presented by the Athenians themselves were kept in the families of the persons who obtained them; but those given by other cities were dedicated to Minerva, the protectress of Athens.[d]

Ἀτέλεια was an immunity from all taxes, contributions, and other public duties, exclusive of those required for carrying on war and building ships, from which the nine archons alone were exempted.

Σιτία, παρασιτία, σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, was an entertainment given in the common hall called Prytaneum, at the public expense, to those who had deserved well of their country, and especially to those who had been ambassadors. It was ordered by a law that no one should receive this honor more than once;[e] but this law being repealed, some were ἀείσιτοι, constantly maintained in the Prytaneum, which was considered the greatest honor among the Greeks.[f] Sometimes this privilege was granted to whole families, on account of the services of their ancestors. Their usual food was a kind of cake or pudding, called μάζα; but on holidays they had an allowance of bread,[g] which was appointed by Solon, μιμούμενος τὸν Ὅμηρον, in imitation of Homer, whose heroes feasted in this manner. Besides other provisions, the tenths of all the entrails of beasts offered in sacrifice were reserved for them; and if any man neglected to send those tenths, he was liable to be punished by the πρυτάνεις:

> Καί σε φανῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν
> Ἀδεκατεύτους τῶν θεῶν ἱε-
> ρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.[h]
>
> Your frauds I'll to the prytanes disclose,
> That you with sacrilegious stealth withhold
> The tenths of sacred victims' entrails.

They who had received any privilege from the city were under its peculiar care and protection; and the injuries inflicted on them were considered as injuries committed against the commonwealth. Hence ὑβρίζειν, πατάσσειν, κακῶς εἰπεῖν, to affront, calumniate, or strike those on whom public rewards had been conferred, was punished with ἀτιμία, infamy.[i]

When Athens was at the summit of glory, it was very difficult to obtain public honors; and Miltiades, after freeing Greece from the Persian army at Marathon, petitioned in vain for a crown; but in latter ages public honors were more common,[k] and were sometimes conferred on very undeserving objects.[l]

[d] Æschines in Ctesiph.
[e] Plutarch. in Solon.
[f] Pollux; Cic. de Orat. lib. i.
[g] Demosth. in Leptin. Pollux lib ix. cap. 5. Athenæ. lib. iv.
[h] Aristophan. Equit.
[i] Demosth. in Midian.
[k] Aristoph. Equit. act. i. scen. 3.
[l] Plutarch. Demetrio.

CHAP. XXI.

Laws in general.

THE poets say that Ceres first taught the Athenians the use of laws; and hence was celebrated the festival *θεσμοφόρια*, in which she was worshipped by the name of *θεσμοφόρος*, the legislatrix.[m] The occasion of this opinion seems to have been the ascribing to that goddess the invention of tillage; after which controversies arose with respect to the lands which were not divided into equal portions; and in composing those differences, Ceres gave instructions which were afterwards followed in other matters. Certain, however, it is, that when Theseus divested himself of sovereign authority, he retained to himself the custody or protection of the laws.[n]

The first lawgiver after the time of Theseus was Draco, whose laws were called *θεσμοὶ*,[o] from the first word in each of them; but they were remarkable only for their unreasonable severity,[p] the slightest offence being punished with death. Except those which related to murder, and which were called *φονικοὶ νόμοι*, they were all repealed by Solon, who enacted many useful and excellent laws, which, to distinguish them from the *θεσμοὶ* of Draco, were denominated *νόμοι*.[q] Lest, however, they should in time be neglected, Solon caused the senate to take an oath to observe them: each of the *θεσμοθέται* vowed that if he violated any of these laws, he would dedicate a golden statue as large as himself to the Delphian Apollo; and the people bound themselves to obey them for one hundred years.[r]

Pisistratus, however, having insinuated himself into the favor of the people, seized on the government, and was invested with sovereign power, which at his death he transmitted to his sons; and during this usurpation the laws of Solon were not always observed, but changed according to the interest or inclination of the tyrant;[s] but after the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus, Clisthenes restored the institutions of Solon, to which he added many new laws, and which continued in force till the Peloponnesian war, when the government was altered by the four hundred, and afterwards by the thirty tyrants.[t] The ancient laws were again re-established in the archonship of Euclides, and others enacted by Diocles, Aristophon, and others, and afterwards by Demetrius the Phalerean.[u] These, with Thales and Æschylus, seem to have been the principal legislators of Athens.[v]

Several other laws were enacted on particular occasions by the suffrages of the people; but it would be unnecessary to mention the *ψηφίσματα τῆς βουλῆς*, decrees of the senate, whose authority continuing only for a year, their decrees became invalid at the expiration of their office.

[m] Virgil. Æneid. lib. iv. v. 57.
[n] Plutarch. Theseo.
[o] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 10.
[p] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 10. Rhet. lib. ii. cap. 23. Plut. Solone.
[q] Plutarch. Solone. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 10.
[r] Plutarch. ibid. Ælian. ibid. Diogen. Laertius.
[s] Plutarch. Solone.
[t] Herodotus; Plutarch. Pericle; Isocrat. Areopag.
[u] Plutarch. Aristide.
[v] Suidas.

The manner of enacting a law was as follows:—when any one intended to propose a measure which regarded the public, he communicated it first to the prytanes, who convoked a meeting of the senate, by whom it was rejected or adopted. If it was agreed to, it was called *προβούλευμα*; and after being written on a tablet by the prytanes, it was denominated *πρόγραμμα*. No law was to be proposed to the assembly unless it had been previously written on a white tablet, and publicly hung up for several days at the statues of the heroes called *ἐπώνυμοι*, in order that all the citizens might be informed of the measure intended to be proposed at their next meeting. When the people were convened, it was read, and every man was at liberty to give his opinion on the whole, or any part, of the subject. If, after due consideration, the measure was thought improper, it was rejected; but if it was approved, it passed either into a *ψήφισμα* or a *νόμος*, which, though the same as to their obligation, differed in this, that the latter was a general and perpetual law, whilst the former related only to particular times and places.[w]

It was dangerous for any citizen to propose a new law which was not agreeable to the inclinations of the people, or which was prejudicial to the interests of the republic; and he might be impeached for it any time within one year;[x] but after that period he could not be punished. If he had not published his proposal in due time; if he proposed it in ambiguous and fallacious terms; or if he proposed any thing contrary to the former and established laws; a writ, called *παρανομίας γραφὴ*, for transgressing the laws, might be issued against him.[y] Those who had proposed a law which was *παράνομος*, or *ἀνεπιτήδειος*, contrary to the former laws, or prejudicial to the state, were arraigned, as some say, before the *θεσμοθέται*,[z] or, as others think, sometimes before the *θεσμοθέται*, and sometimes before the other archons, according to the nature of the offence. The accusation being heard, the archon *εἰσῆγε εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*, introduced the cause into the court of justice which took cognizance of such affairs. If the defendant was declared guilty, he was punished by a fine, which he was obliged to pay under the penalty of *ἀτιμία*, infamy. This last punishment was immediately inflicted on those who had been thrice convicted of this offence, and who were ever after excluded from the public assemblies.[a] If the defendant was acquitted, the accuser was fined one thousand drachms.[b] Though he who had procured an unjust law to be enacted could not be punished after the expiration of a year, yet he might be summoned before a magistrate, and compelled to show the design and tendency of the law, in order that any injurious consequence might be prevented.

As time and circumstances render alterations necessary, it was ordered that the laws should be annually and carefully revised, and that those which appeared improper should be repealed; this repealing of the laws was called *ἐπιχειροτονία τῶν νόμων*, from the manner of voting by the holding up of hands.[c] The method of per-

[w] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Leptin.
[x] Demosth. ibid.
[y] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Leptin.
[z] Pollux.
[a] Aristophanes.
[b] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[c] Demosth. Ulpian.

forming it was as follows:—on the eleventh day of the month Hecatombæon, when the prytanes held their first stated assembly, after the κήρυξ had made a solemn prayer, the laws concerning the senate, the people, the nine archons, and the other magistrates, were read over in order. It was then demanded whether the existing laws were sufficient for the state. If it appeared necessary to alter any of them, the farther consideration of them was deferred till the fourth of Metagitnion, when the last stated assembly met. During these ceremonies the θεσμοὶ, laws which directed in what manner the νόμοι were to be enacted, were carefully to be observed; for the difference between θεσμὸς and νόμος is, that θεσμὸς signifies a law directing in what manner laws (νόμοι) were to be made;[d] and if any thing enjoined by the θεσμὸς appeared to be omitted, the prytanes and the proedri were severely punished. On the first of Metagitnion another assembly was convened, and the proedri reported the matter to the people, who appointed the nomothetæ to determine it for them, and who nominated five officers, called σύνδικοι, to defend the ancient laws in their name. If the prytanes omitted to convoke this assembly, they were fined one thousand drachms; and if it met, and the proedri neglected to propose the law to the people, the proedri were fined only forty drachms. Any one might impeach the prytanes and the proedri before the thesmothetæ, who were to try the offenders in the court of Heliæa, on neglect of which they were refused admittance into the Areopagus. The nomothetæ, after hearing what the orators could say in defence of the ancient law, gave their opinions; and the sentence was ratified by the people in the following assembly.[e]

Solon, and, after his example, other lawgivers at Athens, committed their laws to writing, contrary to the practice of Lycurgus and the lawgivers of other cities, who thought it better that the laws should be imprinted in the minds of the people than be engraven on tablets. Hence we find an express law at Athens, ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς, that no magistrate in any case should use an unwritten law.[f] The tablets on which the laws of Solon were engraven were made of wood, and called ἄξονες, and might be turned round in oblong cases.[g] Some are of opinion that they were the same as the κύρβεις;[h] but others think that those which contained the laws concerning sacrifices and the rites of religion were properly called κύρβεις, and that all the rest were denominated ἄξονες.[i] Again some say that κύρβεις were made of stone, and signified any tablets on which laws and public edicts were written, and that they received their name παρὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος, because they were erected on high,[k] or from the Corybantes who invented them;[l] but as the κύρβεις were triangular, and the ἄξονες quadrangular and made of brass,[m] others are of opinion that the former contained the laws respecting religion, the latter those which regarded civil affairs.[n] Their number is unknown. They

[d] Libanius in Argument. Leptineæ.
[e] Idem ibid.
[f] Andocides de Myster.
[g] Plutarch. Solone.
[h] Aristot.
[i] Plutarch. Solone.
[k] Apollodorus; Schol. Aristoph. in Nub.
[l] Theopompus.
[m] Aristot. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.
[n] Ammonius de Different. Voc.

were preserved in the citadel, and afterwards removed to the Prytaneum, that all persons might have recourse to them on any occasion;[o] but some say that only transcripts of them were carried to the Prytaneum, and that the originals, in Solon's hand-writing, remained in the citadel. Hence the laws were distinguished into τοὺς κάτωθεν and τοὺς ἄνωθεν νόμους, the former signifying the laws in the Prytaneum, which was in the lower city, the latter those in the citadel or upper city.[p] It is again supposed that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος[q] denotes only the lower part of the tablet; but it appears that there were frequently many tablets to one law.[r]

It was illegal to erase a decree from the tablets, or to make any alterations; and to prevent all attempts of that kind, there were certain persons who were called from their office γραμματεῖς, and whose business consisted in preserving the laws from being corrupted,[s] and in transcribing the old laws, and entering the new ones in the tablets. These persons were elected by the senate, and, to render their office more respectable, had several marks of honor conferred on them.

That no one might pretend that he was ignorant of his duty, the laws were all engraven on the wall in the βασιλικὴ στοὰ, royal portico, where they were exposed to the view of the public. This custom, however, was not in use till after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants.[t]

CHAP. XXII.

Laws relating to Divine Worship, Temples, Festivals, and Sports.

Sacrifices were to be performed with the fruits of the earth. This was a law made by Triptolemus.[u]

Due reverence was to be publicly paid to the gods and native heroes; and first fruits and anniversary cakes were to be offered in private. This was a law of Draco.[v]

One drachm was to be the price of a sheep, eighteen of a medimn. This was one of Solon's sumptuary laws.[w]

Cattle intended for sacrifice were to be selected, and the best only to be taken.[x]

He who offered sacrifice was to carry part of the oblation to his family.[y]

All the remains of the sacrifice were to belong to the priest.[z]

Whoever defiled the temple of Apollo was to be indicted and sentenced to suffer death.[a] This was a law of Pisistratus.

All slaves and foreigners were permitted to enter the public temple, either from motives of curiosity or devotion.[b]

[o] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.
[p] Pollux.
[q] Demosthenes.
[r] Plutarch. Solone.
[s] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 8.
[t] Andocides de Myster.
[u] Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων.
[v] Id. loco citato.
[w] Plutarch. Solone.
[x] Idem loco citato.
[y] Aristoph. Scholiast. in Plutum.
[z] Idem in Vespas.
[a] Suidas; Hesychius.
[b] Demosth. Orat. in Neæram.

They who survived the report of their death were prohibited from entering the temple of the furies.[c]

No violence was to be offered to those who fled to the temples for refuge.[d]

During the celebration of the new moon or other festival, no one was to be insulted in public or private, and no business, which did not belong to the feast, was to be transacted.[e]

Those who attended the Panathenæa were forbidden to wear apparel dyed with colors.[f]

The rhapsodies of Homer were to be repeated at the institution of the Panathenæa Majora.[g]

At public processions sojourners were to carry little vessels formed in the shape of a boat; and their daughters, water-pots with umbrellas.[h]

No foreigner was to be initiated into the sacred mysteries.[i]

Death was to be the punishment of him who divulged the mysteries.[k]

Persons initiated were to dedicate the garments in which they were initiated, at the temple of Ceres and Proserpine.[l]

No woman was to go in her chariot to Eleusis; and whoever committed theft during the feast kept at that place, was to be fined six thousand drachms.[m]

No petition was to be presented at the mysteries.[n]

No one was to be arrested during their celebration.[o]

On the day after this festival, an assembly of the senate was to be convened in the Eleusinian temple.[p]

At the festival called Θεσμοφόρια, which was to be annual, there was to be a gaol delivery.[q]

During a procession in the Piræeus in honor of Bacchus, and at the Lenæan procession, comedies were to be acted; and during the celebration of the Διονυσίακα in the citadel, young men were to dance, and tragedians and comedians to act; and at these times, and whilst the Θαργήλια continued, no suit at law or suretyship was to take place. If any one offended against this law in any part, he was to be prosecuted at the popular assembly held in the temple of Bacchus.[r]

It was ordered that, on the day following these observances, the prytanes should convoke a senate in the temple of Bacchus, upon the Πανδία, where the first subject in debate should be the sacred rites, and after that the indictments against offenders at the feasts.[s]

No one was to be arrested on the Διονύσια.[t]

[c] Hesychius, Phavorinus, v. Δευτερόποτμος; Plutarch. Quæst. Roman.
[d] Schol. Aristoph. in Equites.
[e] Demosth. Timocrat.
[f] Lucian. Nigrino.
[g] Lycurg. in Leocrat. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 2.
[h] Harpocrat. in σκαφηφόρ.
[i] Schol. Aristoph. in Plutum.
[k] Sopater, Div. Quæst.
[l] Schol. Aristoph. in Plutum.
[m] Plut. in Lycurg.
[n] Andocides de Myster.
[o] Demosth. in Midian.
[p] Andocides de Myster.
[q] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. v.
[r] Demosth. in Midian.
[s] Demosth. ibid.
[t] Idem ibid.

The execution of condemned prisoners was to be deferred till the θεωροὶ returned from Delos.[u]

No oblation of victims was to take place on the Ἀλῶα.[v]

He who was conqueror at the Olympic games was to receive a reward of five hundred, and at the Isthmic, of one hundred drachms.[w]

Fifteen persons were to constitute a tragic chorus.[x]

The works of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, were prohibited to be brought on the stage; and therefore the clerk of the city was allowed to read them in public.[y] This law was enacted from respect to these three tragedians.

An emulative performance among the tragedians was ordered to be acted in the theatre on the feast called Χύτρα; and he who performed his part the best was to be chosen denizen.[z]

No one was to be an actor under thirty, or, as some say, under forty years of age.[a]

No archon was to be satirized in a comedy.[b]

If a person chose to ridicule another on the stage, he was to give him a fictitious name.[c]

The different kinds of music were to be observed, and each particular sort was to be appropriated to its particular festival.[d]

All spectators were to sit in the theatre with attention and decorum, and the archons were to order their sergeants to turn out noisy and disorderly persons; and if any one persevered in causing a disturbance, he was to be fined.[e]

Sports exhibited in honor of Neptune were to be observed in the Piræeus, where three dances were to be performed in a ring: the reward to those who were best was to be ten μναῖ; to the second, eight; and to the third, six.[f]

One day in every year was to be appropriated to a public cock-fighting.[g]

Sacrifices were to be at the beginning of every month.[h]

CHAP. XXIII.

Laws relating to those who officiated in Holy Rites.

The βασιλεὺς was to take care that the parasites were created from the people. It was the duty of each parasite to reserve out of his allowance an hecteum of barley for the support of the feast of the native citizens, which was celebrated in the temple. The Acharnensian parasites were to deposit an hecteum of their dole in the

[u] Plato Phædone; Xenoph. Ἀπομνημον. lib. iv.
[v] Demosth. in Neær.
[w] Plutarch. Solone.
[x] Pollux lib. xiv. cap. 15.
[y] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[z] Plut. in Lycurg.
[a] Schol. Aristophan. in Nubes.
[b] Schol. Aristophan. in Nubes.
[c] Hermogenes de Statibus.
[d] Plato de Legibus lib. iii.
[e] Demosth. ejusq. Schol. in Midiana.
[f] Plut. Lycurgo et Rhetore.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 28.
[h] Athenæus lib. vi.

reservatory of Apollo, to whom they were to offer sacrifices; and the βασιλεὺς, with the old men, and women who had only one husband, was to join in the sacrifices.

From those who were of illegitimate birth, or from their offspring, the parasites were to elect a priest, who was to officiate in the monthly sacrifices; and an action was to be brought against him who declined the office of parasite.[i]

Two of the sacred Ceryces were to undertake the office of parasite, for one year, in the temple of Apollo at Delos.[k]

The third part of the best of the oxen was to be conferred on the victor of a prize; and the two remaining parts were to be divided between the priests and the parasites.[l] This law was engraven in the Anaceum.

A due proportion of money was to be disbursed by the priests for the reparation of the temple; of the Ἀρχεῖον, treasury of the temple; and of the Παρασίτιον, which was a place set apart for the parasites, and in which they executed their office.[m]

From the most vigorous of the old men were to be created θαλλοφόροι, persons who carried sprigs of olive in the Παναθήναια, in honor of Minerva.[n]

The wife of the βασιλεὺς was to be a citizen of Athens, and not to have been before married.[o]

Not only the priests, but also the sacred families, were to give an account of their conduct.[p]

No person, whose character was impure, was to be admitted into the priesthood.[q]

CHAP. XXIV.

Laws relating to the Laws, and to the Decrees of the Senate and People.

AFTER Thrasybulus had expelled the thirty tyrants, a law was established by Tisamenus, with the consent and by the authority of the people, that Athens should maintain her ancient form of government, and continue to make use of the laws, weights, and measures of Solon, and the decrees of Draco. If new laws seemed requisite, the nomothetæ, who were appointed by the senate for that purpose, were to engross them on a tablet, and hang them up at the statues of the eponymi for public inspection; and in the same month they were to be delivered to the magistrates, after they had been approved by the senate of five hundred, and by the nomothetæ. It was also enacted at the same time that any private person might be admitted into the senate, and deliver his opinion freely on them. After their promulgation, the senate of Areopagus was required to take care that the magistrates put these laws in execution, which, for the general use of the

[i] Athenæus lib. vi.
[k] Idem ibid.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Id. lib. iv. Pollux lib. vi. cap. 7.
[n] Xenophon. Symposio.
[o] Demosth. in Neæram.
[p] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[q] Æschines in Timarchum.

people, were to be engraven on the wall, where they had before been hung for public inspection.[r]

He who proposed a law which was injurious to the public interest, was to be indicted.[s]

He who proposed a law was to be accused after the expiration of a year, if it were injurious to the common good; but he was to incur no penalty.

No law was to be repealed before it had been referred to the nomothetæ; after which any Athenian might endeavour to procure its repeal, provided he substituted a new law in its place. These measures were to be referred by the proedri to the votes of the people. The first proposal was to relate to the old law, whether it were any longer serviceable and should continue in force, or whether it was necessary to be repealed. If it appeared proper to repeal it, the new law was then to be proposed; and that which the nomothetæ thought best was to be considered valid. It was, however, to be provided that no new law should be in opposition to those already in force; and the person who introduced such a law was to be subject to the same penalty as those who promoted laws injurious to the commonwealth.[t]

He who, in abrogating an old law, promised to propose a new one and failed in his promise, was to be fined.[u]

The thesmothetæ were to assemble annually in the repository of the laws, and carefully examine whether any law was contradictory to another; whether any laws were not ratified; and whether there were duplicates of the same. If either of these occurred in the examination, it was to be written on a tablet and published at the statues of the eponymi; and afterwards, by order of the epistata, the people were to vote which of them should be ratified, and which cancelled.[v]

No one was to enact a law in behalf of a private person, unless six thousand citizens gave leave by their private votes.[w]

It was a capital crime for any man to cite a fictitious law in a court of justice.[x]

The laws were to be in force from the archonship of Euclides.[y] This was in consequence of an act of amnesty, which was passed after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants.

Diocles decreed that the laws enacted during the freedom of the commonwealth, before Euclides was archon, and also those which were made during his archonship, should be valid. Those enacted after that period, or in future to be enacted, were to be valid from the day of their passing, unless some particular time for that purpose should be expressly mentioned in the law. Those in force at that time were to be transcribed into the public records, within thirty days, by the notary of the senate.[z] This law gave perpetual authority to the laws of Solon, which had been enacted only for one hundred years.

[r] Andocides de Myster.
[s] Demosth. in Timocratem.
[t] Demosthenes in Timocrat. et in Leptin.
[u] Ulpianus in Leptin.
[v] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[w] Andocides de Mysteriis; Æneas Gazæus in Theophras.
[x] Demosthen. Orat. ii. in Aristogitonem.
[y] Andocid. de Mysteriis.
[z] Demosthenes in Timocrat.

Ψηφίσματα, decrees of the senate, were to continue in force only one year.[a]

No ψήφισμα was to be introduced into the assembly of the people, till it had been revised by the senate.[b]

The tablets, on which the ψηφίσματα were engraven, were on no account to be removed.[c]

No ψήφισμα was to be of greater authority than the laws, the senate, or the people.[d]

No sophistry was to be contained in a ψήφισμα.[e]

CHAP. XXV.

Laws relating to Citizens, Sojourners, Slaves, and Freed Servants.

ALL laws were to be alike obligatory on the whole body of the people.[f]

All priests and archons were to be elected from the nobility (εὐπατρίδαι), whose duty it was to interpret all laws civil and divine.[g]

The θῆτες, or those who were of the lowest rank, were incapable of any office of magistracy;[h] but they were to have the right of voting in the public assemblies; and all citizens without distinction were permitted to become candidates for filling the places of judges.[i]

All citizens were to possess an equal share in the government; and the archons were to be elected from the whole body of the people.[k]

No one who was a slave by birth was to be made free of the city.[l]

Strangers were to be naturalized only on conditions difficult to be complied with.[m]

No one was to be admitted a citizen unless he possessed an eminent character for virtue; and if the rights and privileges of a citizen were conferred on him, he was to procure at the next meeting of the assembly the private votes of six thousand Athenians; and the prytanes, before the admission of strangers, were to give him the boxes with the calculi, and remove the largesses. Those who thus obtained enfranchisement were to be incapable of being created archons or priests; but their children, if born of free women, might officiate. If the persons thus made free of the city presumed to undertake an office, any free-born citizen was allowed to bring an action against them, as intruders on his privileges.[n]

They who had suffered perpetual banishment, or who had gone with their families to reside at Athens on account of trade, were to be enrolled among the denizens.[o]

An examination was to be made whether all those who were inserted in the register of citizens were really citizens or not; and if any were found who were not citizens on both sides, their names were to

[a] Demosth. in Aristocratem.
[b] Plutarch. Solone.
[c] Idem Pericle.
[d] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[e] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[f] Plutarch. Theseo.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] Idem Solone.
[i] Aristot. de Repub. lib. ii. cap. 12.
[k] Plutarch. Aristide.
[l] Dio Chrysostom. Orat. xv.
[m] Plutarch. Solone.
[n] Demosth. in Neæram.
[o] Plutarch. Solone.

be erased. The determination of this matter was to be left to their own borough, by which if they were convicted, and acquiesced in the sentence without appealing to a higher court, they were to be classed among the sojourners: if they appealed to another court and were again found guilty, they were to be sold as slaves; but if they were acquitted, they were to retain their freedom.[p]

Any Athenian was to be permitted to leave the city, and to take his family and property with him.[q]

Every sojourner was to choose from the citizens a patron, who was to pay his tribute to the collectors, and manage all his concerns.

An action was to be brought against those who did not choose a patron, or pay their tribute; but in this action no foreigner was to appear as a witness.

Those against whom the action of *ξενία* was brought were to be cast into prison before sentence was passed, and not admitted to bail. If they were condemned, they were to be sold; but if they were acquitted, they might accuse their adversaries of bribery.[r]

He who beat the servant of another man might have an action of battery brought against him.[s]

No one was to sell a captive for a slave without the consent of his former master. If a captive had been sold, he might be rescued; and he who rescued him was to offer sureties for his appearance before the polemarch.[t]

If the freedom of a slave had been unjustly claimed, the claimant was to pay half the price of the slave.[u]

A slave, unable to perform the work of an imperious master, might compel his master to allow him to leave his service for one more mild and gentle.[v]

Slaves might purchase their freedom.[w]

Slaves were not to have their liberty given them in the theatre; and the crier who proclaimed it there was to be *ἄτιμος*, infamous.[x]

Emancipated slaves were to perform certain services for the masters who had bestowed on them their freedom, to choose them for their patrons, and not to be deficient in those duties to which they were obliged by law.

Patrons were allowed to bring an action of *ἀποστάσιον* against those freed slaves who were remiss in the above-mentioned duties, and, if the charge was proved against them, reduce them to their former state of bondage; but if the accusation appeared unjust, they were permitted to retain their freedom. Either citizens or strangers might appear as witnesses.[y]

He who redeemed a prisoner of war might claim him, unless the prisoner was able to pay his own ransom.[z]

Maintenance was not to be afforded to a slave that was idle and negligent in his duty.[a]

[p] Argument. Demosth. Orat. *πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἐφεσέως.*
[q] Plato Critone.
[r] Hyperides in Aristagoram.
[s] Xenophon. de Athen. Rep.
[t] Plut. Lycurgo; Æschin. in Timarch.
[u] Argument. Orat. Demosth. in Theocrinem.
[v] Plutarch. de Superstitione.
[w] Dio Chrysostom. Orat. xv.
[x] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[y] Harpocrat. ex Hyperide.
[z] Demosthen. in Nicostratum.
[a] Ulpian. in Midianam.

CHAP. XXVI.

Laws relating to Children and Parents.

THEY only were to be reckoned citizens, whose parents were both citizens.[b]

He whose mother was not free was to be reckoned illegitimate.[c]

No illegitimate person, male or female, was to inherit either in sacred or civil matters.[d]

The inheritance bestowed by a childless person on an adopted son, was to be considered as lawful.[e]

Adoption was to be made by persons living.[f]

No one, unless the person who adopted him should have a legitimate son, was to relinquish the family into which he had been adopted.[g]

Parents might give their children any names, or change them for others.[h]

When parents enrolled either their own or their adopted children in the public register of the φράτορες, they were to swear that they were begotten of free women.[i]

If an individual died without issue, one of his natural heirs was to be juridically substituted for the deceased citizen, to assume his name, and perpetuate his family.[k]

An adopted child might one day return to his paternal house; but he was to leave in the family that had adopted him a son to accomplish the views of his original adoption; and this son in his turn might quit this family, after leaving a natural or adopted son as his substitute.[l]

Beasts intended to be sacrificed at the enrollment of children were to be of a certain weight: a goat was to weigh fifty μναῖ; and two sheep, forty-eight.

The ephebi were to be required to swear that they would never desert their post, nor revolt from their general; that they would never be the cause of weakening or injuring their country, but would acquiesce in whatever was enjoined them; that at all times, and under all circumstances, they would conform to the constitution of the republic; and that they would endeavour by every means in their power to maintain and extend the dominions of Athens.[m]

Parents were allowed to disinherit their children.[n]

No one, however, was to deprive his son of his freedom; nor was he to sell his daughter, or his sister, unless he had witnessed her dishonor, when charged with the superintendance of her conduct.[o]

Youth were first to be instructed in swimming, and in the rudiments

[b] Plutarch. Pericle.
[c] Carystio Historic. ὑπομνημ. lib. iii.
[d] Demosth. in Macart.
[e] Demosth. in Leochar.
[f] Liban. Argum. Orat. Demosth. in Leocharem.
[g] Harpocration.
[h] Demosth. in Bœot. de Nomine.
[i] Isæus de Hæred. Apollod.
[k] Demosth. in Leochar.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Stobæus; Pollux; Plutarch. Alcibiade; Ulpian. in Demosth. de Falsa Legat.
[n] Demosth. Orat. in Bœot. Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii. cap. 26.
[o] Plutarch. Solone.

of literature. They who were poor were to be taught husbandry, manufactures, and trades; but such as could afford a genteel education were to learn music, philosophy, hunting, and gymnastic exercises. The precise age at which children were to receive public lessons, the characters and talents of the masters who were to instruct them, and the preceptors who were to attend them, were appointed by the laws.

He was to be reckoned ἄτιμος, infamous, who beat his parents, or would not maintain them in their old age.[p]

If any one who had been found guilty of abusing his parents, frequented prohibited places, the eleven were to bind him in fetters, and carry him to be tried at the Heliæan court, where those who were empowered might accuse him. If he was convicted, the judges were to inflict on him such punishment as they thought proper; and if they imposed on him a fine, he was to be imprisoned till it was paid.[q]

They who were brought up to no employment, and children born of courtezans, were exempted from the obligation of maintaining their parents.[r]

If the estate of any person was disputed after his death, the child was to prove the lawfulness by which his parents obtained it.[s]

He who was undutiful to his parents was to be incapable of bearing any office, and might also be impeached before a magistrate.[t]

If through the infirmity of old age, or from disease, a father became of insane mind, his son might bring against him an action, and procure his confinement.

CHAP. XXVII.

Laws concerning the Senate of Five Hundred, the Popular Assembly, and the Magistrates.

No one was to be admitted twice into the office of an epistata.[u]

It was ordered that the senators, as well as the other Athenians, should observe the feast of Ἀπατούρια according to the custom of their country; and that there should be an adjournment of the senate and of the inferior courts during five days, from the commencement of the solemnity by the protenthæ.[v]

The crier was to pray for the prosperity of affairs, and encourage all men to promote their success.[w]

The crier was openly to curse him, his kindred, and family, who pleaded or voted for the sake of private interest.[x]

The oldest of the Athenians were first to deliver their sentiments on the subject under discussion, and after them the others according to seniority.[y]

In every assembly one tribe was to be elected to preside, and see that the laws were properly executed.[z]

[p] Diog. Laert. Æschin. in Timar.
[q] Demosth. in Timocr.
[r] Plutarch. Solone.
[s] Demosth. in Callip.
[t] Xenoph. Ἀπομνημ. lib. i.
[u] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.
[v] Athenæus.
[w] Dinarch. in Aristo.
[x] Idem ibid.
[y] Æschin. in Ctesiphontem.
[z] Æschin. in Timarch.

The prytanes were not to allow the people to vote twice for the same thing.[a]

The senate of five hundred might impose a fine as large as five hundred drachms.[b]

The senate of five hundred was to build new ships.[c]

They who had not built any were to be refused the donation of crowns.[d]

The senators were to give an account of their administration; and they who had executed their office with integrity and ability were to be rewarded with crowns.[e]

None were to be magistrates but those who had competent estates.[f]

Magistrates were to be elected by beans.[g]

To give two votes for the same candidate was to be punished with death.[h]

The archons were to be created by the people.

No one was to fill the same office twice, or undertake two separate offices in the same year.[i]

All magistrates elected by votes, surveyors of public works, and those who possessed any authority in the city during thirty days, as well as those who presided in the courts of judicature, were not to enter on their respective offices till they had passed the usual examination, and after the expiration of their offices were to give an account of the discharge of their trust before the scribe and logistæ.[k]

Those who had not made up their accounts were not to expend any part of their money in divine uses, nor to make wills. They were also forbidden to travel, to bear another office, or to receive a crown.[l]

It was punishable with death for any one who was indebted to the public treasury, to hold a public trust.[m]

He who was convicted of attempting to usurp the government was to be punished with death.[n]

Any magistrate who continued to exercise his functions after the dissolution of democratical government, was to be outlawed; and it was lawful for any one to kill him and seize his goods.[o]

It was decreed that if any one attempted the ruin of the commonwealth, or held any office after its subversion, he was to be considered an enemy to the state, and might with his accomplices be killed and his goods seized; that he who killed him should be blameless, and deemed innocent; and that all Athenians should be obliged by oath to attempt his death.[p]

Oaths taken in time of war, or on some pressing necessity, if inconsistent with the Athenian constitution, were to be null and void.

No office, imposed by the people, was to be refused by oath before the senate.[q]

[a] Niciæ Orat. Thucyd. lib. vi.
[b] Demosth. in Euerg. et Mnesibul.
[c] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Androt. et Liban. in ejusd. Argu.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Æschin. in Ctes. Demosth. et Ulpian. in Androt.
[f] Plutarch. Solone.
[g] Lucian.
[h] Demosth. in Bœot.
[i] Ulpian. in Timocr.
[k] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Demosth. in Leptin.
[n] Plutarch. Solone.
[o] Andocid. de Myst.
[p] Id. ibid. Lycurg. in Leocr.
[q] Æschin. de Falsa Legat.

Whoever abused a magistrate whilst acting in his office, was to be fined.[r]

The archons were to prove that they were citizens by a lawful lineage of progenitors for three generations; from what family they assumed their pedigree; and that they were descendants of Paternal Apollo and Jupiter Herceus.[s] They were also to swear that they would be scrupulously observant of the laws, which if they disregarded, they would for every default forfeit a statue of gold, of equal weight with themselves, to the Delphian Apollo.[t]

An archon who was seen intoxicated with wine, was to suffer death.[u]

If a person insulted or beat one of the thesmothetæ, or injured his reputation, that of a crowned archon, or of any other on whom the city conferred an office or dignity, he was to be ἄτιμος, infamous.[v]

The vacancies which happened in the senate of Areopagus were to be annually filled from the archons.[w]

The Areopagites were to superintend the conduct and morals of the Athenians.[x]

No Areopagite was allowed to write a comedy.[y]

The senate of Areopagus was to give an account of its management before the logistæ.[z]

A στρατηγὸς was to have children lawfully begotten, and to enjoy an estate within the confines of Attica.[a]

Every στρατηγὸς was to swear that twice in a year he would make an incursion into the Megarensian territories.[b]

The στρατηγοὶ who should injure the fleet of their allies were to be arraigned.[c]

No one was to be created syndic or astynomus more than once.[d]

The quæstors were to be chosen by the suffrages of the people.[e]

A quæstorship was not to be held longer than five years.[f]

If any one went on an embassy without being commissioned by the senate or people, he was to be put to death.[g]

No one was to be secretary to the same magistrate more than once.[h]

CHAP. XXVIII.

Laws relating to Orators, and various Offices.

No one under the age of thirty years was to speak in the senate or popular assembly.

No one was to be a public orator who had struck his parents, refused to maintain them, or excluded them from his house; who had thrown away his shield, or refused to enter into the army in times of

[r] Lysias pro Milite.
[s] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.
[t] Id. ibid. Plut. Solone.
[u] Laërt. Solone.
[v] Demosth. in Midian.
[w] Plutarch. Solone.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Plutarch. de Glor. Athen.
[z] Æschin. in Ctesiphontem.
[a] Dinarchus in Demosth.
[b] Plutarch. Pericle.
[c] Demosth. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρόν.
[d] Demosth. in Leptin. et Proœm. 64.
[e] Ulpian. ad Androtian.
[f] Plutarch. in Lycurg. Rhetor.
[g] Demosth. de Falsa Legat.
[h] Lysias in Nicomachum.

public necessity; who had been guilty of incontinence, or effeminate conduct; or who had dissipated his paternal estate, or any inheritance bequeathed to him by a friend. It was enacted that no orator should be permitted to intermeddle in public affairs till his moral conduct had undergone a careful scrutiny; and if a person, guilty of any of the offences above mentioned, dared to speak in public, he was to be arraigned in open court.[i]

An orator was to have children lawfully begotten, and to possess an estate in the territories of Attica.[k]

If an orator, either before the senate or the people, did not discuss the subject proposed in a proper manner, digressed twice from the matter under consideration, abusively animadverted on the behaviour of any person, or conducted himself unseemly in any respect, the proedri were to impose on him a fine of fifty drachms. If the *πράκτορες*, who were to be informed of his offence, thought his penalty not sufficiently severe, he was to be summoned to the next convention of the senate or the assembly, where, if condemned by private votes, the proedri were to impose on him another fine, to be paid to the *πράκτορες* on account of his *παρανομία*, breach of the laws.[l]

The archons were to appoint by lot, in the assembly, players on the flute to attend at the *χόροι*, public dancings.[m]

No stranger was to join in a dance with a chorus; if he did, the choragus was to be fined one thousand drachms.[n]

It was lawful to carry information to the archon against a stranger, before he entered the theatre to dance.[o]

If a stranger was indicted by a *χορηγὸς* for dancing before the archon, he was to be fined fifty drachms; and if he persisted after prohibition, one thousand drachms.[p]

Dancers who were *ἄτιμοι*, infamous, were to be expelled the stage.[q]

Sixteen persons were to be elected from all the public companies, to contribute equally towards the building of a man of war; a service in which they were to engage from twenty-five to forty years of age.[r]

To be qualified for the office of trierarch, a man was to be worth ten talents; but if his estate was of greater value, he was to build ships equivalent; at most, however, three, with a skiff. They who were not worth so much were to make up the sum conjointly.[s]

The trierarchs and overseers of the navy were to be commissioned to register the names of those who, being of the same *συμμορία*, were indebted to the state for ship-rigging, for which they were to sue them.[t]

He who owed rigging was to pay it, or give security.[u]

They who were elected trierarchs were to repair to the ships over which they were appointed.[v]

All trierarchs were to render an account of their administration.[w]

There was to be an annual appointment for the exchange of offices,

[i] Lysias in Timarchum.
[k] Dinarchus in Demosth.
[l] Æschines in Timarch.
[m] Demosth. in Midian.
[n] Ibid. ibiq. Ulpianus.
[o] Idem ibid.
[p] Idem ibid.
[q] Idem ibid.
[r] Demosth. de Corona.
[s] Idem ibid.
[t] Demosth. in Euerg. et Mnesibul.
[u] Idem ibid.
[v] Idem pro Polycle.
[w] Æschin. in Ctesiph.

where he, who had been nominated a λειτουργὸς, was to be exempted from serving if he could find an unemployed person richer than himself: if the person produced confessed that he was more wealthy, he was to occupy the other's place among the three hundred; but if he denied it, they were to exchange estates.[x]

The house of him who offered to make the exchange was to be sealed up; and he who quitted his estate for that of his neighbour was obliged by oath to discover his property, and three days were allowed for that purpose; but he was not to be compelled to make known his possessions in the mines.

No one was to be obliged to serve two offices at the same time.[y]

No man, except the archons, was to be excused from the office of trierarch.[z]

No one was to be exempted from contributing to the assessment for levying soldiers.[a]

CHAP. XXIX.

Laws relating to Honors conferred by the Commonwealth, to the Gymnasia, Physicians, and Philosophers.

No man was to be entertained in the Prytaneum more than once.[b]

He who was invited and refused to attend, was to be fined.[c]

They who were entertained in the Prytaneum were to have maza, and, on festivals, bread.[d]

Crowns, if presented by the people, were to be given in the popular assembly; if by the senators, in the senate.[e]

Crowns were not to be conferred by individuals, but only by the whole body of the senate, by the popular assembly, or by particular tribes or boroughs.

No tribe or borough was to bestow crowns in the theatre on any of its members; and if they presumed to do this, the crier who proclaimed them was to be ἄτιμος, infamous.

To no citizen was ξενικὸς στέφανος, a hospital crown, to be given in the theatre without the consent of the people; and when given, it was to be consecrated to Minerva.

Every one honored with a hospital crown was to produce testimonials of a regular and sober life.

No wealthy citizen, unless he were a descendant of Harmodius and Aristogiton, or an archon, was to claim immunity from serving in public offices; and he who requested such an exemption was, with all his house and family, to be ἄτιμος, and liable to the action of γραφὴ and ἔνδειξις, by which, if convicted, he was to suffer the same punishment as those who, indebted to the public, officiated as judges.[f] This law was repealed, at the instance of Demosthenes, soon after its enactment.

[x] Demosth. in Lept. et in Phœn.
[y] Idem pro Polyclet.
[z] Idem in Leptin.
[a] Demosth. et Ulp. in Leptin.
[b] Plutarch. Solone.
[c] Idem ibid.
[d] Athenæus lib. iv.
[e] Æschin. in Ctesiphon.
[f] Demosth. in Leptin.

Honors conferred by the people on proper persons were to be confirmed; but if upon examination they appeared to be given to unworthy persons, they were to be void.[g]

No school was to be opened before the rising, or kept open after the setting, of the sun.

No one except the sons, nephews, and sons-in-law of the master, was to enter the school when the boys were in it, on pain of death.[h]

No master was to give leave to any adult person to attend the festival of Mercury; if he did, he was to be punished according to the law enacted against those who corrupted the morals of free-born children.

All the χορηγοὶ, elected by the people, were to be above forty years of age.[i]

No slave was to anoint himself or perform exercises in the Palæstra.[k]

No slave or woman, unless free-born, was to study or practise physic.[l]

No one was to teach philosophy.[m] This law, which was enacted by the thirty tyrants, was repealed after their expulsion.

No one, on pain of death, was to keep a school of philosophy, unless the senate and people approved.[n] This law was repealed soon after its enactment.

CHAP. XXX.

Laws relating to Judges, Law-suits, Judgments, Witnesses, and Punishments.*

AFTER the determination of a magistrate, appeal might be made to the courts of justice.[o]

They who were degraded from the senate might sit as judges in the courts.

All the Athenians were capable of being appointed by lot to sit as judges in the several courts.[p]

The name of the bailiff, or person who arrested, was to be registered.[q]

Whoever did not appear on the day appointed for the trial of his cause, was to suffer for his neglect by having an action, called δίκη ἐρήμη, brought against him, and to be fined one thousand drachms; but if he sent a satisfactory excuse for his absence, he was to be redressed by another action denominated μὴ οὖσα, annulling the former.[r]

The archons were to propose to both parties questions, to which they were to answer.[s]

The plaintiff was to promise on oath that he would pursue the action, if his witnesses were ready; but if not, he might demand time for providing them.[t]

[g] Demosth. in Leptin.
[h] Æschin. in Timarchum.
[i] Idem ibid.
[k] Idem ibid.
[l] Hyginus Fab. 274.
[m] Xenoph. Ἀπομνημ. lib. i.
[n] Diogenes Laërtius Theophrasto.
[o] Plutarch. Solone.
[p] Demosth. Orat. i. in Aristogit. Schol. Aristophan. in Plutum.
[q] Demosth. in Midian.
[r] Idem ibid.
[s] Isæus de Hæred. Philoctemonis.
[t] Demosth. in Midian.

* We have already observed that those generally called judges were merely jurors.

The archons were to summon the contending parties to appear, and introduce them into the court.[u]

The judges were to be elected by lots.[v]

No judge was to give sentence in two different courts on the same day.[w]

The judges were to take an oath that in all causes their judgment should be conformable to the laws; and that in matters not determined by the laws, their sentence should be agreeable to justice and equity.[x]

Every judge was to minute down in his table-book the heads of the suits which he was to determine.[y]

He who ran away through fear was to lose his cause.[z]

Criminals were to have the liberty of making their own defence.[a]

No slave was to plead in any cause.[b]

The crier was to pronounce sentence against him into whose urn the greater number of pebbles, bored with holes, were cast; and for him to whom the whole ones belonged.[c]

When there was an equal number of votes on both sides, the prisoner was to be acquitted.[d]

There was to be the same number of urns, or boxes, for the votes, as of those who contended.[e]

The judges were to propose certain penalties for the offence; and the defendant was to offer to their consideration such punishment as he thought reasonable; after which the whole matter was to be left to the determination of the judges.[f]

The court was not to sit after the setting of the sun.[g]

If any one had bribed the Heliæan court, or any other court of judicature; if he had convoked a senate, or entered into a conspiracy to overturn the government; or if he had received a bribe for carrying any public or private cause; he was liable to be indicted before the thesmothetæ, by the action called γραφή.[h]

All private bargains which were made before witnesses were to be valid in law.[i]

No covenant or agreement was to be made contrary to the laws.[k]

There was to be no contention concerning matters which had been once agreed.[l]

Any one was to be permitted to non-suit his adversary, if the action brought against him was not entered.[m]

They who received injuries might prosecute within five years.[n]

It was allowable to enter actions respecting contracts made out of Attica, or wares exported out of it to any other place.[o]

He who had a law-suit respecting private matters might choose an

[u] Demosth. in Olympiodorum.
[v] Idem Orat. i. in Aristogit.
[w] Idem et Ulpian. in Timocratem.
[x] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.
[y] Hesych. v. διὰ παντὸς κριτής.
[z] Demosthen. in Olympiod.
[a] Plato Socratis Apologia.
[b] Terent. Phorm. act. i. sc. 2.
[c] Æschin. in Timarchum.
[d] Euripid. Electra v. 1265.
[e] Demosth. in Macart.
[f] Ulpian. in Timocr. Cic. de Orat. lib. i.
[g] Stobæus Serm. i.
[h] Demosth. Orat. i. in Steph. de Fals. Test.
[i] Idem in Phœnip.
[k] Aristot. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 25.
[l] Demosth. in Pantænet.
[m] Idem Orat. i. in Steph. de Fals. Test.
[n] Idem pro Phormione.
[o] Idem ibid.

arbitrator, whose sentence was to be definitive, and by whose award he was to abide.[p]

Arbitrators were to swear before verdict was given.[q]

Arbitrators were to wait for the plaintiff till the setting of the sun, when, if he did not appear, they were to inflict such punishment as was thought necessary.[r]

It was lawful to appeal from arbitrators chosen by lots to other courts of justice.[s]

Oaths were to be attested by three gods: Ἱκέσιος, the supplicant's president; Καθάρσιος, the purifier; and Ἐξακεστήριος, the averter of danger or evil.[t]

The evidence of those who were ἄτιμοι, infamous, was not to be received.[u]

No slaves were to give evidence.[v]

No man was to be a witness for himself, either in judicial actions, or in rendering up his accounts.[w]

The plaintiff and defendant were to answer each other's questions; but their answers were not to be received as evidence.[x]

No compulsion was to be used towards friends and acquaintances, who were not obliged to give evidence contrary to their inclinations.[y]

The penalty of the action called ψευδομαρτυρία was to be in force against those who gave false evidence themselves, or who suborned false witnesses.[z]

Evidence was to be given in writing.[a]

Witnesses, after being sworn, were not to withhold their evidence.[b]

Eye-witnesses were to write down what they knew, and read it.[b]

It was allowable to give that evidence which was called ἀκοή, and which consisted of what had been heard from a person deceased; and also that denominated ἐκμαρτυρία, which was the attestation of one who was at a great distance.[c]

The witness, who declined to give his evidence, was to be fined a drachm.[d]

A person cited as a witness was to give evidence, swear that he knew nothing of the matter, or incur a fine of one thousand drachms, which were to be paid to the public treasury.[e]

If contending parties thought proper, they might make use of the διαμαρτυρία.[f]

False witnesses were to be prosecuted by the action called δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν; and he who suborned them, by that denominated δίκη κακοτεχνιῶν.[g]

There was to be no renewal of any litigation either in public or pri-

[p] Demosth. Midiana.
[q] Idem in Callippum.
[r] Ulpian. in Midianam.
[s] Lucian. Abdicat.
[t] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 12. Hesych. v. τρεῖς θεοί.
[u] Demosth. in Neær.
[v] Terent. Phorm. act. i. sc. 2.
[w] Demosth. in Steph. Orat. ii. de Fals. Test.
[x] Id. ibid. Orat. i.
[y] Idem ibid.
[z] Idem ibid.
[a] Idem ibid.
[b] Demosth. in Steph. Orat. ii. de Fals. Test.
[c] Idem ibid.
[d] Demosth. in Timotheum.
[e] Idem ibid. Suidas; Harpocrat.
[f] Demosth. in Leochar.
[g] Idem in Euerg. et Mnesibul.

vate matters, which had been once determined by the judges, or by the decrees of the people; and no one was to be impeached contrary to what the laws prescribed.[h]

All judgments and verdicts delivered by the judges under the popular government were to be valid; but all acts and decrees made under the thirty tyrants were to be void.[i]

The judges were not to be so severe as to inflict both corporal and pecuniary punishment at one and the same time.[k]

They who erred through ignorance were not to be arraigned in a public court, but privately admonished of their duty.[l]

The most wealthy and powerful of the Athenians were to be banished by ostracism for ten years, lest they should rebel against the government.[m]

No one was to receive an exile on pain of being banished himself.[n]

The criminal and the abettor were to be punished alike.[o]

He who confessed his guilt before his trial was to be condemned.[p]

Criminals who had been fined were to pay from the day the fine was due, whether they were registered in the debt-book or not; and he who neglected to discharge the fine within the ninth *πρυτανεία* was to pay double.[q]

No one indebted to the city was to enter on any public office.[r]

He who, indebted to the city, had been convicted of making an oration to the people, was to be taken before the eleven.[s]

All debtors to the city were to be *ἄτιμοι*, infamous, till they had paid what they owed; and if they died without having discharged their public debts, their heirs were to incur the same disgrace till satisfaction was made.[t]

After payment had been made, the name of the debtor was to be erased from the debt-book.[u]

Three parts of the debtor's goods, which were forfeited to the public treasury, were to belong to any private person who informed against him.[v]

They who were debtors to the public, and whose names were not enrolled, might be sued by the action called *ἔνδειξις*.[w]

They who had been unjustly registered as debtors were to have their names erased; and the names of those who registered them were to be inserted in their places.[x]

If any debtor should be blotted out of the albe, or register, before he had discharged his debt, the action called *ἀγράφιον* might be brought against him in the court of the thesmothetæ.[y]

They who had been branded with infamy before the archonship of Solon, were to have their privileges renewed, except those whom the

[h] Demosth. in Timocr.
[i] Idem ibid.
[k] Idem ibid.
[l] Plato, Apologia Socratis.
[m] Plutarch. Pericle.
[n] Demosth. in Polycle.
[o] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[p] Demosth. in Timocratem.
[q] Liban. Argum. Orat. in Aristogit. et in Androt.
[r] Idem Argum. Androt.
[s] Dinarchus in Aristogit.
[t] Liban. Argum. Orat. in Aristogit. Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[u] Demosth. in Theocrin.
[v] Idem in Nicostratum.
[w] Idem in Theocrin.
[x] Idem Orat. i. in Aristogit.
[y] Idem in Theocrinem.

areopagites, ephetæ, or prytanes had banished, by the appeal of the *βασιλεὺς*, for murder, burglary, or treason.[z]

No intercession was to be made for any disfranchised person, or for one who was indebted to the public treasury, or to the gods, for investing the former with his privileges, or erasing the name of the latter from the debt-book, unless the people by six thousand private votes permitted it. If any person addressed the senate or people in behalf of one whom the judges, senate, or people, had already found guilty, or if the debtor supplicated for himself before payment was made, the writ called *ἔνδειξις* was to be issued against him in the same manner as against those who, though indebted to the public treasury, presumed to act as judges; and if any other person interceded for the debtor before restitution of the debt, all his goods were to be exposed to sale; and if a proedrus allowed a debtor, or any other person for him, to propose that his petition should be voted before his accounts were made up, he was to be *ἄτιμος*, infamous.[a]

CHAP. XXXI.

Laws relating to the Receivers of the public Revenues, to Buying and Selling, to Usury, and to the Importation and Exportation of Wares.

THE senate of five hundred were to put in the stocks those who farmed the public revenues, and neglected to pay their rent.[b]

If these officers did not carry their rents before the ninth prytany, they were to pay double.[c]

If they did not give security to the public, their goods were to be confiscated.[d]

They who were entrusted with money for religious purposes were to render an account in the senate; and if they neglected this, they were to be proceeded against in the same manner as those who farmed the public revenues.[e]

They who employed the public money a whole year for their own use, were to be obliged to restore double; and they who kept it another year were to be imprisoned till payment was made.[f]

One thousand talents were to be annually reserved for defending Attica against foreign invasions; and he who proposed to apply this money to any other use, was to suffer death.[g]

When a war suddenly broke out, the soldiers were to be paid from the remainder of the money intended for civil uses.[h]

If any one proposed that the pay of the soldiers should be taken from the money designed for the exhibition of shows, he was to suffer death.[i]

If any one sued for land, he was to prosecute the possessor by the

[z] Plutarch. Solone.
[a] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[b] Andocides de Myster.
[c] Demosth. in Timocrat.
[d] Idem in Nicostratum.
[e] Idem in Timocratem.
[f] Anonym. Argum. Timocrat.
[g] Andocides de Pace Laced.
[h] Demosthen. in Neæram.
[i] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. i.

action called δίκη καρποῦ; if for a house, by that denominated δίκη ἐνοικίου.[k]

There was to be no cheating in the market.[l]

The fishmonger who overrated his fish, and afterwards took less than he had at first asked, was to suffer imprisonment.[m]

Fishmongers were not to put their fish in water to render them more saleable.[n]

A banker was to demand no more interest than what he had at first agreed to take.[o]

The interest of usurers was to be moderate.[p]

No one, who had deposited money in surety for any thing, might sue for it.[q]

Pledges and sureties were to be valid only for one year.[r]

No one might become a slave to pay his debt.[s]

He who did not pay in due time what had been adjudged, was to have his house rifled.[t]

The fine following the action called ἐξούλη was to belong to the public.[u]

One hundred drachms were to make a μνᾶ.[v]

They who counterfeited, debased, or diminished the current coin, were to lose their lives.[w]

No Athenian or sojourner was to lend money to be exported, unless for corn or some commodity allowed by law. He who suffered his money to be exported for other purposes, was to be prosecuted by the action called φάσις; and no writ or warrant was to be issued against the person to whom he had lent the money, and the archons were not to permit him to enter any trial in the judicial courts.[x]

He who exported any fruit except olives was to be openly cursed by the archon, or amerced one hundred drachms.[y] The conquerors in the games at the Panathenæan festival were to be exempted from this law.[z]

Figs were prohibited from exportation.[a]

If any Athenian factor or merchant conveyed corn to any other place than to Athens, the action called φάσις was to be brought against him; and the informer might claim half of the corn.[b]

He who impleaded a merchant on slight grounds was to have both the actions of ἔνδειξις and ἀπαγωγὴ brought against him.[c]

He who desisted from the prosecution of any merchant accused by him, or who failed in obtaining a fifth part of the suffrages, was to be fined one thousand drachms, and debarred from commencing the actions of γραφὴ, φάσις, ἀπαγωγὴ, and ἐφήγησις.[d]

[k] Lysias in Demosth. Curet.
[l] Demosth. in Leptin.
[m] Alexis Comicus Lebete.
[n] Xenarchus πορφύρα.
[o] Lysias Orat. i. in Theomnest.
[p] Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[q] Demosth. in Spudiam.
[r] Idem in Apaturium.
[s] Plutarch. Solone.
[t] Ulpian. in Midian.
[u] Demosth. in Midian.
[v] Plutarch. Solone.
[w] Demosth. in Lept. et Timocr.
[x] Idem in Lacritum.
[y] Plutarch. Solone.
[z] Pindari Schol. Nem. Od. x.
[a] Aristoph. Schol. in Plutum.
[b] Demosth. in Timocratem.
[c] Idem in Theocrinem.
[d] Idem ibid.

No inhabitant of Athens was to buy more corn than fifty phormi would contain.[e]

No one was to export wool or pitch.[f] These articles were necessary in building ships.

All controversies, and compacts by bonds, between mariners, were to be brought before the thesmothetæ: if any mariner was found guilty of injustice, he was to be imprisoned till the fine imposed on him was paid; and if he was illegally prosecuted, he might non-suit his adversary.[g]

No watermen or masters of ships were to carry passengers to any other place than at first had been agreed on.

CHAP. XXXII.

Laws relating to Limits and Land-marks; to Lands, Herds, and Flocks; and to Arts, and Corporate Societies.

If there was a public well within the space of an hippicum, any one might use it; but if it was at a greater distance, each person was to dig one for himself.[h]

If any one dug a well near the ground of another man, he was to leave the space of an ὀργυιὰ, pace or six feet, between it and the land of his neighbour.[i]

He who dug a well ten ὀργυιαὶ deep, and found no spring, might draw twice a day out of the well of his neighbour six vessels of water called χόες.[k]

He who dug a ditch or trench near the land of another person, was to leave so much distance from his neighbour as the ditch or trench was deep.[l]

If any one made a hedge near the ground of his neighbour, he was not to pass his neighbour's land-mark: if he built a wall, he was to leave one foot between him and his neighbour; if a house, two feet.[m]

If any one built a house in a field, he was to place it at the length of a bow-shot from that of his neighbour.[n]

He who kept a hive of bees was to place it three hundred feet from those of his neighbour.[o]

Olive and fig-trees were to be planted nine feet from the ground of another person; and other trees five feet.[p]

If any one plucked up the sacred olives at Athens, besides the two annually allowed at public festivals or funerals, he was to pay one hundred drachms for each, and the tenth part of the fine was to be due to Minerva. The same offender was also to pay one hundred drachms to any private person who prosecuted him; and the action was to be brought before the archons, when the prosecutor was to deposit πρυτανεῖα, the money required previously to judgment. The archons were to give to the πράκτορες an account of the fine im-

[e] Lysias in Frumenti Emptores.
[f] Aristoph. Schol. in Equites.
[g] Argum. Orat. Demosth. in Xenothemin.
[h] Plutarch. Solone.
[i] Gaius lib. iv. ad leg. xii. Tab.
[k] Plutarch. Solone.
[l] Id. et Gaius locis citatis.
[m] Gaius loco citato.
[n] Eclog. βασιλικῶν.
[o] Plutarch. Solone.
[p] Plutarch. et Gaius locis citat.

posed on the criminal; and to the quæstors of Minerva, of that part which was to be deposited in the treasury of the goddess; and if they neglected this, they were to pay the money themselves.[q]

Men were not to be allowed to purchase as much land as they wished.[r]

Spendthrifts, who wasted the estates left them by their fathers or others, were to be ἄτιμοι, infamous.[s]

He who brought an he-wolf was to have five drachms; and a she-wolf, one.[t]

No one was to kill an ox which labored at the plough.[u]

No person was to kill a lamb of a year old, or an ox.[v]

No one was to hurt any living creatures.[w]

Any person might accuse another of idleness.[x]

No man was to exercise two trades.[y]

No man was to sell perfumes.[z]

Foreigners were not to be allowed to sell wares in the market, nor to exercise any trade.[a]

Any one might bring an action of slander against him who disparaged or ridiculed another on account of his trade.[b]

He who obtained the greatest repute, and was esteemed the most ingenious in his profession, was to have his diet in the Prytaneum, and to be honored with the highest seat.[c]

The ferryman, who overturned his boat in wafting over passengers to Salamis, was to be prohibited from exercising his employment.[d]

If fellow-burgesses, those of the same φρατρία, those who were invested with the same sacerdotal office as the ὀργεῶνες and the θιασῶται, those who ate together, who had equal claim to the same burial-place, or who travelled together on mercantile pursuits,—if any of these made bargains consistent with the laws, the bargains were to be valid.[e]

If any one receded from a promise which he had made to the people, the senate, or the judges, he was to be prosecuted by the action called εἰσαγγελία, and, if found guilty, was to be punished with death.[f]

He who withdrew from an engagement publicly made, was to be ἄτιμος, infamous.[g]

He who received bribes, endeavoured to seduce others by bribery, or used any other insinuating artifice to the prejudice of the state, was, with his heirs and all those who belonged to him, to be ἄτιμος, infamous.[h]

He who held a public office and received bribes, was to suffer

[q] Demosth. in Macart.
[r] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 8.
[s] Diog. Laërt. Æschin. in Timarch.
[t] Plutarch. Solone.
[u] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[v] Athenæus lib. i. et ix. Eustathius in Iliad. α'.
[w] Porphyrius περὶ ἀποχ. Hieronym. in Jovin. lib. ii.
[x] Plutarch.
[y] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[z] Athenæus lib. xiii. et xv.
[a] Demosth. in Eubulidem.
[b] Demosth. ibid.
[c] Aristophanes Ranis.
[d] Æschines in Ctesiph.
[e] Gaius lib. iv. ad leg. xii. Tab.
[f] Demosth. in Leptin.
[g] Dinarchus in Philoclem.
[h] Demosth. in Midian.

death, or make retribution of the money received by bribery tenfold.[i]

CHAP. XXXIII.

Laws relating to Marriages, Dowries, Divorces, Adulteries, Boys, Procurers, and Harlots.

No man was to have more than one wife.[k]

An Athenian was to marry a citizen only.

If an heiress had been lawfully contracted in marriage by a father, brother by the father's side, or grandfather, it was lawful to procreate with her freeborn children; but if she had not been betrothed, and those relations were dead, and she an orphan, she was to marry him whom the law appointed. If the woman was not an heiress, and only of low condition, she might marry whom she pleased.[l]

If any one married a stranger, as his kinswoman, to an Athenian citizen, he was to be ἄτιμος, infamous, and his goods were to be exposed to sale, the third part of which was to belong to the impeacher, who cited him to appear before the thesmothetæ, in the manner of those prosecuted by the action of ξενία.[m]

A stranger who married a woman that was a citizen might be sued in the court of the thesmothetæ; and if convicted, he was to be sold, and the third part of the purchase-money and of his property was to belong to the accuser. Foreign women, who married free men, were also to be sold, and the men were to forfeit each one thousand drachms.[n]

No Athenian woman was to marry into a foreign family.[o]

Any one might marry a sister by the father's side.[p]

No heiress was to marry into another family; but she was to espouse her nearest relation.[q]

Every month, except in that of Σκιῤῥοφοριών, the judges were to examine into the rights of those who were designed for the husbands of heiresses, and whom they were not to allow to marry them unless their consanguinity sufficiently appeared.[r]

If any one sued another by a claim to an heiress, he was to deposit παρακαταβολή, the tenth part of her portion; and he who possessed her was to lay his case open to the archon; but if he made no appeal, his right of inheritance was lost. If the husband of the heiress, against whom the action had been brought, was dead, the other within a reasonable time was to appeal to the archon, whose business it was to take cognizance of the action.[s]

If a father had buried all his sons, he might entail his estate on his married daughters.[t]

If an heiress bare no children to her husband, she might bestow herself on his nearest relation.[u]

[i] Dinarch. in Demosthenem.
[k] Athenæus lib. xiii.
[l] Demosth. in Stephanum Test.
[m] Demosthenes in Neæram.
[n] Demosth. in Neæram.
[o] Demosth. et Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[p] Cornelius Nepos, Cimone.
[q] Isæus de Hæred. Aristarchi.
[r] Demosth. in Stephan. Test.
[s] Demosth. in Macart.
[t] Isæus de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[u] Plutarch. Solone.

All men were to lie with their wives, if heiresses, at least three nights in a month.[v]

He who ravished a virgin was to be obliged to marry her.[w]

A guardian was not to marry the mother of the orphans, with whose estate he was entrusted.[x]

Slaves were to be allowed the use of women.[y]

When a new-married woman was brought to the house of her husband, she was to carry with her a *φρύγετρον*, frying-pan, in token of good housewifery.[z]

A bride on the first night of her marriage was to eat a quince.[a]

A bride was not to carry with her to her husband more than three garments, and vessels of small value.[b]

They who were next in blood to an orphan virgin that had no fortune, were to marry her, or settle on her a portion according to their quality: if they were of the *πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι*, five hundred drachms; if of the *ἱππεῖς*, three hundred; and if of the *ζευγῖται*, one hundred and fifty; but if she had many kindred who were equally related to her, they were severally to contribute their shares to make up the respective sum. If there were many orphan virgins, their nearest relation was to give them in marriage, or take one of them to wife: if he did neither, the archon was to compel him; and if the archon connived at his neglect, he was himself to be fined one thousand drachms, which were to be consecrated to Juno. He who broke this law might be indicted by any person before the archon.[c]

The woman who brought her husband a fortune, and who lived in the same house with her children, was to claim no interest for her money, but be maintained out of the common stock.[d]

The son of an heiress, when arrived at man's estate, was to enjoy the fortune of his mother, and support her.[e]

He who promised to settle a dowry on a woman was not to be obliged to fulfil his promise if she died without heirs.[f]

He who divorced his wife was to restore her portion, or pay in lieu of it nine oboli every month; otherwise her guardian might prosecute him in the Odeum, by the action called *σίτου δίκη*, for her maintenance.[g]

If a woman forsook her husband, or a husband put away his wife, he who gave her in marriage was to exact the dowry given with her.[h]

The woman who wished to leave her husband was to deliver to the archon with her own hand a bill of separation.[i]

He who forcibly deflowered a free woman was to be fined one hundred drachms.[k]

[v] Plutarch. ibid.
[w] Idem ibid. Hermogenis Scholiast.
[x] Laërtius, Solone.
[y] Plutarch. Amatorio.
[z] Pollux lib. i. cap. 12.
[a] Plutarch. Solone.
[b] Plutarch. Solone.
[c] Demosth. in Macart.
[d] Idem in Phænippum.
[e] Idem in Stephan. Test.
[f] Isæus de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[g] Demosth. in Neæram.
[h] Isæus de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[i] Plutarch. Alcibiade.
[k] Plutarch. Solone.

He who forcibly violated the chastity of a virgin was to be fined one thousand drachms.[l]

He who caught an adulterer in the fact might impose on him any punishment.[m]

If any one was imprisoned on suspicion of adultery, he might appeal to the thesmothetæ, and if acquitted of the crime, he was to be discharged; but if found guilty, he was to give surety for his future chastity, and undergo any punishment which the judges should inflict.[n]

If any one committed a rape on a woman, he was to be doubly fined.[o]

No husband was to live with his wife after she had defiled his bed, and her paramour had been convicted of adultery; and if her husband did not put her away, he was to be ἄτιμος, infamous. She was also prohibited from entering the public temples, on pain of suffering any punishment except death.[p]

No adulteress was permitted to adorn herself; and if she did, any one who met her might tear off her garments and beat her, but not so as to disable or kill her.[q]

Every modest woman, who appeared abroad undressed, was to forfeit a thousand drachms.[r]

Women were forbidden to travel with more than three gowns, or with more meat and drink than they could purchase with an obolus, or to have with them more than a hand-basket; and they were also prohibited from going out by night, except in a chariot with a lamp or torch carried before it.[s]

No slave was to caress a freeborn youth, on pain of publicly receiving fifty stripes.[t]

If a father, brother, uncle, or guardian, or any other person who had authority over a boy, received money for his prostitution, the boy was not to be prosecuted by an action, but the seller and pander only, who were both to undergo the same punishment; and the boy, after he had attained the age of maturity, was not to be obliged to maintain his father who had thus offended; but when his father died, he was to bury him with decency.[u]

If any one prostituted a boy or woman, he was to be prosecuted by the action called γραφή, and if convicted, punished with death.[v]

Any Athenian so empowered might bring an action against him who had vitiated a boy, woman, or man that was freeborn or in service; and the thesmothetæ were to appoint judges to sit in the Heliæa for the determination of the matter within thirty days after the complaint had been brought before them, or, if any public concern intervened, as soon after as occasion would allow. If the criminal was convicted, he was immediately to undergo the punishment, whether corporal or pecuniary, annexed to the offence; and if he was sentenced to die, he was to be delivered to the ἕνδεκα, and suffer the same day.

[l] Hermogenis Scholiastes.
[m] Lysias de Cæde Eratosthenis.
[n] Demosthenes in Neæram.
[o] Lysias de Cæde Eratosthenis.
[p] Demosth. in Neæram.
[q] Æschines in Timarchum
[r] Harpocration.
[s] Plutarch. Solone.
[t] Plutarch. Solone; Æschines in Timarchum.
[u] Idem ibid.
[v] Idem ibid.

If the vitiated servant or woman belong to the prosecutor, who neglected to bring the action, or who failed in obtaining a fifth part of the suffrages, he was to be fined one thousand drachms. If the criminal had only a fine imposed on him, he was to pay it within eleven days at the farthest after sentence had been passed; and if the vitiated person was freeborn, he was to be imprisoned till the fine had been discharged.[w]

He who had prostituted himself was not to be elected an archon, priest, or syndic; he was not to execute any office conferred by lot or suffrage, accept an embassy, pass sentence, enter the temples or purified precincts of the forum, nor receive crowns on solemn days; and he who offended against this law was to suffer death.[x]

Persons who kept company with harlots were not to be accounted adulterers.[y]

Harlots were to wear flowered garments as a badge of distinction.[z]

CHAP. XXXIV.

Laws relating to Wills, the Succession of Property, Guardianship, Sepulchres, and Funerals.

The right of inheritance was to remain in the same family.[a]

Boys or women were not to bequeath by will above a medimn of barley.[b]

All real citizens, whose estates were impaired by litigious suits when Solon entered the prætorship, were to be permitted to leave them to whom they chose, provided they had no male children alive, were not insane through the infirmities of age, disease, or witchcraft, nor constrained by the persuasions of a wife, by violence, or by some unavoidable necessity.[c]

The wills of those who, having children, disposed of their estates, were to be valid, if the children died before they arrived at maturity.[d]

Any one who had a daughter might give his estate to another person, provided that person married his daughter.[e]

Adopted persons were to make no wills; but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, they might return to the family from which they had been adopted; or if they remained till death, the estates were to be restored to the relations of the persons by whom they had been adopted.[f]

All legitimate sons were to have equal portions of their father's inheritance.[g]

He who, after he had adopted a son, begat legitimate children, was to divide his estate among the legitimate and the adopted.[h]

[w] Plutarch. Solone; Demosth. in Midian.
[x] Æschines in Timarchum.
[y] Demosth. in Neæram; Lysias in Theomnestum Orat. i.
[z] Suidas; Artemidorus lib. ii. cap. 13.
[a] Plutarch. Solone.
[b] Isæus de Hæred. Aristarchi.
[c] Demosth. in Stephanum Testem Orat. ii.
[d] Idem ibid.
[e] Isæus de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[f] Demosth. in Leocharem.
[g] Isæus de Hæred. Philoctemonis.
[h] Idem ibid.

The estate of him who died intestate and left daughters was to come to those who married them; but if there were no daughters, his brothers by the father's side and their sons were to enjoy it; and if he had neither brothers nor nephews, the males descended from them were to possess the estate. If, however, none of the grandchildren remained down to second cousins by the man's side, the wife's relations might claim the inheritance; and if none of those were living on either side, they who had the nearest pretensions to kindred were to enjoy it. Bastards were to claim no right to kindred; and if there was a lawfully begotten daughter and an illegitimate son, the daughter was to have preference in right to the inheritance, in respect of both divine and civil affairs.[i]

No bastard was to have more than five *μναῖ* bequeathed to him.[k]

In every part of the year, except in the month Σκιρροφοριών, legacies were to be examined by law; and no one was to enjoy a legacy till it had been assigned him by a due course of law.[l]

He who issued a writ against one settled in an inheritance was to bring him before the archon, and deposit *παρακαταβολή*, as was usual in other actions; for, unless he prosecuted the possessor, he could have no title to the estate. If the immediate successor, against whom the action was brought, was dead, the other within a certain time was to appeal to the archon, whose business it was to take cognizance of the action.[m] If no appeal was made within five years after the death of the immediate successor, the estate was to remain secure to the heirs of the deceased person, without being liable to lawsuits.[n]

No one was to be guardian to another, whose estate he was to enjoy after his death.[o]

Guardians were to let to hire the houses of their wards.[p]

The archon was to take under his protection orphans, heiresses, decayed families, and women pregnant with posthumous children; and if any one treated them injuriously or contumeliously, the archon was to fine him; but if he transgressed beyond the authority of the archon to punish, he was to summon the offender to appear at the court of Heliæa, which, after conviction, was to inflict on him either a pecuniary or corporal penalty.[q]

No ward, after the expiration of five years, was to sue a guardian for the mismanagement of his trust.[r]

The dead were to be interred.[s]

No tomb was to consist of more work than ten men could finish in three days; and it was not to be arched, nor adorned with statues.[t]

No grave was to have pillars of more than three cubits high, a table, and labellum or vessel to contain food for the maintenance of the ghost.[u]

He who defaced a sepulchre, buried in it one of another family,

[i] Demosth. in Macart.
[k] Suidas v. *ἐπίκληροι*.
[l] Demosth. in Stephan. Testem Orat. ii.
[m] Demosth. in Macart.
[n] Isæus de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[o] Laërtius Solone.
[p] Demosth. in Aphobum.
[q] Idem in Macart.
[r] Idem in Nausimachum.
[s] Cicero de Legibus lib. ii.
[t] Idem ibid.
[u] Idem ibid.

erased the inscription, or broke the pillar, was to suffer punishment.[v]

No one was to approach the grave of another, unless at the celebration of obsequies.[w]

The corpse was to be laid out according to the pleasure of the relations; and the funeral procession was to be the next day before it was light, the men going first and the women following. No woman who was under sixty years of age, and who was not a relation, was to go where the solemnity was kept, or after the funeral had been solemnized.[x]

A very large concourse of people was prohibited at funerals.[y]

The corpse was not to be buried with more than three garments.[z]

No woman was to tear her face, or make lamentations at funerals.[a]

At the death of every one, a chœnix of barley, another of wheat, and an obolus, were to be paid to the priestess of Minerva in the citadel.[b]

No ox was to be offered to appease the manes of the deceased.[c]

Children and heirs were to perform the accustomed rites of parentation.[d]

Slaves were not to be embalmed, nor honored with a funereal banquet.[e]

Panegyrics were to be spoken only by public orators, and at the solemnization of public funerals.[f]

They who died in battle were to be buried at the public charge.[g]

The father was to have the privilege of conferring a funereal encomium on his son, who had died honorably in battle.[h]

He who died bravely in the front of the battle was to have an annual oration spoken in his favor.[i]

He who accidentally found an unburied body was to cast earth upon it; and all bodies were to be buried westward.[k]

No evil was to be spoken of the dead.[l]

CHAP. XXXV.

Laws relating to Robbers and Assassins, to Theft, and Slander.

THE senate of Areopagus was to decide in cases of wilful murder, wounds, poison, and fire.[m]

The counsel for an assassin was to make no preliminary apology, to excite no compassion, and to speak nothing foreign to the subject.[n]

The thesmothetæ were to punish murderers with death.[o]

[v] Cicero de Legibus lib. ii.
[w] Plutarch. Solone.
[x] Demosth. in Macart.
[y] Cicero de Legibus.
[z] Plutarch. Solone.
[a] Idem et Cicero.
[b] Aristoteles Œcumen. lib. ii.
[c] Plutarch. Solone.
[d] Demosth. in Timocratem; Isæus de Hæred. Cleonymi.
[e] Cicero loco citato.
[f] Idem ibid.
[g] Thucydides lib. ii.
[h] Polemo Argument. τῶν ἐπιταφίων λόγων.
[i] Cicero de Oratore.
[k] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[l] Plutarch. Solone.
[m] Demosth. in Aristocratem.
[n] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10.
[o] Demosth. in Aristocratem.

An assassin was to suffer in the country of the person whom he had murdered; and after being carried before the thesmothetæ, he was to be liable to capital punishment only. He who took money for the pardon of the criminal was to restore double of what he had received; and the heliastic court alone was to pass sentence upon him.[p]

If any one killed, or assisted in killing, a murderer who absented himself from the forum, the consecrated places, the public games, and the Amphictyonic festivals, he was to suffer the severity of the law as if he had killed a citizen of Athens; and the ephetæ were to take cognizance of the matter.[q] This law related to a murderer who had not been condemned.

He who was accused of murder was to have no privileges in the city.[r]

He who had accidentally killed another was to flee his country for a year, till satisfaction had been made to the relations of the deceased, when he was to return, sacrifice, and be purified.[s]

He who troubled, in his exile, him who had thus fled, was to be punished.[t]

He who returned from banishment before his year had expired, and bound himself to appear before the magistrate, was not to have an action of murder brought against him.[u]

If any one had unintentionally killed his antagonist in the exercises, or a man lying in ambuscade, or in the heat of a battle, or one who had debauched his wife, mother, sister, daughter, or the nurse of his legitimate children, he was not to be banished.[v]

It was allowable to kill him who assaulted the innocent.[w]

If any one, who had been banished for accidental death, was indicted for murder before he had made satisfaction to the relations of the deceased, he was to defend himself before the court ἐν φρεαττοῖ, in a small vessel, which was not to land; but his judges were to pass sentence on shore. If he was convicted, he was to suffer for the murder; but if acquitted, he was to undergo only the former sentence of banishment for manslaughter.[x]

If any archon, or person in a private capacity, was instrumental in injuring or repealing these statutes, he and his children were to be ἄτιμοι, and his goods sold.[y]

If a murderer was found in a religious place, or in the forum, he might be committed to gaol, and, if convicted, put to death; but if he who committed him failed in procuring a fifth part of the votes, he was to be fined one thousand drachms.[z]

If any one was murdered, his nearest relations might bring the action called ἀνδροληψία against those whom they suspected as abettors of the murder, or protectors of the criminal; and till satisfaction

[p] Demosth. in Aristocratem.
[q] Idem ibid.
[r] Antipho de Choreuta.
[s] Demosth. in Aristocratem; Euripid. Schol.
[t] Demosth. in Aristocratem.
[u] Idem ibid.
[v] Demosth. in Aristocratem.
[w] Idem ibid.
[x] Idem ibid.
[y] Idem ibid.
[z] Idem ibid.

was made, or the murderer surrendered, they might seize three men of their body.[a]

The right of prosecuting murderers belonged to the relations of the persons murdered, their sons-in-law, fathers-in-law, sisters' children, and those of the same φρατρία. The murderers might implore the clemency of the father of the deceased, if he was alive; but if he was dead, that of his brother or all his sons; for without the consent of them all, nothing was effectual. If all those before mentioned were dead, and, according to the determination of the fifty ephetæ, the death of the person happened by chance, ten men of the same φρατρία might, if they thought fit, convene and delegate one-and-fifty from the nobility to the ephetæ. All that were murderers before the passing of this law were to be subject to its obligations. If a person had been murdered in any of the boroughs, and no one removed him, the demarchus was to order the friends of the deceased to bury the body, and to lustrate the borough on the day he was killed. When a slave was murdered, the demarchus was to acquaint his master; when a freeman, the succeeding heirs; but if the person murdered had no possessions, the demarchus was to acquaint his relations; and if they neglected to take away the body, the demarchus was to see it buried, and cause the borough to be lustrated. All this, however, was to be done with as little expence as possible; and if the demarchus failed in this, he was to be fined one thousand drachms, which were to be paid to the public treasury. The demarchus was to receive from the debtors of the murdered person double the money expended on the funeral; and in default of this, he was himself to pay it to those of his borough.[b]

He who was *felo de se* was to have the hand cut off that did the murder, which was to be buried in a place separate from the body.[c]

No murderer was to be permitted to remain within the city.[d]

Inanimate things, which had been instrumental in the death of any person, were to be cast out of Attica.[e]

He who struck the first blow in a quarrel was to be liable to the action called αἰκίας δίκη.[f]

He who wilfully maimed another was to be expelled the city in which the man dwelt whom he had injured, and his goods were to be confiscated; and if he returned to that city, he was to suffer death.[g]

Any one was to be permitted to inform against a man who had injured another person.[h]

He who wilfully caused damages was to refund twice as much; he who involuntarily caused them, an equivalent.[i]

The eyes of him, who had blinded any one-eyed person, were to be plucked out.[k]

The dog which had bit any one was to be tied with a chain four cubits long.[l]

[a] Demosth. in Aristocratem.
[b] Idem in Macart.
[c] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[d] Suidas, v. Ἴωρος.
[e] Æschines in Ctesiph. Demosth. in Aristocrat.
[f] Lysias pro Callia, in Cimonem.
[g] Plutarch. Solone.
[h] Demosth. in Midiana.
[i] Laërtius Solone.
[k] Plutarch. Solone.

He who stole any thing was to pay to the owner double the value of what he had stolen, and as much to the public treasury. If any one had any thing stolen from him, and it was restored, the thief, with the abettor, was to pay double the value; but if restitution was not made, the thief was to pay ten times its value, and be set in the stocks five days and as many nights, if the heliasts so order it; and this order was to be made when they considered the punishment to be inflicted on him.[m]

If any one had stolen by day to the value of more than fifty drachms, the action called ἀπαγωγὴ was to be brought against him before the eleven; but if in the night, any person might wound or kill him, or issue the same action against him; and if he were convicted, he was to suffer death, without any regard to sureties for restitution of the stolen goods. He who stole from the Lyceum, Academia, Cynosarges, or any of the gymnasia, any thing of the least value, or from the baths, or ports, to the value of ten drachms, was to suffer death.[n]

He who imprisoned a man for theft, which he could not prove, was to be fined one thousand drachms.[o]

All pickpockets and burglars were to suffer death.[p]

He who searched for a thief in the house of another was to wear only a thin garment loose about him.[q]

He who took that which was not his own was liable to be put to death.[r]

It was a capital offence to break into an orchard, and steal figs.[s] This law was afterwards abrogated, and the offence punished with a fine.[t]

They who stole dung were to suffer corporal punishment.[u]

No one was to calumniate or defame any person in the temples, judicial courts, treasuries, or places where games were celebrated, on pain of paying three drachms to the injured man, and two to the public treasury.[v]

He who slandered any one was to be fined.[w]

He who reproached any one with committing some heinous offence against the laws, was to be fined five hundred drachms.[x]

No one was to call another a murderer.[y]

He who upbraided another for casting away his buckler was to be fined.[z]

[m] Aulus Gellius lib. x. cap. 18. Demosth. in Timocrat.
[n] Demosth. ibid.
[o] Suidas.
[p] Xenophon. Ἀπομνημ. lib. i.
[q] Schol. Aristophan. in Nubes.
[r] Plutarch. Solone; Aulus Gellius lib. xi. cap. 18.
[s] Festus.
[t] Suidas.
[u] Aristophan. Schol. Equitibus.
[v] Plutarch. Solone.
[w] Lysias Orat. i. in Theomnestum.
[x] Isocrates in Lochitem.
[y] Lysias loco citato.
[z] Idem ibid.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Laws relating to Business, Entertainments, Mines, Military Affairs, Military Punishments and Rewards, and various Matters.

They who had been negligent in conducting any business were to answer for their neglect.[a]

No woman was to meddle in affairs farther than a medimn of barley would satisfy for the performance.[b]

No entertainment was to consist of more than thirty guests.[c]

All cooks hired to dress meat at entertainments were to carry their names to the gynæconomi.[d]

Only mixed wines were to be drunk at entertainments.[e]

Pure wines were to be afterwards drunk to the honor of the good genius.[f]

The Areopagites were to take cognizance of all drunkards.[g]

If any one prohibited another from working in the mines, carried fire into them, took away the tools of another, or dug beyond his limits, he might be prosecuted by the action called δίκη μεταλλική.[h]

Timocrates enacted that any Athenian found guilty before the senate by the action εἰσαγγελία, and imprisoned before or after the indictment, and the matter being carried to the thesmothetæ, the thesmothetæ within thirty days, unless affairs of state intervened, were to appoint the eleven to judge the cause, before whom any Athenian might accuse the offender. If he was convicted, the Heliæa was to impose either corporal or pecuniary punishment; and if the latter, he was to be imprisoned till he paid the fine.[i]

Men were to serve in the army from eighteen to forty years of age. Till they were twenty, they were to remain in Attica; and after that time they were to serve in the army abroad.[k]

He who offered to serve in the cavalry before he had been approved, was to be ἄτιμος.[l]

The cavalry were to be drawn from the most valiant and wealthy.[m]

Soldiers were not to dress their hair in a foppish manner.[n]

None were to pawn their arms.[o]

He who had betrayed a garrison, ship, or army, was to suffer death; and all deserters to the enemy were to undergo the same punishment.

There was to be no marching before the seventh day of the month.[p]

The ceremony of proclaiming war was to be by putting a lamb into the enemy's territories.[q]

The polemarch was to lead the right wing of the army.[r]

[a] Demosth. in Aphobum.
[b] Dio Chrysost. Orat. περὶ ἀπιστ.
[c] Lynceus Samius in Apophthegm. Athenæus lib. vi.
[d] Menander Cecryphalo.
[e] Alexis Æsopo.
[f] Athenæus lib. vi.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] Demosth. in Pantænetum.
[i] Demosth. in Timocratem.
[k] Ulpianus in Olynthiac. iii.
[l] Lysias in Alcibiadem.
[m] Xenophon. Hipparchico.
[n] Schol. Aristophan. ad Equites.
[o] Idem ad Plutum.
[p] Zenobius Cent. iii. Prov. 79.
[q] Diogenianus Cent. ii. Prov. 96.
[r] Herodotus Erato.

Treasurers of the public revenue, and dancers at the Διονυσιακὰ, were to be exempted from serving in the army.[s]

They who had valiantly maintained their posts were to be advanced; and others degraded.[t]

All cowards, deserters, and those who refused to enter the army, were to be expelled the forum and the temples, and not to be crowned. He who offended against this law was to be tried before the heliastæ, who were to inflict such punishment as the nature of the offence seemed to require.[u]

He who cast away his arms was to be ἄτιμος.[v]

He who, during war, deserted his ship, or who being pressed refused to go, was to be ἄτιμος.[w]

All wounded and disabled soldiers were to be maintained at the public charge.[x]

The parents and children of those who fell in battle were to be taken care of. The children were to be sent to school at the public charge; and when arrived at maturity, they were to be presented with a complete suit of armour, settled in their respective vocations, and honored with the first seats in all public places.[y]

They who did not return kindnesses were to be prosecuted for ingratitude.[z]

The borough and name of the father of every one were to be inserted in all deeds and contracts.[a]

An informer who uttered falsehoods was to suffer death.[b]

He who, in a public sedition, refused openly to declare for one of the parties, was to be ἄτιμος.[c]

He who left the city that he might reside in the Piræeus, was to suffer death.[d]

He who wore a sword or other armour in the streets, except in a case of exigency, was to be fined.[e]

He who had been convicted of perfidy to the state, or of sacrilege, was to be denied burial in Attica, and his goods were to be exposed to sale.[f]

He who had betrayed his country was not to enter the territories of Attica; and if he did, he was to suffer by the same law as those who, after being condemned to banishment by the Areopagites, returned to Attica.[g]

All compacts, approved by the judges, were to be valid.[h]

There was to be an amnesty of all former acts and dissensions.[i] This law was passed after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and was sworn to by the archons, the senate of five hundred, and all the peo-

[s] Demosth. in Neæram et in Midian.
[t] Xenophon Hipparchico.
[u] Demosth. in Timocratem; Æschines in Ctesiph.
[v] Lysias Orat. i. in Theomnestum.
[w] Plutarch. Solone.
[x] Laërtius Solone.
[y] Lucian. Abdicato; Valerius Maximus lib. v. cap. 3.
[z] Demosth. in Bœotum.
[a] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[b] Plutarch. Solone.
[c] Suidas; Plutarch. Solone; Aulus Gellius lib. ii. cap. 12.
[d] Lucian. Anacharside.
[e] Xenophon Ἑλληνικῶν lib. i.
[f] Dinarchus in Demosth.
[g] Demosthenes Halones.
[h] Cicero Philip. i.
[i] Lysias in Ctesiphontem.

ple of Athens. If any person was accused of breaking this oath, he might use the plea called παραγραφή; he who offered the plea was first to make his defence; and on the party convicted was to be imposed the fine called ἐπωβελία.[k]

No stranger was to be wronged or injured.[l]

The bewildered traveller was to be directed in his way; and hospitality to be exercised towards strangers.[m]

No seller of rings was to retain the impression of one which he had sold.[n]

[k] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[l] Xenophon Ἀπομνημ. lib. ii.
[m] Cicero de Offic. lib. iii.
[n] Laërtius Solone.

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK II.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

CHAP. I.

Description of the City of Sparta, or Lacedæmon.

As Attica was filled with δῆμοι, boroughs, so Laconia had a great number of πόλεις, cities;[a] hence it was called Ἑκατόμπολις, from its containing one hundred cities;[b] and hence ἑκατόμβαι, the sacrifices of a hundred oxen, were particularly celebrated by the Lacedæmonians for the safety of those hundred cities.[c] At the time, however, that Laconia was said to contain a hundred cities, the most inconsiderable town assumed the name of city; and, though the country was very populous, some judicious writers speak of all the places in Laconia, except Gythera and Lacedæmon, as only *vici et castella*, villages and forts.[d]

The city of Lacedæmon, which was anciently called Sparta, is said to have been built by king Lacedæmon, who gave it the latter denomination from his wife Sparta, though he designated the country and the inhabitants from his own name;[e] but some think that this city received the appellation of Sparta from the Sparti, who came with Cadmus into Laconia.[f] Certain, however, it is that it was the most powerful city in ancient Greece, and was situated at the foot of mount Taygetus, on the west side of the river Eurotas, which runs into the Laconic gulf.[g] It was of a circular form, and forty-eight stadia, or six miles in circumference.[h] It was surrounded, to a great extent, with vineyards, olives or plane trees, gardens, and summer-houses; and on most of the plane trees was inscribed the following Doric sentence: Σέβου μ', Ἑλένας φυτόν εἰμι, Reverence me, I am the tree of Helen.

[a] Isocrates.
[b] Strabo lib. viii. Eustath. in Dionysi. v. 419.
[c] Strabo, ejusq. Scholiast.
[d] Livius; Herodotus lib. i. cap. 66. Polybius lib. ii.
[e] Pausanias Laconicis initio.
[f] Stephan. ex Timagora.
[g] Strabo lib. viii. Polybius lib. v. cap. 22.
[h] Polybius lib. ix. cap. 20.

Anciently, this city was not surrounded with walls;[i] and its only defence was the valor of its inhabitants.[k] It is supposed that reasons of policy prevented the Lacedæmonians from fortifying their capital with walls, lest one or both of their kings should by that means introduce despotism; that by leaving the city thus defenceless, Lycurgus expected to excite the courage and bravery of the Spartans; or that it was his intention that the Spartans should be induced to contend with their enemies at a distance from Lacedæmon.[l] Even in the reign of Agesilaus,[m] and for the space of eight hundred years,[n] this city was without any fortifications; but after it fell into the hands of tyrants, it was surrounded with walls, which were rendered very strong.[o] It had, however, some eminences, upon which soldiers might be posted in case of an attack.[p] The highest of these eminences served as a citadel: its summit was a spacious plain, on which were erected several sacred edifices.[q]

Around this hill were ranged five towns, which were separated from each other by intervals of different extent, and each of which was occupied by the five tribes of Sparta. Such was the city of Lacedæmon, the several parts of which were not united as were those of Athens;[r] but like the other ancient cities of Peloponnesus, it was divided *κατὰ κώμας*, into villages or hamlets.[s]

The great square, or forum, in which several streets terminated, was embellished with temples and statues. It also contained the edifices in which the senate, the ephori, and other bodies of magistrates assembled.[t] Of these public edifices the most remarkable was the Portico of the Persians, which the Lacedæmonians erected after the battle of Platæa, at the expense of the vanquished, whose spoils they shared. The roof of this building was not supported by columns of any particular order, but by colossal statues of the principal officers in the army of Xerxes, who had been taken or killed in that battle, and who were habited in flowing robes.[u] Among others appeared Mardonius, in the humiliating attitude of a captive, and clothed with all the profusion of the Persian or Median satraps.[v]

The other parts of the city also contained a great number of monuments in honor of the gods and ancient heroes. Upon the highest of these eminences stood a temple of Minerva, which had the privilege of asylum, as had also the grove that surrounded it, and a small house appertaining to it, in which king Pausanias was left to expire with hunger.[w] This act was resented by the goddess as a profanation, and the oracle commanded the Lacedæmonians to erect to that prince two statues which were placed near the altar.[x] The temple was built with brass.[y] Hence it was called Χαλκίοικος. Within the

[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vi. Idem in Agesilaum; Nepos in Agesilaum; Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 37.
[k] Justin. lib. xiv. cap. 5.
[l] Seneca; Plutarch. in Agesilaum; Ovid. Metam. lib. x.
[m] Xenophon. in Agesilaum; Nepos in Agesilaum.
[n] Livius lib. xxxix. cap. 38.
[o] Justin. lib. xiv. cap. 5.
[p] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[q] Pausanias lib. iii. cap. 17.
[r] Thucydid. lib. i. cap 10.
[s] Idem ibid. Strabo lib. viii. Diodorus Sicul. lib. xi.
[t] Pausan. lib iii. cap. 11.
[u] Vitruvius lib. i. cap. 1.
[v] Id. ib. Comment. Philand. in Caryat.
[w] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 134.
[x] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 17.
[y] Thucyd. ibid. Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 36. Suidas in Χαλκ.

building were engraven, in bass-relief, the labors of Hercules, the achievements of the Tyndarides, and various groups of figures.[z] To the right of this edifice was a statue of JUPITER, supposed to be the most ancient statue of brass in existence: it was of the same date with the re-establishment of the Olympic games, and was only an assemblage of pieces fitted to each other, and fastened together with pins.[a]

The most ornamented place in Sparta, however, was the PŒCILE, which, instead of being confined to a single gallery like that of Athens, occupied a very considerable extent. The Romans afterwards took away the superb paintings in fresco, which had been employed to decorate the walk. In order to accomplish their purpose, they with incredible labor sawed through the cement which incorporated them with the buildings, and transported them to Italy, where they arrived without having received the smallest injury from so violent an operation.[b]

Farther advanced in the city, appeared different ranges of PORTICOES, intended only for the display of different kinds of merchandise. Though Sparta, owing to its distance from the Mediterranean sea, was not a place of much commerce, yet numbers of persons were employed in that city in selling the spoils taken from the enemy.[c]

The tombs of the two reigning families at Lacedæmon were situated in different parts.[d] Every where were heroic monuments, which was the name given to edifices and groves consecrated to ancient heroes.[e] Sacred rites perpetuated and honored the memory of HERCULES, TYNDARUS, CASTOR, POLLUX, MENELAUS, and a number of others more or less known to history, and more or less deserving to be known. The gratitude of nations, and more frequently the answers of oracles, anciently obtained for them these distinctions; but the most noble motives united to raise a temple to LYCURGUS, the Spartan legislator.[f]

Afterwards, similar honors were more rarely bestowed. Columns and statues were erected for Spartans who had been crowned at the Olympic games;[g] but never for the conquerors of the enemies of their country. Statues might be decreed to wrestlers; but the esteem of the people was the only reward of soldiers. Of all those who signalized themselves against the Persians or the Athenians, four or five only received funereal honors in the city; and it is probable that this distinction was not granted them without difficulty. It was not till forty years after the battle of Thermopylæ, that the bones of Leonidas were conveyed to Sparta, and deposited in a tomb near the theatre; and at the same time also, the names of the three hundred Spartans, who had fallen with that immortal man, were first inscribed on a column.[h]

The greater part of the monuments which have been mentioned inspired the more reverence, as they displayed no ostentation, and were almost all of a rude workmanship. In other cities, the admiration

[z] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 17.
[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv.
[c] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 14 et 15.
[d] Id. lib. iii. cap. 12 et 14.
[e] Id. ibid.
[f] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 66. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 16. Plut. in Lycur.
[g] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 13. 14. 18.
[h] Id. lib. iii. cap. 14.

of the beholder was frequently wholly directed to the artist; but at Sparta, it was entirely engrossed by the hero. An unshapen stone sufficed to recall him to the memory; but that remembrance was ever accompanied with a splendid image of his virtues or his victories.

The houses at Sparta were devoid of ornament; but they were lofty, and built with greater solidity than those at Athens; and from this latter circumstance the earthquake, that destroyed Sparta in the year four hundred and sixty-nine before the Christian era, became fatal to so many persons. On the south side of the city was the Ἱππόδρομος, or course for foot and horse races,[i] some vestiges of which are still visible; and at a little distance from it was the Platanistas, or place of exercise for youth, shaded by beautiful plane trees, and enclosed by the Eurotas on one side, by a small river which fell into it on the other, and by a canal which opened a communication with both on the third. The Platanistas was entered by two bridges, on one of which was the statue of Hercules, or all-subduing force; and on the other that of Lycurgus, or all-regulating law.[k]

Sparta had not an ἀκρόπολις, or citadel, like the Cecropia at Athens, or the Cadmea at Thebes, though the highest of those eminences which surrounded the city, and upon the summit of which was the temple of Minerva, was denominated the citadel and served as one.[l]

From this short description it is evident that Sparta, instead of a magnificent metropolis, consisted only of some poor villages; and instead of sumptuous houses, of a few obscure cottages.

Γύθιον, Gythium, was a town and naval arsenal of the Lacedæmonians, and a place of great strength.[m] It was situated west from the mouth of the river Eurotas, and distant thirty stadia from Sparta.[n] It was fabled to have been built by Apollo and Hercules, who, after disputing about a tripod, at length amicably terminated their quarrel, and agreed to build this city at their united expense; and hence the inhabitants pretended that they were not sprung from mortals, and therefore placed in the market-place the statues of those two gods, as the authors of their origin.[o] This city, unlike the capital, was at an early period surrounded with strong walls; for, as the princes of Sparta were by a positive law prohibited from commanding the fleets, their influence on the marine at this place occasioned little apprehension of danger. Gythium afforded an excellent harbour, in which the fleets of Lacedæmon rode in security, and where they found every requisite for their maintenance and safety.[p]

CHAP. II.

Citizens, Tribes, &c.

The descendants of Hercules, being supported by a powerful body of Dorians, obtained possession of this country; and hence Laconia

[i] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. vi. Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 27.

[k] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 14. Lucian. de Gymnas.

[l] Strabo lib. viii. Pausanias Laconic. cap. 17.

[m] Diodorus Siculus lib. xi. Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 29. Polybius lib. v. cap. 19. Cicer. Offic. lib. iii. cap. 11.

[n] Polyb. ibid.

[o] Pausanias Laconic.

[p] Xenophon. Histor. Græc. lib. vi. Livius lib. xxxiv. cap. 29.

was sometimes denominated Δωρίεων κτίσις, a colony of Dorians.[q] Here they resided for some time undistinguished from the ancient inhabitants, on whom they imposed a tribute, and whom they deprived of a part of their rights. The cities which quietly submitted to the will of their conquerors preserved the semblance of liberty. Helos resisted; and being at length taken, its inhabitants were reduced to a condition little differing from slavery.[r]

Some time after, dissensions arose among the Spartans; and the more powerful compelled the weaker party to seek refuge in the country, or the neighbouring towns.[s] A distinction, therefore, existed between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and those of the province, and between both these and the prodigious number of slaves dispersed through the country. The first, who were commonly and peculiarly called Spartans, formed that body of warriors on whom depended the fate of Laconia, and whose number, it is said, anciently amounted to ten thousand.[t] In the time of Xerxes the number was eight thousand;[u] but succeeding wars greatly reduced the ancient families at Sparta.[v] Sometimes there were in the forum not fewer than four thousand persons of whom scarcely forty were Spartans, including even in that number the two kings, the ephori, and the senators.[w]

The citizens were of two sorts: those who were born citizens, and those who had been presented with the freedom of the city. The first were the offspring of such parents as were reckoned legitimate citizens, and to them as soon as born the rights of citizens properly belonged; but they, nevertheless, obtained their privileges by degrees, and after they had passed the several ordeals which the laws required. A father was not allowed to bring up what children he pleased; no sooner was a child born than it was carried to a place called Lesche, where were assembled the most aged persons of the tribe to which it belonged, for the purpose of examining the infant. If the child appeared healthy and well formed, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land. If, on the contrary, it was of a weak constitution or a distorted shape, it was cast into a gulph called ἀποθέται, which was near mount Taygetus, and in which it perished; for they concluded that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution.[x]

If the aged persons of the tribe approved of the child, it was brought back to the house of its father and laid on a buckler; and near this military cradle was placed a spear, that this weapon might be one of the first objects that became familiar to its eyes.[y] Its delicate limbs were not confined with bands that prevented their motions. No care was taken to stop its tears when it was necessary that they should flow, but they were never excited by menaces and blows. The child was accustomed by degrees to solitude, darkness, and the greatest indifference in the choice of eatables.[z] He was alike a stranger to im-

[q] Thucydides lib. i.
[r] Strabo lib. viii. Plut. in Lycurg.
[s] Isocrat. Panathen.
[t] Aristot. de Repub. lib. ii. cap. 9.
[u] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 234.
[v] Aristot. de Repub. lib. ii. cap. 9. Plutarch. in Agid.
[w] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[x] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[y] Non. Dionys. lib. xli. Schol. Thucyd. lib. ii. cap. 39.
[z] Plutarch. in Lycurg.

pressions of fear, useless restraints, and unjust reproaches. Continually occupied in innocent sports, he enjoyed all the sweets of life; and his happiness hastened the expansion of the powers of his body and the faculties of his mind.

At the age of seven years domestic education commonly ended;[a] for the laws of Sparta watched with extreme care over the education of children;[b] and they ordained that it should be public, and common to the rich and to the poor.[c] If the fathers consented that their children should be educated according to the laws, the boys at the age of seven years were enrolled in the classes called ἄγελαι;[d] and they had for their guardians not only their parents, but also the laws, the magistrates, and all the citizens, who were authorized to interrogate, to advise, and to chastise them, without fear of being accused of severity, since they would themselves be punished, if, when they were witnesses of their faults, they had the weakness to spare them;[e] but if the fathers refused their consent to the public education of their children, they were themselves deprived of the rights of citizens.[f] At the age of eighteen the youths left the companies of boys, and were admitted into the number of the ephebi. When they had been two years in this class, they received the appellation of εἴρενες.[g] Those of the youths who were near the age of twenty were denominated μελλείρενες.[h] Lastly, at the age of thirty they were ranked among the men, were allowed to undertake public offices, and received the names of sphærei,[i] and ἔξηβοι, as being ἔξω τῆς ἥβης, beyond the age of puberty.[k]

They who were the offspring of parents that were both Spartans, and who submitted to the regulations prescribed by the laws, and passed through the different gradations already mentioned till the age of thirty years, were reckoned legitimate citizens; but if their parents were not both Spartans, they were accounted bastards and spurious.[l]

The Spartans having been absent from the city ten years, during the war with Messenia, and having bound themselves by an oath not to return till they had subdued that country, such young men as had left Sparta under age, and had not taken the oath, were sent home, that they might associate promiscuously with the unmarried women, and preserve the city from decay. The offspring of these young women were styled παρθενεῖαι, sons of virgins. When the Lacedæmonians returned after the reduction of Messenia, they neglected these young men, whom they did not treat with the same respect as the rest of the inhabitants, and who, having joined the Helots in a conspiracy against the state, were permitted to sail to Italy, under their leader Phalantus, and settle at Tarentum.[m]

In the infancy of the Spartan commonwealth many persons received the freedom of the city; and the kings, in order to augment the number of inhabitants, permitted all strangers to become citi-

[a] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[b] Aristot. lib. viii. cap. 1.
[c] Idem ibid. lib. iv. cap. 9.
[d] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[e] Idem Instit. Lacon.
[f] Idem ibid.
[g] Idem in Lycurg.
[h] Idem ibid.
[i] Pausan. lib. iii.
[k] Hesychius.
[l] Idem.
[m] Strabo lib. vi. Heracl. de Polit. Euseb. in Chron. Can.

zens;[n] but afterwards, the freedom of the city was more sparingly bestowed on foreigners, and only when great and weighty reasons seemed to require it. Of this we have an instance in Tyrtæus, the poet, who being employed as a general by the Lacedæmonians was presented with the freedom of the city.[o] Terpander, Thales, Pherecydes, and others, were also honored with the title of citizens.

There were also others who had been first rewarded with their liberty, and afterwards with the title of citizens, and who had been educated from their childhood in the discipline of the Spartans. These were called *μόθακες*, from their having been instructed with the Spartan children in the institutions of Laconia.[p] In the number of these were the three great men, Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, who, born in the class of freemen,[q] were educated with the Spartan children, as were all the sons of the freed Helots;[r] but it was not till they had signalized themselves by great services that they were admitted to all the rights of citizens.

The freed men were likewise sometimes created citizens, especially the Helots, of whom a few having assisted the Spartans in the Messenian war had the privileges of the city bestowed on them, and were denominated *ἐπεύνακτοι*, as having obtained the bed of their deceased masters.[s] The rights of citizens were seldom granted except on the conditions mentioned, in order that the Spartans might preserve the dignity of their extraction; but their conduct in this respect has been justly reprehended.[t]

The title and privileges of a citizen were an indispensable qualification for the offices of magistracy, and the command of the army.[u] It was possible, however, to lose a part of these privileges by a flagitious action. The Lacedæmonian government was commonly very attentive to the preservation of those who were invested with them, and particularly careful of the lives of such as were Spartans by birth. In order to recover some of them who were blocked up in an island by the Athenian fleet, Lacedæmon once condescended to sue to Athens for a disgraceful peace, and to sacrifice her navy to her rival.[v] But only a small number of them were ever exposed to the dangers of war. In the latter period of the commonwealth, the kings Agesilaus and Agesipolis had frequently not more than thirty of that class of citizens who accompanied them in their expeditions.[w]

It is certain, that, though the city was thinly inhabited, Lycurgus, according to the advice of the oracle, divided the people into *φυλαὶ*, tribes;[x] but it is difficult to ascertain with precision what were the names and number of the tribes; for some are of opinion that they amounted to six, whilst others think that they did not exceed five.

The first, according to those who conjecture that the tribe of the

[n] Strabo; Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[o] Strabo lib. viii. Pausan. lib. iv. Polyænus lib. i.
[p] Athenæus lib. vi. Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 43. Schol. Aristophan. Hesychius; Suidas.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 43.
[r] Athenæus lib. vi. cap. 20.
[s] Idem ibid. Theopompus lib. xxxii.
[t] Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii. de Archæolog. Roman.
[u] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[v] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 15 et 19.
[w] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. iii. ibid. lib. v.
[x] Plutarch. in Lycurg.

Heraclidæ had no existence, was that of the Λιμνάται, who derived their name from λίμνη, a lake or marsh; for the suburb of Sparta, which they inhabited, was called the marshes, because that place had formerly been a morass;[y] and as travellers most frequently entered Sparta on the north, the suburb of the city must have been on that side.

The second tribe was that of the Κυνοσουρεῖς, who derived their name from κυνοσουρὰ, the tail of a dog.[z] This was a denomination usually given to promontories or mountains which had that form; and as a branch of mount Taygetus of this figure extended to Sparta, and there was in Laconia a place called Κυνόσουρα, it is probable that the hamlet which bore this name was situated near that part of mount Taygetus.

The third was ἡ Πιτάνη φυλὴ, the tribe of the Pitanitæ.[a] This was an ancient tribe, of which the Crotani formed a part,[b] and which dwelt in front of the theatre.[c]

The fourth tribe were the Μεσσοάται, who, like most of the other tribes, received their name from that part of the city of Sparta which they inhabited. This tribe was situated near the Platanistas, which was in the neighbourhood of the town of Therapne; for there was the tomb of the poet Alcman, who was a native of Messoa.[d]

The fifth tribe were the Αἰγεῖδαι, who derived their name from Αἰγεὺς, Ægeus,[e] whose tomb was situated on the road to the town or hamlet of the Λιμνάται,[f] where it is probable this tribe had their habitations.

These tribes were again subdivided into less parts called ὠβαὶ, which amounted to thirty in number.[g] Every tribe was composed of six of these divisions, which had their peculiar appellations;[h] and it seems probable that those who were called γεροάκται, and who are said to have been δήμαρχοι παρὰ Λάκωσι, governors among the Lacedæmonians,[i] were set over the ὠβαί.

Besides this distinction, the people were also divided into μόραι, which amounted to six in number, and which consisted of such persons as were of a proper age for military service.[k] From the μόραι, therefore, the youths and old men, though numbered among their tribes, were excluded. The μόραι were again subdivided into parts; and each had its λόχους, πεντεκοστύας, and ἐνωμοτίας.

CHAP. III.

Freemen and Slaves.

It was a common proverb in Greece, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὸν ἐλεύθερον μάλιστα ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον μάλιστα δοῦλον, that in Sparta the freeman was the freest of all men, and the slave the greatest of

[y] Strabo lib. viii. Pausan.
[z] Hesychius; Pausanias.
[a] Hesychius.
[b] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 14.
[c] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 67.
[d] Pausanias lib. iii. cap. 15.
[e] Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 149.
[f] Pausanias lib. iii. cap. 15.
[g] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[h] Pausanias.
[i] Hesychius.
[k] Xenophon. de Rep. Lacedæm.

slaves;[l] and the Spartans themselves boasted that they were the freest people on earth.[m] This liberty was equal and common to all;[n] and all of Spartan extraction were free, and could not be reduced to slavery;[o] but though their liberty was apparently equal, it differed in some respects. Hence the designations of ὅμοιοι and ὑπομείονες. They were called ὅμοιοι, who participated in the same rights, and by whom all honors of the state might be equally obtained. Such were those who had observed and performed the injunctions of the laws, and who could undertake public offices; for they who were included in that number were deservedly reckoned equal; but they who had not been instructed in the Spartan discipline, or had not sufficiently observed it, were not reckoned ὅμοιοι, equal, but were called ὑπομείονες, inferiors.[p] The poorer citizens, the freedmen, and their sons, were also ranked among the ὑπομείονες, who were allowed only to vote at the election of magistrates; but the ὅμοιοι were qualified both to vote and to be elected, though the highest honor to which they could attain was that of ephori. Besides these two classes, which were composed of the plebeians called κόροι, the nobility of Sparta consisted properly of a body of knights denominated ἱππαγρέται.[q]

The liberty of the Spartans consisted chiefly in great resolution, in the contempt of death, and in the avoiding of any base action; and in these they considered it their greatest honor to excel.[r] A Spartan boy who had been taken prisoner and sold, could not submit to his servile condition; and being ordered by his master to bring an urinal, he refused, and denied that he was a slave; and when urged to comply with the commands of his master, he climbed to the roof of the house, and saying, "You shall know what sort of a person you have purchased," he threw himself headlong and was killed.

In Sparta were more domestic slaves than in any other city of Greece.[s] They were employed in preserving cleanliness in the house, in executing the orders of their masters, serving them at table,[t] and dressing and undressing them.[u] A great number carried the baggage of the army;[v] and as the Spartan women did not labor, female slaves were employed to spin wool.[w]

The slaves were of two sorts: those called δοῦλοι, who had been reduced to slavery; and such as were denominated οἰκέται, who had been born in slavery. The origin of Lacedæmonian servitude may be traced to the reduction of the city of Helos, whose unfortunate inhabitants and their offspring were ever afterwards called Εἵλωτες, Helots.[x] The Helots, however, must not be confounded, as they have been by some authors,[y] with the slaves properly so called,[z] because they rather occupied a middle rank between slaves and free citizens.[a]

[l] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[m] Isocrates Archidamo.
[n] Livius lib. xxxiv.
[o] Arrian. in Indicis.
[p] Xenophon. de Rep. Lacedæm. Idem Hellenic. lib. iii.
[q] Stobæus.
[r] Plutarch. de Discrim. Adulat. et Amici.
[s] Thucyd. lib. viii. cap. 40.
[t] Crit. apud Athen. lib. xi. cap. 3.
[u] Plato de Legibus lib. i.
[v] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vi.
[w] Idem de Rep. Laced.
[x] Hellan. ap. Harpocr. in Εἵλωτ.; Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 20.
[y] Isocrat. Archid.
[z] Plato Alcibiad.
[a] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 8. seg. 83.

As the freemen of Sparta were forbidden to follow any mean or mechanical employment, the whole care of supplying the city with necessaries devolved on the Helots, who tilled the ground, and exercised various trades; whilst their masters spent their time in dancing, hunting, attending the exercises, and the λέσχαι, places where company met for conversation.[b] A particular kind of dress, a cap made of skin, severe treatment, and sentences of death frequently pronounced against them on the slightest suspicions, incessantly reminded the Helots of their condition.[c] Their servile situation, however, was recompensed by real advantages: they farmed the land of the Spartans, and that they might be attached to the service of their masters by the allurement of gain, they were only required to pay a rent which was by no means equal to the produce, and which it would have been considered as disgraceful in any proprietor of land to attempt to increase.[d]

Some of them employed themselves in the mechanical arts with so much success, that the keys,[e] beds, tables, and chairs, which were made at Lacedæmon, were every where in the greatest request.[f] The Helots also served as sailors on board the fleets.[g] They were likewise attached to the army; and every ὁπλίτης, or heavy-armed soldier, was accompanied by one or more of them.[h] At the battle of Platæa, where the Greeks obtained a signal victory over the Persians, every Spartan had seven of them to attend him.[i]

As the Helots exceeded the freemen in number, they were always a terror to the Lacedæmonians, who were frequently employed in keeping them under subjection.[k] From the time that they were first subjected, these vassals, impatient of their servitude, often endeavoured to break their yoke; but after the Messenians had been conquered by the Lacedæmonians, and were reduced to the same disgraceful condition,[l] revolts became more frequent.[m] Excepting a small number who remained faithful,[n] the rest, placed as it were in ambuscade in the midst of the state, took advantage of the misfortunes of the commonwealth to seize on an important post, or to revolt to the enemy.[o] In order to retain them in their duty, the government sometimes bestowed on them rewards, but more frequently exercised on them the most cruel severities. It is even said that on a certain occasion two thousand of them, who had given proofs of too much courage, suddenly disappeared, and that it was never exactly known in what manner they perished.[p]

Other instances of barbarity no less execrable are recorded. The κρυπτία, secret law or *ambuscade*, the invention of which is ascribed

[b] Plutarch. Lycurg.
[c] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. xiv.
[d] Plutar. Lycurg. Id. Apophth. Id. Inst. Lacon.
[e] Aristophan. in Thesmoph. v. 430.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg.
[g] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vi.
[h] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 8.
[i] Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 10 et 28. Plut. Aristid. Id. de Malign.
[k] Thucyd. lib. iv.
[l] Pausan. lib. iv. cap. 8. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 1.
[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 10. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. i.
[n] Hesychius in Ἀργεῖοι.
[o] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 101. Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 9. Plut. Cim. Pausan. lib. iv. cap. 14.
[p] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Plut. Lycurg.

by some to the ephori, and by others to Lycurgus, was an ordinance by which those who had the care of educating the Spartan youth chose the stoutest of them, and arming them with daggers sent them privately into the country from time to time to destroy their unhappy slaves. This was performed either by surprising the Helots in the night, or by attacking them in the day whilst at work, without any crime being alleged against them, and for no other reason than that the state might be safe from their attempts by reducing their number. This was certainly an outrage against humanity, and an expedient equally cruel and unnecessary.[q] To lessen in some respect the horror and disgrace of this practice, the ephori, on entering upon their office, declared war against the Helots, who might be killed under the sanction of law.[r]

It is allowed, indeed, by all that the Spartans treated them with great severity. In order that their children might be early convinced of the disgrace and contempt attending drunkenness, they compelled the Helots to drink till they were intoxicated, and then led them in that condition into the public halls. They obliged them to dance in an unbecoming manner, and sing ridiculous songs, and expressly forbade them to make use of any songs that were of a manly or serious nature. When the Thebans, therefore, had made an incursion into Laconia, and taken many Helots prisoners, they could not persuade them to sing the odes of Terpander, Alcman, or Spendon, who were poets of great repute at Lacedæmon; for the Helots observed that these were their masters' songs, which they durst not sing.[s]

In short, the Spartans and the Helots, full of mutual distrust, regarded each other with fear; and the former, in order to make themselves obeyed, had recourse to severities which circumstances might seem to render necessary, but which were sometimes greater than any necessity could require. The Helots, indeed, were extremely difficult to govern: their number, their courage, and especially their riches, rendered them daring and insolent;[t] and hence many intelligent authors differ in opinion with respect to this species of slavery, which some condemn, and others approve.[u]

In times of imminent danger, however, the Helots were encouraged to exert themselves by the hope of liberty,[v] which numerous bodies of them sometimes obtained for their services.[w] This benefit they could receive only from the state, because they belonged more to it than to the citizens whose lands they cultivated; and hence the latter could neither give them their freedom, nor sell them into foreign countries.[x] Their enfranchisement was performed by a public ceremony, in which they were led from one temple to another, crowned with flowers, and exposed to the sight of the people.[y] They who thus obtained their liberty were permitted to dress in what manner

[q] Plut. Lycurg. Plato de Leg. lib. i.
[r] Plutarch. Lycurg.
[s] Idem ibid.
[t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 5.
[u] Plato de Leg. lib. vi.
[v] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 26. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. vi.
[w] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 34. Diod. Sic. lib. xii.
[x] Strabo lib. viii. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 20.
[y] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 80. Plut.

they pleased;[z] and by new services they might be raised to the rank of citizens called *νεοδαμώδεις*.[a]

CHAP. IV.

The Kings.

As Sparta was a republic, the Lacedæmonians at first gave their kings a different name from that by which they were designated in most other nations, and called them *ἀρχαγέται*.[b] The Spartan kings having certain peculiar offices annexed to their dignity, this distinction might be requisite, and the denomination proper. Since the first establishment of societies, sovereigns have constantly endeavoured to extend their prerogative, and their subjects to circumscribe and narrow it. The consequences of such a struggle were probably more felt at Sparta than in many other states. On the one side were two kings whose interests were frequently distinct, and who were generally supported by a great number of partisans; and on the other, a warlike and untractable people, who, knowing neither to command nor obey, by turns precipitated the government into the extremes of tyranny and democracy.[c]

The *διαρχή*, which was established at Sparta, was occasioned by the following circumstance. Scarcely had the Heraclidæ decided on the division of Peloponnesus, when Aristodemus, to whose share Laconia was appropriated, died, and left twin sons newly born, Eurysthenes and Procles, or, as some say, Eurysthenes and Patrocles. The mother from impartial fondness refused to declare which was the elder; and it was therefore determined that both princes should succeed to the throne of their father with equal authority, and that the posterity of each should inherit the rights of their respective ancestors.[d] Hence arose two collateral dynasties at once on the same throne; one branch of which was called Agidæ, from Agis the son of Eurysthenes; and the other took the name of Eurytionidæ, from Eurytion the grandson of Procles or Patrocles.[e] This double royalty was productive of great dissension,[f] but was calculated to moderate the regal power;[g] for as jealousy was excited between the two kings, it became necessary for each to court the favor of the people; and the concessions which both were thus obliged to grant gradually imparted consequence and power to the people, and rendered the regal authority scarcely an object either of terror or envy.[h] They enjoyed the kingdom, however, during their lives, unless convicted of some atrocious crime.[i]

It was required that the two kings should be of the house of Hercules, and that they should not marry a foreign woman.[k] Hence it was ordered that the ephori should watch over the queens, that they

[z] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 34.
[a] Idem ibid.
[b] Plutarch.
[c] Idem Lycurg.
[d] Herodot. lib. v. cap. 52.
[e] Pausan. Lacon. Strabo.
[f] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 65.
[g] Plato de Leg. lib. iii.
[h] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 13. Plutarch. Lycurg.
[i] Polybius lib. vi.
[k] Plutarch in Agid.

might not give to the state children which were not the offspring of that august house.[l] If the queens were convicted, or strongly suspected, of infidelity to their husbands, their children were degraded to the class of private citizens.[m]

In each of the two reigning branches the crown descended to the eldest of the sons, or, if there were no sons, to the brother of the king.[n] If the eldest died before his father, it passed to the next son; but if he left a son, that son was preferred before his uncles.[o] In default of the nearer heirs in the family, distant relations were called to the throne, and never persons of another house.[p]

All differences concerning the succession were discussed and terminated in the general assembly.[q] When a king had no children by a first wife, he was ordered to divorce her.[r] Anaxandrides had married the daughter of his sister, whom he tenderly loved; but she having no children, he was ordered by the ephori to repudiate her and marry another who might give an heir to the throne; and on his refusing to divorce his wife, the senators advised that, without dissolving the bands which were too dear to him, he should enter into new ones which might prove favorable to their wishes. Accordingly Anaxandrides married a second wife, by whom he had a son; but his affections were still fixed on the first, who some time after brought forth the celebrated Leonidas.[s]

The succession to the throne seems to have been limited to no particular age.[t] The presumptive heir to the crown was not brought up with the other children of the state;[u] and his education also differed from theirs,[v] though it was not the less carefully attended to. It was feared lest too much familiarity should prejudice that respect which his equals in age would one day owe him. He was impressed with a just idea of his dignity, and with one still more just of his duties. He was taught that the laws were more binding on the sovereign than the other citizens;[w] and that it was more unlawful for a king to commit an evil action than for a private person.[x]

It was deemed requisite that the kings should not be lame, but sound in all their limbs; for it was thought contrary to the divine will that a lame man should sit on the throne of Sparta; and, on that account, the following oracle was adduced against the pretensions of Agesilaus to the crown:

> *Φράζεο δὴ Σπάρτη, καί περ μεγάλαυχος ἐοῦσα,*
> *Μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάψῃ χωλὴ βασιλεία·*
> *Δηρὸν γὰρ νοῦσοί σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι,*
> *Θθισίβροτόν τε ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδομένου πολέμοιο.*

[l] Plut. Alcibiad.
[m] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 63. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 4 et 8.
[n] Herodot. lib. v. cap. 42. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iii. Plut. Lycurgo.
[o] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[p] Nepos Agesilao cap. 1.
[q] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iii. Id. in Ages. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 8.
[r] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 68.
[s] Id. lib. v. cap. 39. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[t] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[u] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[v] Idem ibid.
[w] Isocr. de Pace; Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[x] Isocrates.

> Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire
> Thy boasted strength impair: far other woes
> Than thou behold'st await thee—borne away
> By the strong tide of war.

However, Lysander, who favored the pretensions of Agesilaus, interpreted the oracle to intend that the admission of a person, not a genuine descendant of Hercules, was to be guarded against, for such a one would make the kingdom itself lame.[y] The words have since been explained to mean that Sparta should be careful to preserve both her kings, and not change the duarchy into a monarchy; for the two kings were the two legs of the Spartan constitution, which therefore would be in a maimed and ruinous state when one of them was taken away; and it is certain that the consequence was injurious to liberty, and productive of tyranny.

The authority of the kings was limited; and they possessed not the παμβασιλεία, despotic or full regal power.[z] The ephori administered to them every month an oath by which they promised to rule according to the laws; and the ephori swore that they would preserve the kingdom to them if they so conducted themselves.[a] The kings had certain duties assigned them in time of war, called ἐμπολέμια, and others in time of peace, denominated εἰρηναῖα.[b] The chief power of the kings at home consisted in their being the arbiters and governors of all things pertaining to religion, and of whatever related to the worship of the gods.[c] Besides certain priesthoods, which they exercised themselves,[d] they regulated every thing which concerned public worship, and appeared at the head of all religious ceremonies.[e] To enable them to address their vows to heaven, either as individuals, or in behalf of the republic,[f] the state assigned them on the first and seventh day of every month a victim to be sacrificed in the temple of Apollo, and likewise a certain quantity of wine and barley-meal.[g] They had also the power to create certain magistrates and priests, who were called πρόξενοι and πύθιοι.[h] These magistrates or augurs always attended the kings, and never left them; and in cases of necessity the sovereign sent them to consult the Pythia at Delphi, and carefully preserved the oracles which they brought back.[i] The kings also answered foreign ambassadors, and dismissed them.[k]

As head of the state, the king, when he ascended the throne, might annul the debts which a citizen had contracted either with his predecessor or with the republic.[l] The people assigned to him, for himself, certain portions of land or inheritance which might secure him from want, but not afford any great superfluity,[m] and of which he might dispose, during his life, to his relations.[n]

[y] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. iii. cap. 4.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[b] Herodotus.
[c] Herodot. Aristot. de Rep. lib. iii. cap. 14.
[d] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 56.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 57. Aristot. de Rep. lib. iii. cap. 14. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Roman. lib. ii.
[f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[g] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 57. Xenoph. de Rep. Lacedæm.
[h] Herodot. ibid.
[i] Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[k] Xenophon. ibid.
[l] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 59.
[m] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[n] Idem in Agesilao.

The two kings presided in the senate, and proposed the subjects for deliberation.[o] Each gave his suffrage, or, in case of absence, sent it by a senator who was related to him.[p] This suffrage was equivalent to two.[q] All causes brought before the general assembly were decided by the majority of votes.[r] When the two kings proposed in concert any project of manifest utility to the republic, no person was permitted to oppose it.[s] On account, however, of the secret jealousy which existed between the two royal families,[t] an unanimity of this kind could scarcely be expected. All causes relative to the maintenance of the highways, the formalities of adoption, or the choice of a kinsman who should be obliged to marry an orphan heiress, were submitted to the decision of the kings.[u]

The kings were not to be absent during peace,[v] nor both at once in time of war,[w] except two armies were in the field. They had by right the command of the army, if they were of a proper age.[x] On the day that either of the sovereigns departed for the army, he offered a sacrifice to Jupiter; and a young man taking a flaming brand from the altar carried it at the head of the troops to the frontiers of the state, where a new sacrifice was offered.[y]

The republic provided for the maintenance of the general and his household, which, besides the usual guard and the two πύθιοι, augurs, consisted of the two polemarchs, or principal officers, with whom he might advise on every emergency, and three subaltern officers who attended on his person.[z] To the king it appertained to direct the operations of the campaign, and to sign truces with the enemy.[a] The two ephori, who accompanied him in his expeditions, had no other functions than to prevent a corruption of manners, and interfered only in such affairs as he thought proper to communicate to them.[b]

The general was sometimes suspected of having conspired against the liberty of his country, either by suffering himself to be corrupted by bribes, or misled by evil counsels.[c] Such crimes were punished, according to the circumstances, by very heavy fines, by banishment, or even by the loss of the crown and of life. Among the princes who were thus accused, one was obliged to flee and take refuge in a temple;[d] and another obtained his pardon on condition that he would afterwards conduct himself by the advice of ten Spartans, who should follow him to the army, and be appointed by the assembly.[e]

During peace, the kings were only the first citizens of the state; and the honors paid to them whilst at home did not greatly exceed

[o] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 57. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Roman. lib. ii.
[p] Dionys. Halic. ibid.
[q] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 20. Schol. ibid. Lucian. in Harmon. cap. 3.
[r] Dionys. Halic. ibid.
[s] Plutarch. in Agid.
[t] Id. Apophth. Lacon.
[u] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 57.
[v] Plutarch. in Agesilao.
[w] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 75.
[x] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Aristot. de Rep. lib. iii. cap. 14.
[y] Xenoph. ibid.
[z] Idem ibid.
[a] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 60.
[b] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. Idem de Rep. Lacedæm.
[c] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 82. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 132. Pausan. lib. iii. c. 7.
[d] Thucyd. lib. ii. cap. 21. lib. 5. cap. 16. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 7.
[e] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 63. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii.

those given to private persons.[f] As citizens they appeared in public without a retinue, and without ostentation; as first citizens, they were honored with the first place (*προεδρία*), and all rose in their presence except the ephori sitting in their tribunal, *ἕδρας πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων.*[g] When they could not be present at the public repasts, each of them had two chœnices (*χοίνικες*) of meal, and one cotyle (*κοτύλη*) of wine sent him;[h] but when they were absent without necessity, they did not receive this allowance.[i] In these repasts (*δείπναις*), as well as in those which they were allowed to take at the houses of private persons, they had a double portion (*διπλάσια*), which they shared with their friends.[k]

As soon as one of the kings died, women ran through the streets, and made known the public misfortune by striking on vessels of brass;[l] and when this took place, all free persons disfigured themselves through grief. The forum was covered with straw, and nothing was allowed to be sold there during three days.[m] Men on horseback were sent to carry the news into the country, and to give notice to those freemen or slaves who were to attend the funeral, and who thronged to it by thousands. They cut and mangled their faces, and repeatedly exclaimed, amidst their long lamentations, that "among all the princes that ever lived a better never existed."[n] Yet these wretches regarded as a tyrant him whose death they were thus obliged to lament. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but being compelled by a law of Lycurgus[o] to refrain on this occasion from tears and lamentations, they were desirous that the feigned grief of their slaves and subjects might, in some measure, express the real sorrow which they themselves felt.

When the king died on a military expedition, his effigy was exposed on a bed of state, and during ten days it was not permitted either to convene the general assembly, or to open the tribunals of justice.[p] When the body, which was preserved in honey or wax,[q] had arrived at the capital, it was buried in that quarter of the city where were the tombs of the kings.[r]

CHAP. V.

The Senate.

The Spartan senate was peculiarly called *γερουσία*, and sometimes *γερῶα*,[s] a name celebrated on that account by the Greek writers. It consisted of the two kings and twenty-eight *γέροντες*, aged men, and was the supreme council of the republic, *ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίοις κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας.*[t] It was instituted by Lycurgus,

[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[g] Xenoph. ibid.
[h] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 57.
[i] Plutarch. in Lycurg.
[k] Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. in Agesilao.
[l] Herodot. ibid. cap. 58. Schol. Theocrit. in Idyl. ii. v. 36.
[m] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc.
[n] Herodot. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 1. Pausan. lib. iv. cap. 14.
[o] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[p] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 58.
[q] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. v. Plutarch. Agesilao.
[r] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 12. Idem ibid. cap. 14.
[s] Hesychius.
[t] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 11.

who obtained for that purpose the sanction of the oracle.[u] In the senate were discussed, in the first instance, all questions relative to declaring war, concluding peace, entering into alliances, and other high and important affairs of state.

To obtain a place in this august assembly was to ascend the throne of honor, and was a dignity granted only to the citizen, who from his earliest youth had been distinguished for consummate prudence and eminent virtues.[v] He could not arrive at it till he was of the age of sixty years;[w] and he retained it to his death.[x] No fear was entertained of any decay of his rational faculties, since, from the regular kind of life led at Sparta, both the mind and body were less enfeebled by age than in other countries.

On the death of a senator, several candidates offered themselves to succeed him; and it was necessary that they should openly declare their wish to obtain this honor.[y] The election took place in the forum,[z] in which the people, the kings, the senators, and other classes of magistrates were assembled. Each candidate appeared in the order assigned him by lot.[a] He walked through the forum with his eyes fixed on the ground, and in profound silence. As he passed, he was honored with shouts of approbation, more or less numerous, and more or less frequent. These shouts were heard by persons concealed in a neighbouring house from which they could see nothing, and whose business it was to observe the different plaudits, and afterwards to declare that, at such a time, the wish of the public was manifested by the most lively and continued marks of approbation.

After this contest, which was called *νικητήριον τῆς ἀρετῆς*, the conquest of virtue,[b] as the office itself was denominated *ἆθλον τῆς ἀρετῆς*, the reward of virtue,[c] and in which virtue yielded only to virtue, commenced a kind of triumphal procession. The victor was conducted through all the quarters of the city, having his head bound with a garland, and followed by a number of boys and maidens, who celebrated his virtues and his victory. He repaired to the temples, where he offered incense, and to the houses of his relations, where cakes and flowers were spread on a table. "Take," said they, "these presents, with which the state honors you, by our hands." In the evening all the women who were related to him assembled at the door of the hall in which he took his repast. He caused her whom he most esteemed to approach, and presenting to her one of the two portions which had been served up to him, said, "On you I bestow the honorable reward I have just received." All the other women applauded his choice, and, with the most flattering marks of respect, conducted home her whom he had thus distinguished.[d]

From that moment the new senator was obliged to dedicate the rest of his days to the functions of his office. Of these some regarded

[u] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[v] Demosth. in Leptin. Ulpian. ibid. Æschin. in Timarch.
[w] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[x] Polyb. lib. vi. Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 9.
[y] Aristot. de Rep. lib. iii.
[z] Idem ibid. lib. iv. cap. 9.
[a] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[b] Plutarch.
[c] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[d] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.

the state, and others concerned certain particular cases, the judgment of which was reserved to the senate. On this tribunal depended not only the lives of the citizens, but also their fortune,[e] that is, their honor, for the true Spartan knew no other possession. Several days were employed in the investigation of crimes which were punished with death, because an error on those occasions could not be repaired. The accused was never condemned on simple presumption; but though acquitted, he was again prosecuted with rigour if new proofs were afterwards obtained against him.[f]

The senate had the right of inflicting a kind of stigma which deprived the citizen of a part of his privileges, and hence in the presence of the senator, the respect claimed by the virtuous man was mingled with the salutary fear inspired by the judge.[g]

The authority of the senators was such that they were called *κύριοι καὶ δέσποται τῆς πολιτείας*, the lords and governors of the commonwealth,[h] and *κύριοι μεγάλων κρίσεων*, judges in matters of importance;[i] and some say that to their power and control all affairs pertaining to the state were subject.[k] They were *ἀνεύθυνοι*, not accountable to any one for their actions;[l] but this was probably before the institution of the ephori, who required from them reasons for their proceedings, and who were a restraint on the senate and the kings.[m] Certain, however, it is, that the senate had a chief share in the administration of the commonwealth, *δι' ὧν καὶ μεθ' ὧν πάντα χειρίζεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν*;[n] and they contributed to preserve the state from despotism on the one hand, and from anarchy on the other.[o] When a king was accused of having violated the laws, or betrayed the interests of the state, the tribunal which acquitted or condemned him was composed of the twenty-eight senators, the five ephori, and the king of the other family.[p] He might, however, appeal from them to the general assembly of the people.[q]

Some authors find fault that, in the institution of the senate, the senators were to continue for life; for as the mind grows old with the body, it was thought unreasonable to put the fortunes of the citizens in the power of men who through age might become incapable of judging.[r]

The senate held its meetings in a court in the forum, which was called *βουλευτήριον τῆς γερουσίας*.[s]

CHAP. VI.

The Ephori.

The ephori, or inspectors, were so denominated because they extended their care over every part of the administration, *ἐφόρους ἐκά-*

[e] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[f] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 132. Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[g] Æschin. in Timarch.
[h] Demosth. in Leptin.
[i] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[k] Isocrates.
[l] Aristot. ibid.
[m] Plato de Legibus lib. iii.
[n] Polybius lib. vi.
[o] Plato ibid.
[p] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 5.
[q] Plutarch. in Agid.
[r] Aristot.
[s] Pausanias.

λουν διὰ τὸ ἐφορᾶν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ;[t] and from them were derived the verbs ἐφορεύειν, ἐποπτεύειν, and the substantives ἔφορος, ἐπόπτης, ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπιστάτης, and others.[u] The ephori were five in number,[v] and, to prevent their abusing their authority, were changed every year.[w] They entered on their office at the commencement of the year, which was fixed at the new moon that followed the autumnal equinox.[x] The first of them gave his name to that year, and was therefore called ἐπώνυμος ;[y] and thus, in order to assign the date of any event, it was sufficient to say that it happened under such an ephorus ; in the same manner as at Athens the archon was sometimes designated ἐπώνυμος, because the year took its name from him.

The people possessed the right of electing these magistrates from the citizens of every rank, ἐκ δήμου ; and hence it often happened that they chose men who were poor, and who were more easily corrupted ;[z] for the boldest citizen, whether he had any other pretensions or not, was most likely to be elected to this office, which was intended as a check on the senate and the kings ; and as soon as the persons chosen were invested with their dignity, the people considered them as their defenders, and therefore never failed, on every occasion, to enlarge their powers.

Some are of opinion that the ephori were established by Lycurgus ;[a] but others say, that one hundred and thirty years after the time of that legislator these magistrates were introduced into the republic in the reign of Theopompus ;[b] and it is not probable that Lycurgus, who in every thing endeavoured to support the aristocracy, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people, to rule both the kings and the senate. At first, indeed, the ephori were only the ministers of the kings, who, during their absence in war, delegated to them their authority in executing the laws and deciding causes ; but the ephori gradually increased their authority, which at length became almost supreme.[c] Successively enriched by the spoils of the senate and of royalty, this office united in itself the most ancient privileges ; such as the administration of justice, the maintenance of manners and the laws, the inspection of the other magistrates, and the execution of the decrees of the general assembly.

The tribunal of the ephori was held in the forum, where they had their ἀρχεῖον, or ἐφορεῖον, council-hall ;[d] and in this hall or court were their δίφρα ἐφορικὰ, chairs in which they sat when deciding causes,[e] and which were sometimes called θρόνοι, thrones.[f] To this hall or court these magistrates repaired every day to pronounce judgment on certain accusations, and terminate the disputes of indi-

[t] Suidas in Ἔφορ.
[u] Hesychius.
[v] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 10. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 11.
[w] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 36. Plutarch. Agesilao.
[x] Dodwel. de Cycl. Dissert. viii. seg. 5.
[y] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 11.
[z] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[a] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 65. Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[b] Aristot. Polit. lib. v. cap. 11. Valerius Maximus lib. iv.
[c] Plutarch. Cleomen. et Lycurg.
[d] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 11.
[e] Plutarch. Agide et Cleomene.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii.

viduals.[g] This important function was anciently exercised only by the kings;[h] but during the first war of Messenia, when they were frequently obliged to be absent, they delegated it to the ephori, who gradually got the power into their own hands, and insensibly erected their office into an independent magistracy.[i] The kings, however, always preserved their right to be present, and to give their suffrages.[k]

As the Lacedæmonians had only a small number of laws, the judges were frequently obliged to determine according to their own understanding; and as persons of no great knowledge and abilities were advanced to this dignity, there was often reason to doubt the equity of their decisions.[l]

The ephori took an extreme care of the education of youth, and personally examined every day whether the children of the state were not brought up with too much delicacy.[m] They chose for them leaders who might excite their emulation,[n] and appear at their head in a military and religious festival which was celebrated in honor of Minerva.[o]

Other magistrates watched over the conduct of the women;[p] but the authority of the ephori extended to all the citizens. Whatever, in the remotest degree, might be prejudicial to public order or received usages, was subject to their censure. They frequently prosecuted persons who had neglected their duties,[q] or who had tamely suffered themselves to be insulted;[r] the former were reproached with having forgotten the respect due to the laws, and the latter with having disregarded that which they owed to themselves.

More than once they punished the abuse which foreigners, whom they had admitted to their games, made of their talents. An orator once offered to discourse a whole day on any subject that should be assigned him; and for this they banished him from the city.[s] Archilochus underwent the same punishment for having admitted into his writings a maxim that encouraged cowardice; and the musician Timotheus, having delighted the Spartans with the harmony of his airs, one of the ephori came to him with a knife in his hand, and thus addressed him: "We have condemned you to have four strings cut from your lyre; tell me from which side you would choose to have them taken."[t]

This tribunal punished with extreme rigor faults which immediately attacked the laws and manners. Even after corruption was becoming general, it was no less formidable, though less respected; and those individuals who had lost their ancient principles, neglected nothing which might conceal them from the eye of these censors,

[g] Plutarch. Agide; Idem Apophth. Lacon.
[h] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[i] Plutarch. Cleomene.
[k] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 63.
[l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 9.
[m] Agatharch. ap. Athenæ. lib. xii.
[n] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[o] Polybius lib. iv.
[p] Hesychius in Ἁρμόσυνοι.
[q] Schol. Thucydid. lib. i. cap. 84.
[r] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[s] Idem ibid.
[t] Idem ibid.

who were the more severe to others as they were sometimes more indulgent to themselves.[u]

To compel the greater part of the magistrates to give an account of their administration,[v] to suspend from their functions those among them who had transgressed the laws, to throw them into prison, to accuse them before a superior tribunal, and to prosecute them to capital conviction, were the exclusive privileges of the ephori.[w] They exercised them in part against the kings, whom they kept in dependence on themselves by an extraordinary and whimsical custom. Every nine years they made choice of a night in which the weather was calm and serene, and when there was no moon, and seating themselves in an open plain, observed the motions of the stars. If any fiery exhalation happened to shoot through the air, it was considered as a star that had changed its place, and an indication that the kings had offended the gods. Immediately a public prosecution was commenced against them; they were deposed, and could not be restored to their authority till the oracle at Delphi or Olympia had absolved them from their supposed crimes.[x]

Certain prophecies, also, in dreams, belonged to the ephori, who for that purpose were accustomed to sleep sometimes in the temple of Pasiphaë at Thalamiæ, and to whom the goddess revealed the object of their enquiries in a dream.[y] The ephori presided over the games and festivals, and would suffer no change to be made in them during any public calamity.[z]

The power of these magistrates was such that it was considered as *ἰσοτύραννον*, equal to tyranny;[a] and they could put any one to death without assigning a cause, *ἔξεστι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀκρίτως ἀποκτεῖναι τοσούτους ὅσους ἂν βουληθῶσιν.*[b] We may judge of the power which they exercised, by comparing the decrees that originated in the general assembly with the sentences which they pronounced in their own tribunal. In the former the judgment was preceded by this form of expression: "It has seemed good to the ephori and the assembly;"[c] and in the latter by this: "It has seemed good to the kings and to the ephori."[d] The sovereign, when strongly suspected of a crime against the state, might indeed refuse to appear before the ephori at the first two summonses, but he was obliged to obey the third.[e] They could also secure his person,[f] and bring him to trial. When his offence was less serious, they might themselves inflict the punishment. They condemned king Agesilaus to pay a fine, because he had sent a present to every senator at his entrance into office;[g] and they caused Agis to be put to death, because he attempted to restore the commonwealth to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.[h]

[u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 9.
[v] Idem ibid.
[w] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[x] Plutarch. in Agid.
[y] Cic. de Divin. lib. i.
[z] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[a] Aristot. de Rep. Plato de Legibus lib. iv.
[b] Isocrat. Panathen.
[c] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[d] Boeth. de Mus. lib. i. cap. 1.
[e] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[f] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 131. Nepos in Pausan. cap. 3.
[g] Plutarch. de Frat. Amor.
[h] Plutarch. Agide.

The executive power was entirely in the hands of the ephori. They convened the general assembly,[i] and collected its suffrages.[k] To them the ambassadors of nations at war, or in alliance with the state, addressed themselves.[l] They were charged with the care of levying troops, and sending them to the place of their destination.[m] They expedited to the general of the army such orders as he was to follow;[n] and they appointed two of their number to accompany him, and watch over his conduct.[o] Sometimes they interrupted the general's progress in the midst of his conquests, and recalled him, according as their personal interest or that of the state seemed to require.[p]

So many prerogatives naturally obtained them a respect which they justified by the honors they decreed to illustrious actions,[q] by their attachment to ancient maxims,[r] and by the firmness with which they defeated the plots that threatened the public tranquillity.[s]

They combated against the authority of the senators and the kings, and never ceased to be their enemies till they had become their protectors;[t] and they opposed the sovereigns in the same manner as the Roman tribunes opposed the consuls.[u] The spirit of union, however, which the laws of Lycurgus introduced into Sparta, prevailed over all private considerations, and induced the ancient magistrates to sacrifice their privileges to the claims of the ephori.[v] As the ephori were elected from the citizens of every rank, they engaged in the name of the people, by a solemn oath which was administered every month, to defend the royal authority so long as it should not violate the laws.[w] The ephori retained their authority till the reign of king Cleomenes, who caused them to be put to death for exceeding the limits of their office, and subverting the ancient constitution.[x]

CHAP. VII.

Inferior Magistrates, and other Officers.

Βειδιαῖοι derived their name from *βείδιος*, which is interpreted by *ὁ ἔνδοξος*, glorious.[y] They were appointed by Lycurgus, and presided over the games called Πλατάνιστα, from their being performed in a plain surrounded with plane trees, and on that account denominated Πλαταvιστάς. They were also the moderators in other contests of the ephebi, whom it was their chief office to govern.[z] They were five in number, and had their council-hall in the forum.[a]

[i] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. ii.
[k] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 87.
[l] Xenophon. ibid.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. iii. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.
[n] Xenophon. ibid. lib. iii.
[o] Idem ibid. lib. ii.
[p] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 131. Xenophon. in Agesil. Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[q] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[r] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[s] Xenophon. ibid.
[t] Plato de Legibus lib. iii.
[u] Cic. de Leg. lib. iii.
[v] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[w] Xenophon. ibid.
[x] Plutarch. Cleomene.
[y] Suidas.
[z] Pausan. Laconicis.
[a] Idem ibid.

Νομοφύλακες were so called from their being guardians of the laws.[b] To them it belonged to reward those who obeyed, and to punish those who disobeyed, the laws of their country, which they took care should neither be abolished, changed, nor evaded by any one. It was also their office to see that the power of the laws remained, and that they were not obliterated from the memory; to notice the actions of the citizens, and, calling the attention of the magistrates to the regulations which the laws prescribed, urge them to the observance of the laws and the execution of their duty.[c] Their place of meeting was also in the forum.[d]

Ἁρμόσυνοι derived their name from the verb ἁρμόττειν or ἁρμόζειν, to fit or purify; and their office consisted in improving the manners of the people, and rendering them agreeable to the laws. It was their chief duty to observe the lives and manners of the Spartan women,[e] as at Athens the γυναικόκοσμοι watched those of the Athenian women. They also presided at the games and exercises of the women, and saw that they were performed with propriety and decorum.

Ἐμπέλωροι were inspectors, who observed that nothing unbecoming or unjust took place in the forum; and their office was the same as that of the ἀγορανόμοι of the Athenians;[f] but their number, and the manner in which they were created, are unknown.

Πύθιοι were so denominated either from the Pythian Apollo, or from the verb πυνθάνεσθαι, to ask or enquire; for each shows the nature of this magistracy or priesthood. They were persons sent to consult the oracles of the gods, when it was desirable to know the divine will concerning any public matter.[g] They ate in public, and at the same table as the kings;[h] and hence they were sometimes called σύσκηνοι, their comrades.[i] They were four in number, and were created by the two kings, each of whom elected two.[k] On matters of importance they consulted not only the oracle at Delphi, but also Jupiter Ammon, and the temple at Dodona.[l]

Πρόξενοι were so called from extending their care to foreigners and strangers, who were denominated ξένοι, guests, though enemies were designated by the Lacedæmonians by the term ξένοι.[m] They were created by the kings, who elected them from such citizens as they thought proper.[n] Their office was to receive all strangers who went in a public manner to Sparta, and to whom they were to extend their care during their abode in that city; and it was probably also their duty to see that the morals and discipline of the republic sustained no injury from the introduction of foreigners.

Πρόδικος was the name given to the guardian or protector of the Spartan king.[o] His office consisted chiefly in taking charge of the affairs of the infant sovereign, and in watching over his education.

[b] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.
[c] Harpocration; Suidas.
[d] Pausan. Laconicis.
[e] Hesychius.
[f] Hesychius.
[g] Herodot. lib. vi.
[h] Idem ibid.
[i] Xenoph. Cic. de Divin. lib. i.
[k] Herodot. Xenophon.
[l] Cic. de Divin. lib. i.
[m] Hesychius; Suidas.
[n] Herodot. lib. vi.
[o] Plutarch. Lycurgo.

To him it belonged to administer in the king's name the regal authority; and he could wage war, and undertake other matters which appertained to an adult sovereign. The *πρόδικοι* elected to this office were the next of kin to the youthful sovereigns, on whose deaths they succeeded to the crown; and it is remarkable, that, though the *πρόδικος* was vested with all the regal authority, no one who discharged this office ever endangered the safety of his pupil, or attempted to procure the throne for himself.

Παιδονόμοι were persons who filled the public office of superintending and governing the boys.[p] They were chosen from the most worthy persons, *ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν*, whose characters and morals were well known.[q] Such was the principal *παιδονόμος*, to whom all the rest were subject. These last were chosen from the boys more advanced in age, and were equal in number to the *ἀγέλαι*, classes; for over each class presided a young chief who was distinguished by his sense and courage,[r] and who was called *βουάγωρ*.[s] At the age of seven years the boys were brought to the *παιδονόμος*; and being distributed by him into classes, they received their meat together, and were exercised in playing with each other.[t] This institution was rigid, and joined with severe correction. The *παιδονόμος* had the right of convoking the boys, and of punishing any whom he observed living more negligently than they ought; and he joined to one of the ephebi some who carried whips, with which the boys might be chastised when necessity required.[u]

Ἁρμοσταὶ derived their name from the same origin as the *ἁρμόσυνοι*, though the nature of their offices was widely different. Of the *ἁρμοσταὶ* there were two kinds; one of whom superintended the city, and the other the country. The former is said to have been nearly the same as the Roman dictator, and was created on some emergency, when justice was not sufficiently protected by the laws, when those who filled the magistracies were unable to put the laws in force, or when time or necessity required that new institutions should be formed in the room of those which already existed.[v] After the battle of Leuctra, from which many Spartans escaped, Agesilaus was appointed dictator or legislator, with an authority over the laws to decree as he thought proper in regard to those who had fled, and who were called *τρέσαντες*, the tremblers. "Let the laws," said Agesilaus, "sleep this day, and resume their full vigor to-morrow."[w] The latter kind of *ἁρμοσταὶ* were appointed to govern the provinces, or rule over the conquered cities,[x] and were sometimes called *ἁρμοστῆρες*,[y] and *σωφρονισταί*. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people not only endured, but even desired their government. They did not ask of them ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the greatest honor and respect: so Gylippus was revered

[p] Hesychius.
[q] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[r] Id. ibid. Xenophon.
[s] Hesychius.
[t] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[u] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[v] Dionys. Halicarnas.
[w] Xenophon. Hellan. lib. vi. Diod. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. Agesilao.
[x] Harpocration; Suidas.
[y] Hesychius.

by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Chalcidians, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus, by all the people of Asia. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were denominated ἁρμοσταὶ and σωφρονισταὶ, that is, moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and the people; and Sparta itself was considered a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the greatest perfection.[z] The former kind of ἁρμοσταὶ held their office for an uncertain time; but the latter were elected annually,[a] and were entrusted with an army, especially if there was an enemy in the neighbourhood of the provinces or cities which they governed.[b] He who was sent by the Spartans to govern the island of Cythera, was peculiarly denominated κυθηροδίκης.[c]

Πολέμαρχοι were such as had commanded the army under the kings, whose ministers and deputies they were in all things. Their principal office at home consisted in their presiding over the city customs and the common meal, and in sending to such as were absent from a legitimate cause a due share of the public repast. An allowed cause of absence was after hunting or a sacrifice; but on him who was unnecessarily absent a fine was imposed.[d] The Polemarchs had also many other matters committed to their care, as the public arms, warlike exercises, &c.

Ἱππαγρέται, who are also called ἱππεῖς, seem to derive their name from *collecting horses*, yet these persons among the Lacedæmonians had no horses;[e] and hence they are said to have been set over the heavy-armed soldiers.[f] They were three in number, and were elected by the ephori from those who had attained the age of manhood.[g] Each of the ἱππαγρέται, stating his reasons for the preference of one person to another, selected one hundred men who were esteemed the best he could find in the city,[h] and over whom he was placed; and the three hundred men thus selected were called λογάδες.[i] It was a matter of great emulation to be one of these three hundred men, as this was considered the first honor in the city;[k] and hence Pædaretus, who failed in obtaining his election into this body, declared he rejoiced that three hundred men better than himself could be found in Sparta.[l]

CHAP. VIII.

The Public Assemblies, and other Meetings.

NOTWITHSTANDING the loss of their ancient privileges, the cities of Laconia formed a confederation, the object of which was to unite their forces in war, and maintain their rights in time of peace. When the interests of the whole state were to be discussed, they sent their

[z] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[a] Xenophon.
[b] Xenophon.
[c] Hesychius.
[d] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[e] Strabo.
[f] Hesychius.
[g] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[h] Xenophon. ibid.
[i] Herodotus.
[k] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[l] Plutarch. Lycurgo.

deputies to the general assembly, which was always held at Sparta, and which settled the contributions that each city should pay, and the number of troops it should furnish.[m] Hence the Spartans had interests which were peculiar to themselves; and they had others which were common to them with the deputies of the different cities of Laconia. Hence also there were two kinds of ἐκκλησίαι, assemblies, of which one was emphatically called ἐκκλησία, the other μικρὰ ἐκκλησία.[n]

The greater assembly, or that which was simply denominated ἐκκλησία, was composed of the kings, the senators, the different classes of magistrates, the deputies of the cities of Laconia,[o] and frequently those of the σύμμαχοι, allies of the Spartans,[p] and of the nations that came to implore the assistance of Lacedæmon.[q] This assembly was convoked whenever any question relative to making peace or declaring war, contracting alliances, or other matters of general concern, was in agitation; and in it were discussed their claims and mutual complaints, the infraction of the treaties committed by the other states, the modes of reconciliation, the projects of the future campaign, and the contributions to be furnished.

The other, called μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, the less assembly, was composed only of Spartans, who, in conjunction with the kings, the senate, and the different classes of the magistrates, met to discuss matters pertaining only to themselves. This assembly was convened when the succession to the throne was to be regulated, when magistrates were to be chosen or deposed, when sentence was to be pronounced on public crimes, or decisions made on the great objects of religion or legislation.[r]

At first, the kings and senators convoked these assemblies; but afterwards the ephori obtained that power, and presided at every assembly.[s] The place of meeting was appointed by the oracle, and was held in the open air between the river Cnasion, afterwards Œnus, and the bridge Babyce. Here were neither halls nor any kind of buildings, which were considered as injurious to deliberation, as they distracted the attention and filled the mind with other subjects.[t] Afterwards, however, when the ancient laws of Sparta had partly fallen into disuse, other places were assigned for holding the assemblies, and an edifice called σκιὰς, the shade, was erected for that purpose.[u] The Spartans were wont to go armed to the assemblies, or at least carried staves in their hands; but Lycurgus being assaulted at a meeting by a young man, who, it is said, struck out one of his eyes, they never afterwards carried staves to an assembly.[v]

The ordinary meeting of the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, less assembly, was held every month, at the full of the moon;[w] the extraordinary meeting was convened whenever circumstances required it. Its deliberations were preceded by a decree of the senate,[x] unless an equal divi-

[m] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. vi.
[n] Xenophon. ibid.
[o] Xenophon. ibid.
[p] Idem ibid. lib. v.
[q] Idem ibid. lib. vi.
[r] Idem ibid. lib. iii.
[s] Herodotus; Thucydides; Xenophon.
[t] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[u] Pausanias Laconicis.
[v] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[w] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 67. Schol. ibid.
[x] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Id. Agide.

sion of voices prevented that body from coming to any conclusion, in which case the ephori laid the question before the assembly.[y]

The people had the power of discussing in the assemblies those matters which the magistrates appointed, and of ratifying or rejecting what was thus proposed.[z] Every person present had a right to give his opinion, provided he had passed his thirtieth year; for before that age no one was permitted to speak in public.[a] It was also requisite that his manners should be irreproachable; and an orator, whose character was impeachable, but whose advice was excellent, captivated the people with his eloquence. Upon this a senator arose, and after loudly expressing his indignation against the easy compliance of the assembly, observed that the Lacedæmonians ought not to suffer themselves to be guided by the counsel of an infamous orator.[b]

The kings and senators frequently spoke, and their authority was of great weight; but that of the ephori was of still greater. When the question had been sufficiently debated, one of the ephori asked the opinion of the assembly. Immediately a thousand voices exclaimed either for the affirmative or the negative; for they did not decide by computing the votes on either side, but by the acclamations of the people: *κρίνουσι βοῇ, καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ.*[c] If, however, after repeated trials it was impossible to distinguish which had the majority, the same magistrate ascertained it by numbering the two parties, which he caused to divide, one on the one side, and the other on the other.[d]

Besides these assemblies, the Lacedæmonians had other solemn meetings; but we shall notice only those which were convened for the public repasts. Of them the principal were the *σύσσιτια*, common meals, which were called by the Cretans, from whom they were derived, *ἀνδρεῖα*,[e] or *ἄνδρια*,[f] but which were denominated by the Lacedæmonians *φιδίτια*, associations of friends; *φιδίτια* being used instead of *φιλίτια*; or the word might signify parsimony, from the verb *φείδω*, to spare, because these meals accustomed them to frugality. It is not, however, impossible that the first letter might be added, and *φιδίτια* be used instead of *ἐδίτια*, which signifies only eating.[g] In these assemblies, kings, magistrates, and private citizens, met together in certain halls, in which a number of tables were spread, most frequently with fifteen covers each.[h] The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation. Each member of that small society took a little ball of soft bread in his hand. This he was to drop, without saying a word, into a vessel called *κάδδος*, which the waiter carried upon his head. If he approved of the candidate, he dropped it without altering the figure of the bread; but if not, he first pressed it flat in his hand, for a flatted ball was considered as a negative; and if only one such was

[y] Plutarch. Agide.
[z] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[a] Argum. in Declam. 24 Liban.
[b] Æschin. in Timarch. Plutarch. de Andit.
[c] Thucyd. lib. i.
[d] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 87.
[e] Strabo lib. x.
[f] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[g] Plutarch. ibid.
[h] Id. ibid. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. iv. s. 4.

found, the person was not admitted, as it was thought proper that the whole company should be satisfied with each other. He who was thus disapproved was said κεκαδδεῖσθαι, to be ejected from the κάδδος, vessel.[k]

The guests at one table never interfered with those at another, and formed a society of friends, in which, as has been already observed, no person could be received but by the consent of all those who composed it.[k] They reclined on hard couches of oak, leaning with their elbows on a stone or block of wood.[l] Black broth was served up to them, and afterwards boiled pork, from which the broth had been made, and which was distributed to each guest in equal portions, and sometimes so small that they scarcely weighed a quarter of a mina, or three ounces and a half each.[m] They had wine, cakes, and barley-bread in plenty; and at other times fish and different kinds of game were added by way of supplement to their ordinary portion.[n] They who offered sacrifices, or went out to hunt, might, on their return, eat at home; but it was necessary to send their companions at the same table a part of the game or the victim.[o] Near each cover a small piece of bread was laid to wipe their fingers.[p]

During the repast the conversation frequently turned on morals, or examples of virtue. A great action was related as news worthy to engage the attention of Spartans. The old men commonly spoke, and with precision, and were heard with respect. The guests were enjoined that their decorum should be accompanied with gaiety;[q] and, with that view, a statue of the god of laughter was placed in the hall.[r] The pleasantries, however, that excited mirth, were to contain nothing offensive; and the too severe sally, if by chance it escaped any one present, was never to be repeated in any other place. The oldest of the company, showing the door to those who entered, reminded them that nothing they might hear was to go out there.[s]

The different classes of youth were present at these repasts without partaking of them, the youngest to carry off adroitly from the table some portion which they shared with their comrades, and the others to receive lessons of wisdom and pleasantry.[t]

Whether these public repasts were instituted in a city in imitation of those taken in a camp, or whether they derived their origin from another cause,[u] it is certain that in a small state they were of great effect in maintaining the laws.[v] During peace they produced union, temperance, and equality; and during war they offered to the citizen a new motive to flee to the succour of another with whom he had

[k] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[l] Idem ibid.
[l] Athenæ. lib. xii. Suidas in Ανκ. et in Φιλίτ. Cicero Orat. pro Mur. cap. 35.
[m] Dicæarch. ap. Athenæ. lib. iv. cap. 8.
[n] Idem ibid.
[o] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[p] Pollux lib. vi. cap. 14. seg. 93. Athenæ. lib. ix.
[q] Aristophan. in Lysist. v. 1228.
[r] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[s] Idem Instit. Lacon.
[t] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[u] Plato de Leg. lib. i. et vi.
[v] Plato ibid. Plutarch. Lycurgo; Idem Apophth. Lacon.

participated in sacrifices and libations.[w] They were appointed by Minos in Crete; and Lycurgus adopted the custom with some remarkable difference. In Crete the expense was defrayed from the revenues of the republic; but at Sparta, from those of individuals, who were obliged to furnish, every month, a certain quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, figs, and even money.[x] By this contribution the poorest class were in danger of being excluded from the common meal;[y] and some have also blamed both Minos and Lycurgus that they did not extend this regulation to the women.[z]

Besides the φιλίτια there were other solemn feasts, of which one was called κοπὶς, the other αἶκλον. To the former were admitted foreigners and boys, as well as citizens. The meeting was held in the city, and in the places where the boys were brought up, and where they strewed couches which were covered with tapestry.

CHAP. IX.

The Laws of Sparta.

THE νομοθεσία, or enacting of laws, in Sparta is generally ascribed to Lycurgus;[a] and previously to the time of this legislator, the wills of the kings constituted, in a great measure, the only laws that were observed. Hence the state was often shaken by intestine factions or daring enterprises. Lycurgus was brother to one of the Spartan kings, named Polydectes, who died without issue, and at whose death the kingdom was threatened with speedy destruction. When it was known that the widow of Polydectes was pregnant, Lycurgus declared that if she gave an heir to the throne, he would be the first to acknowledge his right, and, as a proof of his sincerity, only administered the government of the kingdom in quality of guardian to the young prince. The queen, however, caused it to be signified to him that if he would consent to marry her, she would not hesitate to destroy her child. To prevent the execution of this horrid project, Lycurgus amused her with vain hopes.[b] She brought forth a son; and Lycurgus, taking him in his arms and showing him to the magistrates of Sparta, said, "See the king who is born to you."

This disinterested action, and the wisdom with which he had administered the affairs of the state, procured Lycurgus the respect and love of the greater part of the citizens; but these virtues were a subject of alarm to some leading men; and the queen, to revenge the supposed injury she had suffered, aided those who felt alarmed, and excited against him his relations and friends. Finding the murmurs to increase, Lycurgus determined to leave his country, and went to Crete, where the laws of the sage Minos long engaged his attention, and where he formed an intimate connection with the poet

[w] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. ii.
[x] Plut. Lycurgo; Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. iv. seg. 4.
[y] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 9 et 10.
[z] Plato de Leg. lib. vi. et viii.
[a] Herodot. Plato. Aristot.
[b] Plutarch. Lycurgo.

Thales, who by his advice went and resided at Sparta. Lycurgus next visited the coasts of Asia, where he saw only laws and minds without vigor.

Whilst he continued to travel through distant lands, every where studying the genius and the work of legislators, and gathering the seeds of happiness which were scattered through different countries, Lacedæmon, wearied of her divisions, sent to him, more than once, deputies who pressed him to return to the succour of the state. He alone was able to guide the reins of government, which had been, by turns, in the hands of the kings, and in those of the multitude.[c]

Yielding at length to the united and ardent solicitations of all the citizens of Sparta, he returned to his own country. He soon, however, perceived that the reformation necessary was not to repair the edifice of the laws, but to pull it down and erect another entirely new. He foresaw all the obstacles to this design; but the respect paid to his birth and virtues, his genius, and his knowledge, were favorable to the promotion of his object; and he possessed that majestic courage which impels the minds of men, and that conciliatory spirit which attracts them.[d] In favor of his cause he obtained the approbation of heaven, which, after the example of other legislators, he had been careful to secure. On consulting the oracle at Delphi he received for answer, "The gods accept thy worship, and under their auspices thou shalt frame the most excellent of political constitutions."[e]

Before he began his operations, he submitted his plan to the examination of his friends and the most distinguished citizens; and from these he chose thirty, who were to attend him completely armed in the general assembly. After many obstacles the new constitution was at length completed, and was approved by all orders of the state. Its several parts were so well combined, that it was thought nothing was wanting;[f] but, notwithstanding its excellence, it was not assured of duration. Lycurgus, therefore, induced the kings, senators, and all the citizens, to take an oath that no alteration should be made by them in the laws till his return from Delphi, whither he intended to go for the purpose of consulting the oracle.[g] This solemn engagement was irrevocable; for it was his resolution never to return to his country. Lycurgus immediately repaired to Delphi, and inquired whether the new laws were sufficient to ensure the happiness of the Spartans. The Pythia answered, that Sparta would be the most flourishing of cities so long as those laws were observed. Lycurgus sent the answer of the oracle to Sparta, condemned himself to voluntary banishment,[h] and died far from the country of whose happiness he had been the cause.

To the laws, however, which Lycurgus enacted, others were afterwards added by the kings Polydorus and Theopompus,[i] by Agis and Cleomenes,[k] and by the ephori and other magistrates; but the main

[c] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[d] Idem ibid.
[e] Idem ibid.
[f] Idem ibid.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] Idem ibid.
[i] Idem ibid.
[k] Idem Agide et Cleomene.

body of the laws was the work of Lycurgus, who brought them chiefly from Crete, where he had witnessed the good effects which they produced ;[l] and hence Crete and Sparta are said to have made use of ἀδελφοῖς νόμοις, kindred laws.[m] What seems most remarkable is, that the Spartan laws were neither written nor engraven on tables, but were committed to memory that they might make a stronger impression; and hence they were called καθεστῶτα,[n] καθεστηκότα,[o] and ἐπιτηδεύματα.[p] They were, however, styled by Lycurgus ῥέτραι, *divine sanctions;* because he wished it to be believed that they were given to him by Apollo, and that they had been sanctioned by the god, and were to be esteemed as oracles.[q] It has been observed that a more rash and dangerous measure could not have been adopted by the magistrates of Lacedæmon than that of governing without written laws. By this they rendered themselves almost despotic; decided all contests in an arbitrary manner; punished citizens without observing the requisite formalities; and resembled officers conducting a company of soldiers, more than civil magistrates. When the Spartans, however, were asked why they did not write their laws, they replied that they knew the value of time.[r]

The laws of Lycurgus were calculated to excite the enthusiasm of valor, patriotism, and the sense of liberty.[s] Their authority, as has been already observed, was sanctioned by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi ;[t] and they could not be rescinded.[u] Lycurgus and Solon were both great men; but the former possessed the stronger, the latter the milder genius; and the effects of their dispositions appeared in the commonwealths which they founded.

CHAP. X.

Laws relating to Religion.

It was ordered that all the statues of the gods and goddesses, as well of Venus as of others, whom the Spartans worshipped, should be represented armed.[v] The intention of this law was to induce the people to consider a military life as the most noble and honorable, and not to attribute, as many nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods.[w] Or, as the Spartans placed the greatest honor in war, they could not adorn them in a more becoming manner than by representing them armed.[x]

Sacrifices were to consist of things of small value. The reason given for this law by Lycurgus was, that want might not hinder any

[l] Herodotus; Plato de Legibus lib. iii.
[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 10. Strabo lib. x.
[n] Isocrates.
[o] Demosthenes.
[p] Plutarch.
[q] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[r] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[s] Plato de Legibus lib. i. et iv. Aristot.
[t] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[u] Idem Lysandro.
[v] Idem Instit. Lacon.
[w] Idem Apophth. Lacon.
[x] Lactantius de Divin. Instit. lib. i. cap. 20.

one from worshipping the gods.[y] Or it might be intended to show that the heart, and not the offering, is chiefly acceptable.[z]

The Spartans were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the gods, and were enjoined to ask no more than that they might live honestly, and discharge their duty. The prayer of the Lacedæmonians, called *εὐφημία*, in which they addressed the deity in a proper manner and with suitable expressions, is said to have been more acceptable than all the sacrifices of the Greeks.[a] They also prayed that they might endure injuries.[b]

Virgins and boys were jointly, and in common, to perform holy rites. This law might be intended to produce mutual friendship, which is more firmly fixed by the ties of religion, especially if commenced at an early age.

Graves were to be allowed to be made within the precincts of the city. This was contrary to the general custom of the Greeks and other nations,[c] and might be done, that the Spartans constantly beholding the sepulchres, the memory of the brave men buried in them might be present to their minds; or that they might learn not to fear death, when the dead were still honored in the city.

Monuments to the dead were to be placed near the temples.

No one was to be considered as polluted by assisting at funerals. This law was in consequence of the last two; for if it was allowed to bury in the city, and to erect monuments close to the temples, to assist at funerals, or to touch dead bodies, was to be considered an innocent and honorable duty.

Nothing was to be buried with a dead body. The mode of burying was simple and unexpensive, *εὐτελεῖς αἱ ταφαί*.[d] It was fit that those who had abstained from luxury during their lives, should not despise the praise of simplicity after wealth and ornament had become useless. Lycurgus, therefore, ordered that the dead should be buried without much cost.

No weeping was to be heard. Tears, sighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, because they were thought dishonorable in Spartans, whom their lawgiver wished to bear all things with fortitude and equanimity.

Mourning was to be ended in eleven days. By the last law lamentation was not allowed in public, yet by this it was permitted to manifest grief either by clothes or the motions of the body; but, lest grief should too much soften the mind, mourning was limited to a certain time, and was not to continue longer than eleven days. On the twelfth the mourner sacrificed to Ceres, and threw aside the funereal weeds.[e]

No inscriptions were to be permitted on monuments, except for those who had died in war. Monuments might be raised to the dead, but no inscription, how plain or modest soever, was to be placed on a tomb, unless the deceased had fallen in fighting for his

[y] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Idem Apophth. Lacon.
[z] Plato in Alcibiad. ii.
[a] Plato de Legibus.
[b] Plutarch.
[c] Cicero de Legibus lib. ii.
[d] Heraclid. de Polit.
[e] Plutarch. Lycurgo.

country, or was a woman who had devoted herself to a religious life.[f]

The Spartan matrons, after inspecting the bodies of those slain in battle, were to decide whether they should be carried home to be buried. When a number of Spartans fell in battle at a distance from their country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb; but if they were killed on the frontiers of their own state, their bodies were carefully carried back to Sparta, and interred in their family sepulchres; unless on the inspection of the Spartan matrons they appeared to have received more wounds in flight than in the contest, in which case their bodies were left to be buried in the common grave, or were privately brought back to be interred in their own sepulchres.[g]

CHAP. XI.

Laws relating to the Lands, and to the City.

THE number of shares or allotments was to remain always the same. Lycurgus divided all the country of Laconia into thirty thousand equal shares, of which the district of Sparta contained nine thousand, according to some accounts six thousand, and according to others four thousand five hundred. These shares were not allowed to be divided into more or fewer parts: *νενομίσθαι τὰς ἀρχαίας μοίρας οὐδὲ ἔξεστι.*[h]

The possessions of all were to be equal. The number of shares was not only defined with certainty; but the possessions of all were to be equal; and this equality conduced very much to the stability and tranquillity of the republic. The intention of the legislator by this law was, that property should be equally extended to all the citizens; and that no one should be so powerful as to oppress his neighbour, or so necessitous as to be in danger of being corrupted.[i]

No one was to buy or sell these possessions. According to this law, the head of a family could neither buy nor sell a portion of land.[k] He could not give it during his life, nor bequeath it by will, to whom he pleased.[l]

If a stranger acquired a right to any of these shares, he was to be allowed quietly to enjoy it, provided he submitted to the laws of the republic.[m]

The city of Sparta was to have no walls. In prohibiting Sparta from being surrounded by a wall, Lycurgus wished to excite the courage of the people: for he thought it better to confide in the valor of the citizens, than in walls and ramparts; and he observed that "a city, which has a wall of men instead of brick, is well fortified."[n]

[f] Plutarch. ibid.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 21.
[h] Heraclid. de Polit.
[i] Polybius lib. vi. Justin. lib. iii.
[k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii.
[l] Plutarch. Agide.
[m] Plutarch. Instit. Lacon.
[n] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon. Idem Lycurgo.

The houses were to be built only with the saw and the axe. Lycurgus was sensible that such a house would not admit of luxury and useless splendor. No man would carry into such a homely dwelling bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expense which follows these; but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet to the bed, and the rest of their utensils and furniture to that.[o]

CHAP. XII.

Laws relating to the Citizens.

The number of citizens was to be the same as that of the lots into which Sparta was divided. In the time of Lycurgus they amounted to nine thousand, and equalled the number of lots. Afterwards, they were sometimes fewer, according as peace or war had prevailed; but in general, they rather lessened than increased.[p] If at any time they were more than the number of lots, they were to be sent to found colonies; and many colonies were founded by the Lacedæmonians.[q]

An infant was to be carried before certain persons of the same tribe, who, if the child was approved by them, were to assign it a lot among the citizens. A father carried his new-born child to a certain place, where the gravest men of the tribe carefully examined it; and if they found its limbs straight, and that its look was healthy, they returned the infant to its parents; but if otherwise, it was cast into a cavern, called ἀποθέται, at the foot of mount Taygetus.[r] This law induced women, when with child, to be careful not to eat, drink, nor exercise to excess; and it also rendered them excellent nurses; but to say nothing of its cruelty, the general expediency of this law may be disputed, though it suited the martial constitution of Sparta.

Strangers were not to be allowed to reside in Sparta for any length of time. The reason for this was lest they should corrupt the Spartans by teaching them foreign customs, or introduce luxury and effeminacy among them.[s] This law, which was called ξενηλασία, gave great offence to foreigners,[t] and caused the Lacedæmonians to be thought περὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπάνθρωποι, inhuman towards strangers.[u]

No citizen was to go abroad, unless for the purpose of carrying on war. This law seems to have been enacted for the same reason as the last, lest the citizens should adopt foreign manners, and imbibe ideas contrary to the principles and discipline of their own government.[v] Military men, however, in the exercise of their duties, were suffered to travel.[w]

If any one had not been brought up in his youth agreeably to the laws, he was not to partake of the rights of the city.[x] It was consi-

[o] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[p] Herodot. lib. vii.
[q] Plato; Justin. Pausanias, &c.
[r] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. cap. 16.
[s] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[t] Thucyd. lib. ii.
[u] Suidas.
[v] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Idem Instit. Lacon.
[w] Harpocrat. in v. κάθετος.
[x] Plutarch. Instit. Lacon.

dered unreasonable that a person, who in his youth had not been educated under the same severe discipline as the rest, should be admitted to the same benefits as those who had always submitted to the institutions of their country.

No one except a citizen was to undertake a public office. If, at any time, the Spartans had occasion for a person who had not been born among them, they were first to create him a citizen, and then promote him; and of this we have an instance in the poet Tyrtæus, who was first presented with the freedom of the city before he was employed as a general.[y]

CHAP. XIII.

Laws relating to Marriage.

EVERY Spartan was to marry. Celibacy in men was deemed infamous, and was punished in a very extraordinary manner. In the first place, the old bachelor was compelled to walk naked through the market-place in the depth of winter. Secondly, whilst thus employed, he was obliged to sing verses in disparagement of himself, and expressive of his opinion that he was justly punished, because he had not obeyed the laws.[z] Thirdly, he was interdicted from appearing at the public exercises, in which naked virgins contended. Fourthly, he was deprived of those honors which were due to old men; for it was thought unreasonable that young persons should venerate him who would leave no progeny to revere them when they should become old.[a] Hence, when Dercyllidas, who had commanded armies with so much glory,[b] came one day into the assembly, a young man said to him, "I shall not rise to you, because you will leave no children who may one day rise to me."[c] Of this nature was the action called *δίκη ἀγαμίου*,[d] and *ἐπιτίμιον ἀγαμίου*.[e]

Marriage was to be entered into at a certain time. Though the time of marriage was fixed, yet that time is not mentioned. It would seem, however, that the usual age at Sparta was thirty years for the men, and twenty for the women. This conjecture is founded on two reasons: first, it is the age prescribed by Plato, who has frequently copied the laws of Lycurgus; secondly, the Spartans had not a right to vote in the general assembly till the age of thirty,[f] which would seem to suppose that before that time they could not be considered as heads of families. If a man did not take a wife when he was of full age,[g] he was liable to an action called *δίκη ὀψιγαμίου*.[h]

The Spartans were also to marry only their equals. If they married persons either of a higher or lower condition than themselves, they

[y] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[z] Idem Lycurgo.
[a] Idem Apophth. Lacon.
[b] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. ii.
[c] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[d] Pollux lib. iii.
[e] Clement. Alexandrin. Plutarch. Lysandro.
[f] Liban. Argum. Declam.
[g] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[h] Pollux; Plutarch.

were liable to actions called κακογαμίου δίκαι.[i] To the good qualities of their minds, the pair who wished to unite were to add a masculine beauty, an advantageous stature, and full health.[k]

He who had three children was to be allowed great immunities; but he who had four was to be exempted from taxes of every kind.[l]

Virgins were to be married without portions. The intent of this law was that want might not prevent a man from marrying according to his inclination, nor riches induce him to unite himself with a woman whom he did not love.[m]

After a marriage had been agreed on, the husband was to commit a kind of rape on his bride, who was to be dressed and adorned by the bride-maid.[n]

The newly married husband was to go secretly and by stealth to his wife, and return in a short time to his companions. This conduct was followed in some instances for whole years, and was the means of cherishing and preserving a mutual affection.[o]

Husbands might lend their wives to others;[p] but the kings, whose wives were placed under the guardianship of the ephori, were not permitted this liberty.[q]

A Spartan was to have only one wife,[r] who might be his sister by the mother's side, or the daughter of such sister;[s] but he was not to marry any other relation.[t]

CHAP. XIV.

Laws relating to Food.

Great care and art were to be employed by the nurses in their treatment of the Spartan children, the delicate limbs of which were not to be confined by bandages that prevented their motions.[u] It was also enacted that the Spartans should be inured to conquer their appetites from their very infancy. For this purpose Lycurgus directed that nurses should accustom the children to spare meals, and occasionally to fasting; to solitude, darkness, and the greatest indifference in the choice of eatables; and to surmount all the other follies and weaknesses incident to that tender age.[v] To excite in them a military spirit, the children, in reference to the shield on which they were placed in their infancy, were frequently admonished with the words, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν, either bring your shield home from battle, or be brought upon it dead.[w]

At first, the children both of the rich and the poor were to be brought up in the same manner under nurses; and, afterwards, the

[i] Pollux; Plutarch.
[k] Plutarch. de Liber. Educ.
[l] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[m] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon. Justin. lib. iii.
[n] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[o] Idem ibid. Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[p] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[q] Plato Alcibiade.
[r] Herodot. lib. v.
[s] Philo Judæus de Special. Leg.
[t] Idem ibid.
[u] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[v] Idem ibid.
[w] Schol. Thucyd. lib. ii.

same food was to be given to each under public masters.[x] The intention of not allowing to any more delicate food than to the rest, was in order that they might not, even in their infancy, perceive any distinction between poverty and riches; but that they should be taught to consider all as their equals and their brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who during the course of their lives were to fare as they did.[y]

The youths only were to be allowed to eat flesh; they who had arrived at man's estate were to take their black broth and pulse.[z] Hence at Sparta cooks were permitted to dress only plain dishes; and they who were more refined in the art were expelled the city.[a]

The youths were to sleep together in companies. In summer their beds were very hard, and were composed of the reeds which grew on the banks of the Eurotas, and the upper part of which they broke off with their hands, without employing any iron instrument. In winter, they were permitted to add a little down of thistles, and their beds were more soft, but not such as were likely to cause immoderate sleep.[b]

The Spartans were all to dine together at the public repasts. He who absented himself was to be fined. If, however, he had been hunting, or had sacrificed, he was to be excused: if the former, that he might take rest; and if the latter, that he might have leisure for devotion. The intention of this law of frequenting the public tables was that luxury might be repressed,[c] and that the young might be instructed by the aged, who, during the repast, related the great achievements which had been performed within their remembrance, and by that means excited the rising generation to similar actions.[d] It was also strictly forbidden to eat or drink at home before they went to the common meals.[e]

The food of the Spartans was to be sparing; and the men were to have only black broth. At the public repasts, each had his portion assigned him.[f] The black broth, called *μέλας ζωμὸς*, which was so much esteemed by the Spartans, is supposed to have been made of pork gravy seasoned with vinegar and salt;[g] but some are of opinion that the black broth was a composition of salt, vinegar, blood, and perhaps small pieces of flesh. This *σιτοδεία*, spare diet, was appointed for the purpose of accustoming the Spartans to bear hunger and fatigue in war, and to endure privations.[h]

As the Spartans were to be moderate in their eating, so they were to be equally moderate in their drinking. They were to drink only when thirsty;[i] and they never transgressed this law.[k] Drunkenness was not only considered as infamous, but was severely punished.[l]

[x] Aristot. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 9. Thucydides.
[y] Justin. lib. iii.
[z] Plutarch. Lycurgo et Agid.; Justin.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 7. Maxim. Tyr. Orat. vii.
[b] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Idem Instit. Lacon.
[c] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[d] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[e] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 34.
[g] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. i. cap. 8.
[h] Plutarch. Instit. Lacon.
[i] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[k] Plato de Legibus lib. i.
[l] Idem ibid.

The disgusting sight of a slave, who was sometimes made drunk and brought before them when children, inspired the Spartans with a rooted aversion to drunkenness.[m]

When the Spartans retired from the public meal, they were not to be allowed any torches or lights, because it was expected that men who were sober should be able to find their way in the dark;[n] and besides, it greatly facilitated their marching without light, a matter highly useful to them in time of war.[o]

CHAP. XV.

Laws relating to Apparel.

The poor and the rich were to be clothed alike.[p] The Spartans were not to change either the fashion or the materials of their garments, which were calculated to produce warmth, and were not intended for ornament. Even the kings themselves conformed to this law, and wore nothing gaudy or ostentatious, being content to be distinguished by their virtue rather than by their robes.[q]

The boys were to wear tunics till they attained the age of twelve years, when each of them was presented with a cloak which was to serve a year, and which was to be annually renewed.[r] Hence their clothing was so thin that a Lacedæmonian vest became proverbial; and *χιτὼν Λακωνικὸς*, a Lacedæmonian coat, is interpreted by *λεπτὴ ἐσθῆς*, a thin garment.[s] By the constant use of such bare clothing at home, the Lacedæmonians were inured to the inclemencies of the weather, whenever necessity required that they should brave storm and tempest, rain and snow.

Boys were not to be permitted to have shoes, and others only when necessity required. Boys did not use shoes as not being requisite for them; but they were accustomed *βαδίζειν ἀνυπόδητοι*, to go barefoot.[t] By this the legislator intended to render their feet hard; for he thought that by this means the Spartans would be enabled to run, leap, climb and descend steep places with naked feet more easily than if they wore shoes.[u] When, however, they were farther advanced in age, and were admitted into the number of the ephebi, they were allowed the use of shoes, if necessity required it. Such as were called *ἐννηίσκολοι* are said to have been *ὑποδήματα Λακωνικῶν ἐφήβων*, shoes of the Lacedæmonian ephebi; and others were denominated *ἀμυκλάδες*, from Amyclæ, a town in Laconia, where they were invented.[v]

Boys were not to be permitted to wear their hair; but they were ordered *ἐν χρῷ κείρειν*, to cut it off close to the skin.[w] When, however,

[m] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon. Athenæus lib. x.
[n] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[o] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Id. Inst. Lacon.
[p] Aristot. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 9. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[q] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[r] Idem Lycurgo; Id. Inst. Lacon. Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[s] Hesychius.
[t] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[u] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[v] Hesychius.
[w] Plutarch. Lycurg.

they had arrived at manhood, they were allowed to suffer their hair and beard to grow; for the hair was an ornament, and became the free man and the warrior.[x]

The Spartans were not to use baths and ointments, except on some particular days of the year;[y] but the river Eurotas was expected to supply the defect of the former, and exercise that of the latter.[z]

In the field, however, the sumptuary laws of the Spartans were not so strictly attended to as in the city; for when they went to war, they were to put on purple habits, that they might strike their foes with terror,[a] and prevent the enemy from perceiving the blood that he had caused to flow;[b] or the purple dress might be intended to distinguish them from others, whether Greeks or barbarians.[c]

When the Spartans were about to engage the enemy, every one was to put a crown upon his head. This was done at the command of the king.[d] It is also said that there was a law which required μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι, that no Lacedæmonian should be without a crown;[e] and hence, as the Lacedæmonians were the principal nation of Greece, it has been thought that the Greeks were anciently styled καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί.[f]

The Spartans were to wear rings made only of iron. This was a metal highly esteemed by them;[g] and the iron rings might be intended as a proof of the valor and fortitude of the Lacedæmonians, rather than as ornaments of the body.

Young women were to wear vests which reached only to their knees, and which were, therefore, denominated φαινομηρίδες.[h] As the virgins participated in certain games and exercises as well as the young men, these short garments rendered them more agile. Hence they are said to have worn σχιστοὶ χιτῶνες, garments, the lower parts of which were open on each side, so that half the body was naked.[i]

Gold, precious stones, and embroidered garments, were to be worn only by prostitutes;[k] and this permission to harlots was the strongest prohibition to women of virtue, or to those who wished to be thought virtuous.

Virgins were to go abroad without veils, with which married women, on the contrary, were to be covered. The reason of this was, that the former were to be sought by men, but the latter were to seek only to please their husbands.[l]

In certain public exercises, girls, as well as boys, were to perform naked before the kings, the magistrates, and all the citizens.[m] In vindication of this law, it has been urged that the nakedness of the girls could not injure the morals of youth, whose minds were fortified

[x] Herodot. lib. i. Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Plutarch. Lysand.
[y] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[z] Schol. Thucyd. lib. ii.
[a] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[b] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[c] Cragius de Rep. Laced. lib. iii.
[d] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[e] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[f] Homer. Iliad.
[g] Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 1.
[h] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 10.
[i] Pollux.
[k] Heraclid. de Polit. Clem. Alex. ibid.
[l] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[m] Idem Lycurgo.

by virtue;[n] and that women should exercise continually in the gymnasium veiled with no other garments than their virtues.[o]

CHAP. XVI.

Laws relating to Discipline and Manners.

Though the greatest freedom existed in Sparta, yet no one was to live as he thought proper, but every man was to form his manners by what the laws prescribed. These laws were as strictly binding on the Spartan in the city, as soldiers in other states were bound by the rules of war in the camp.[p] The same discipline was observed by all the Spartans;[q] and each concluded that he was born, not for himself, but for his country.[r]

In the first place, obedience to superiors was to be strictly observed by all. This was considered as the basis of civil government; and that without it neither laws nor magistrates could much avail.[s] This πειθανάγκη, necessity of obeying, was so universally complied with, that Sparta was sometimes called Δαμασίμβροτος, the subduer of men, because the citizens were accustomed from the most early age to obey the laws.[t]

The aged were to be honored by the younger in all things. Honor was given in the first place to magistrates, next to parents, and then to those who were elder in years: τοὺς γέροντας αἰσχύνονται οὐχ ἧττον τοὺς πατέρας, they pay the same reverence to the aged as to their fathers.[u] The youths rose up whenever the old men entered any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the streets; and they were silent whenever their elders spoke.[v]

The old men were to admonish the children of any one. All children being considered as belonging to the state, the old men were allowed the authority of parents, and were to reprove not only their own sons, but also those of others, when they saw them acting improperly.[w] This law was intended to check the wayward disposition of youth, and that in all places they might meet with teachers and advisers.

If an old man was present when a youth committed a fault, and did not reprove him, he was to be punished equally with the delinquent.[x]

The elders also were to inquire of the youths whom they met, whither they were going, and for what purpose; and if they refused to reply, or gave an evasive answer, they were to be rebuked accordingly.[y]

[n] Plutarch. Lycurgo. Idem Apophth. Lacon.
[o] Plato de Rep. lib. v.
[p] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[q] Cicero in Bruto.
[r] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[s] Idem ibid. Idem. Apophth. Lacon.
[t] Idem Agesilao.
[u] Stobæus.
[v] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[w] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Plutarch. ibid.
[x] Plutarch. ibid.
[y] Idem ibid.

Among the youths was one of their own body, or at most two years older than the rest, who was called εἴρην, iren, and who had authority to examine all their actions, to watch their conduct with strictness, and to punish them severely if they did amiss. The old men and magistrates frequently attended to see whether the iren exercised his authority in a proper and rational manner; and if he punished the boys with too much severity or remissness, he was to be chastised himself.[z]

The youths were to endure with fortitude the chastisements inflicted on them by their elders. He who was angry with a person that reproved him, ἐν μεγάλῳ ὀνείδει ἦν, was held in great disgrace.[a] When any boy that had been chastised by another complained to his father of the treatment which he had received, it was considered disgraceful in the father if he did not inflict on his son other chastisements.[b]

The youths were not to interrupt the discourses of their elders; nor were they to speak except on proper occasions, and when they were able to make observations worthy of notice. Hence some persons blaming Hecatæus the sophist, that when admitted to one of the public repasts he had said nothing, Archidamidas replied, "He who knows how to speak, knows also when to speak."[c]

The modesty of the Lacedæmonian youths, however, was not to be confined to their words and actions, but was to be extended to their looks and gestures; and they were directed by Lycurgus, when they walked, to look forward or on the ground, to keep their hands within their robes, and to observe only what was before their feet.[d]

Luxury and drunkenness were to be avoided by all; and the Spartans were to be taught the propriety of living temperately, by observing the ebriety of their slaves.[e]

An idle person was not to be endured, but was to be treated with ignominy by all. It appears that a stupid idle person, who disregarded the laws and institutions of his country, and who would not receive instruction, but was careless of what the world might say respecting him, was considered by the Spartans as a scandal to human nature, and treated as a contemptible and worthless member of society.[f]

CHAP. XVII.

Laws relating to Studies and Literature.

THE Lacedæmonians were to acquire as much learning as would be necessary; but they were to pay no regard to the more abstruse parts

[z] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[a] Plutarch.
[b] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[c] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[d] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[e] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Inst. Lacon. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. iii.
[f] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Nicol. Damascen. de Mor. Gent.

of literature.[g] The plainness of their manners, and their great inclination to war, rendered the Lacedæmonians less fond of the sciences than the other Greeks. Hence they obtained the epithet ἄμουσοι, unlearned, because they were ignorant of polite literature and philosophy, and were more skilful in arms than in the secrets of nature. Among the Spartans were some who were unable to read or write ;[h] others scarcely knew how to reckon ;[i] and they had no idea of geometry, astronomy, or the other sciences.[k] It was, indeed, the intention of Lycurgus that they should exercise their valor rather than spend their time ἐν λογομαχίαις, in contending with words, or in the vain disputations of philosophy.

The Spartans were to exercise no mean or mechanical art.[l] Ἀμελήσαντες γεωργιῶν καὶ τεχνῶν, neglecting agriculture and the arts, they exercised themselves very much in military affairs, that they might be able to subdue the enemies of their country.[m] In fact, they had such an idea of liberty, that they could not reconcile it with manual labor ;[n] and they considered the profession of a soldier as the most respectable.[o] In the army, indeed, they were allowed to exercise some useful profession, as that of herald, trumpeter, or cook ; but it was required that the son should follow the occupation of his father.[p]

Persons exercising vain and curious arts were not to be endured at Sparta. By vain arts may be understood such as were foreign to the exercise of virtue, and which occupied the mind with curious and trifling subjects, and not with matters of real utility. In consequence of this law, there were at Sparta neither rhetoricians, augurs, bankers, nor dealers in money.[q] The Lacedæmonians were prohibited from altering the nature of oils by perfumes, or dyeing wool of any color except purple ; and hence there were among them no perfumers, and scarcely any dyers.[r]

Comedies or tragedies were not to be exhibited nor listened to.[s] The Spartans paid no attention to those who spoke either seriously or in jest against their laws ;[t] and they would not bear the representation of evil, even if it were likely to produce good.

Poets unless approved by the magistrates, were not to be read by the people. The poet Archilochus was expelled from Sparta, because in his verses he had said that it was better to throw away arms than to die.[u] The poets held in esteem by the Lacedæmonians were Tyrtæus, Terpander, Alcman, Spendon, and others ; and Lysander is said to have distinguished with his kindness Chœrilus, Antilochus, Antimachus, and Niceratus, who composed verses in his praise.[v]

The Spartans were to have no orators, and their speeches were to be comprised in a few words. They despised the art, but esteemed

[g] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[h] Isocrates Panathenaic.
[i] Plato in Hipp. Maj.
[k] Idem ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 50.
[l] Plutarch. Lycurgo ; Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 6.
[m] Isocrat. Panathenaic.
[n] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. i. cap. 9.
[o] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[p] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 60.
[q] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[r] Athenæ. lib. xv. Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. iv. cap. 13.
[s] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[t] Idem ibid.
[u] Idem Inst. Lacon. Valer. Max. lib. vi. cap. 3.
[v] Plutarch. Lysandro.

the genius of oratory. This some of them received from nature,[w] and displayed it in their own assembly and in those of the other states, and also in the funeral orations which were pronounced every year in honor of Pausanias and Leonidas.[x] Brasidas, the general who during the Peloponnesian war supported the honor of his country in Macedonia, was considered as eloquent even by the Athenians, who set so high a value on oratory.[y] The eloquence of the Lacedæmonians always proceeded directly to the point at which it aimed, and arrived at it by the most simple means. They were enjoined from their earliest years to express themselves with equal energy and precision;[z] and hence, whilst *πολυλογία*, verbosity, was attributed to the Athenians, and *πολύνοια*, depth of thought, to the Cretans, the Spartans were remarkable for *βραχυλογία*, conciseness of speech.[a] In writing, the Spartans used the same conciseness. Philip of Macedon having written to them that, if he should lead an army into the Lacedæmonian territories, he would lay their country waste, they replied to him with only the word *εἰ*, *if;* and the same monarch having enquired of them whether they would receive him into their city, they answered him only with the word *οὐ*, *no*, written in large characters.[b] Hence Epaminondas boasted that he had obliged the Spartans to leave off the laconic mode of speaking, and to lengthen their monosyllables.[c]

The laws of other states were not to be commended, nor to form the subject of discourse.[d] The intention of Lycurgus was that the Lacedæmonians should be governed by laws and customs peculiar to themselves; but they who have inferred from this law that the Spartans were enjoined to prevent strangers from becoming acquainted with the institutions of Lacedæmon, seem to be mistaken.[e]

All the Spartans were to be used to jest and maintain pleasantries. These pleasantries had in them nothing low and offensive, and were essentially different from buffoonery and satire.[f] The Spartans were accustomed to take and return a jest, *ἐμμελῶς καὶ σκώπτειν καὶ σκώπτεσθαι*;[g] and they desisted the moment that the person who was the object of their sallies solicited to be spared.[h] It is said that from the Spartans, Thales, Pittacus, and the other sages of Greece, borrowed the art of comprising moral maxims in short sentences.[i]

Music was to be encouraged; but the Spartans were to adhere to that which had been practised by their ancestors.[k] The more simple strains only were approved, *μόνα τὰ ἁπλούστερα τῶν μελῶν ἐδοκίμαζον*;[l] and the Lesbian music, which had been commended to them by the oracle, was chiefly in request.[m] A minstrel was considered as a great trifler in a matter of no importance, *μέγας κεκλητὴς ἐν μικρῷ πράγματι*,[n] and for that reason was not tolerated at Sparta. The La-

[w] Æschin. in Timarch.
[x] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 14.
[y] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 84.
[z] Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 46. Plutarch. Lycurgo; Pausan. lib. iv. cap. 7.
[a] Plato de Legibus lib. i.
[b] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[c] Idem *περὶ φιλαυτ.*
[d] Demosth. adv. Leptin.
[e] Thucydides.
[f] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[g] Heraclid. Pont. in Antiq. Græc.
[h] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[i] Plato in Protag.
[k] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Heraclid. Pont. in Antiq. Græc.
[n] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.

cedæmonians were admirers of music which produced the enthusiasm of virtue.[o] Without cultivating the art, they were capable of judging of its influence on manners, and rejected those innovations which deprived it of its simplicity. The harp originally consisted of four strings, to which Terpander added other three; and this number was not to be increased.[p]

Free men were to sing their own odes, from which slaves were to be prohibited. The Spartans were allowed to practise music in choruses and verses, in which great ideas were expressed with simplicity, and elevated sentiments with animation.[q] In these poems they perpetuated the memory of those who had died for their country, and the shame of those who had betrayed or neglected it.[r] The slaves were not allowed to learn either the tunes or the words of their admired odes; or, if they had learned them, they were not permitted to sing them.[s]

Any one was to love an ingenuous youth without rivalry. Youths were much cherished and beloved as those that should establish and perpetuate the future glory of the state; but, in Sparta, this was a virtuous and modest affection, unlike that sensuality which was so disgraceful at Athens;[t] and a Spartan loved a young man only as he would love a beautiful statue, *ἐρᾷ μόνον ὡς ἀγάλματος.*[u] If any one transgressed in this particular, he was for ever disgraced, *ἄτιμος διὰ τοῦ βίου ἦν*;[v] and he was under the necessity either of retiring from Sparta, or of putting an end to his life.[w] These lovers lived with those to whom they were attached as a father lives with his children, or a brother with his brethren.[x] The same affection was also cherished between matrons and virgins.[y] This part of the institutions of Lycurgus was productive of such union among the citizens, that even in cases of competition, rivals bore no ill will to each other; but, on the contrary, their love to the same person begat among themselves a secondary friendship, and united them in all matters which might conduce to the benefit of the person beloved.[z] A lover was punished for the faults of the person whom he loved.[a]

The Spartan youths were to be permitted to steal with impunity; but if detected, they were to be punished: *ἐθίζουσι αὐτοὺς καὶ κλέπτειν, καὶ τὸν ἁλόντα κολάζουσι πληγαῖς.*[b] The Spartans, however, did not authorise thefts and robberies; for as they had all things in common in their republic, those vices could not there exist. The design of this law was to accustom youths that were destined for a military life (as all the Spartans were), to defeat the vigilance of the persons who watched over them, and to expose themselves courageously to the severest punishment, if they failed in that dexterity

[o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. viii. cap. 5. Athen. lib. xiv. c. 6.
[p] Plutarch. Agide; Idem Inst. Lacon.
[q] Idem Lycurgo.
[r] Idem ibid.
[s] Idem Inst. Lacon.
[t] Xenophon. de Rep. Læced.
[u] Maxim. Tyr. Orat. x.
[v] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[w] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 12.
[x] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[y] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[z] Idem ibid.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 10.
[b] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. Plutarch. Lycurgo.

which was exacted from them.[c] Besides stripes, they who were detected in theft were also punished with a fine of money.[d]

CHAP. XVIII.

Laws relating to Public Exercises.

No one was to be more corpulent than was suitable for the public exercises.[e] In the performance of these exercises all the Greeks, and more especially the Spartans, were extremely careful; and if a youth, from corpulence, became unable to perform the public exercises, he incurred at least public contempt, if not banishment from Sparta.

Boys were to be accustomed especially to hunting. They were sent every day to hunt, as soon as they arose in the morning;[f] for hunting formed a part of their education, because it tended to strengthen their limbs, and rendered those who practised it more swift and active. Hence the Spartan dogs used in hunting were bred with great care,[g] and were the common property of the state.[h]

Boys and girls were to exercise themselves in dancing. To remove the great tenderness and delicacy of women, the consequence of a recluse life, Lycurgus accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked as well as the young men, and dance and sing in their presence on certain festivals.[i] To dance was denominated by the Spartans *καρνατίζειν*, from Caryis, a city of Laconia.[k] The Spartans had two kinds of dances, one of which was called *ὅρμος*, and related to *σχήματα πολεμικὰ*, military movements, which were slow and cautious.[l] The *ὅρμος* consisted of young men and virgins, who followed alternately in the dance, and were divided from each other.[m] The other kind of dancing consisted of *σχήματα χορευτικὰ*, quicker movements, and was used in honor of Bacchus and Venus.[n] Besides these, other Lacedæmonian dances were the *διποδία*, *δειμαλέαι*, and *βίβασις*.[o] This last, in which rewards were proposed both to boys and virgins, and in which the dancers hit their haunches with their feet,[p] was probably practised only by the slaves.[q]

Boys and girls were to contend together in running, wrestling, throwing the quoit and the javelin.[r] The intention of this law was to render women, as well as men, strong and healthy.[s]

The ephebi were to contend with hostile hands and feet against each other. The ephebi, who were youths that had arrived at the age of eighteen years, were divided into two classes, as troops ad-

[c] Heracl. Pont. ibid. Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[d] Isocrates.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 7.
[f] Isocrates Panathenaic. de Lacedæmone.
[g] Virgil. Geor. lib. iii. v. 404. Horat. Epod. vi. v. 5.
[h] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[i] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[k] Lucian. Dialog. *περὶ ὀρχήσεως*.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Idem ibid.
[n] Idem ibid.
[o] Pollux.
[p] Idem.
[q] Cragius de Rep. Laced.
[r] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[s] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.

verse to one another, each of which was called μοῖρα, or τάξις,[t] or ἀγέλη,[u] and the leader of which was denominated βονάγωρ;[v] but one of these two bodies was frequently distinguished by the name of Hercules, and the other by that of Lycurgus.[w] The classes being thus divided, they came by night into their college, which was called ἐφηβεῖον, and which was situated out of the city, and near the town of Therapne, where they prepared themselves for this exercise. They jointly sacrificed, during the night, a little dog on the altar of Mars; as it was imagined that the most courageous of domestic animals would be the most acceptable victim to the most courageous of the gods. After the sacrifice, each party brought a tamed wild boar, which they excited and irritated against that of their antagonists; and if the boar remained conqueror, it was deemed a favorable omen. The next day about noon, the young warriors advanced in order and by different ways, which were determined by lot, towards the Πλαταν*ί*στας, or field of battle. At a signal given they attacked each other, and gained and gave ground by turns. Their ardor gradually increased; and they assaulted each other with their hands and feet, and even made use of their teeth and nails.[x] They continued a disadvantageous contest notwithstanding the most painful wounds, and risked the loss of life rather than submit to a defeat.[y] The action passed under the eyes of five magistrates,[z] and a multitude of spectators, who by turns lavished praises on the conquerors, or loaded the vanquished with sarcasms. It ended when one of the parties was obliged to swim over the Eurotas, or a canal, which, together with that river, enclosed the Πλαταν*ί*στας.[a]

There were to be no ludicrous contests; and in certain exercises no Spartan, who had been overcome, was to lift his hand as a sign of submission, since that would be to acknowledge a conqueror.[b] Hence the παγκράτιον and cestus were not allowed.[c]

The youths were to be constantly employed in some kind of exercise; but men who were upwards of thirty years of age were to be exempted from all labor.[d] These last, however, were not allowed to spend their time in walking; but they were to employ themselves altogether in affairs of state, or in war.[e] If the youths refused to labor, they were to be deprived of the honors of the city.[f]

At a certain time, boys were to be whipped in the temple and around the altar of Diana, surnamed Orthia.[g] This whipping was called διαμαστ*ί*γωσις, and was inflicted once every year.[h] The youthful Spartans, scarcely out of their infancy, were severely whipped till the blood began to stream. The boys were held in esteem if they endured the flagellation without weeping, groaning, or exhibiting any sense of pain;[i] and the parents of the innocent victims exhorted

[t] Pausanias Laconicis.
[u] Plutarch.
[v] Hesychius.
[w] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[x] Pausan. Laconic.
[y] Cic. Tuscul. lib. v. cap. 27.
[z] Pausan. Laconic.
[a] Idem ibid.
[b] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Idem Apophth. Lacon.
[c] Seneca de Benef. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[d] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 5.
[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[g] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[h] Idem ibid.

them with frantic cries, not to suffer the least complaint to escape them.[k]

CHAP. XIX.

Laws relating to Contracts and Money.

No one was to have in his possession either gold or silver. By the constitutions of Lycurgus, gold and silver were rendered of no value in Lacedæmon; and aware of the danger of riches, that legislator made the very possession of them penal.[l] This law was the more strictly observed, because it had been declared by the oracle that the desire of riches would at some time be the ruin of Sparta, as is intimated in the following verse:

Ἁ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν.[m]

He who had in his possession gold or silver was punished with death.[n]

No other coinage than that of iron was to be made or used at Sparta: *μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξεν.*[o] This money, after being taken out of the fire, was to be dipped in vinegar while it was red hot, to render it brittle and unmalleable, so that it might not be applied to any other use. Besides, it was heavy, and a very small sum was sufficient to load two horses.[p]

In cases of emergency, however, the Spartans were allowed the use of money made from the skins of beasts.[q]

Contracts were to be made by barter, or exchange of one commodity for another.[r] This was the most ancient method of dealing, and continued in Sparta long after it had fallen into disuse in other countries.

No one was allowed to receive any interest.[s]

No one was to give presents. Gifts also were not to be received from foreigners, even without the limits of Lacedæmon, and when their authority and character might seem to have excused them.[t]

CHAP. XX.

Laws relating to the Courts of Justice.

No one was to approach the forum, or concern himself in juridical proceedings, till he had attained the age of thirty years. Previously to that period, his friends and relations transacted his necessary concerns.[u]

[k] Scholiast. Thucyd.
[l] Cic. Tuscul. lib. ii. cap. 14.
[l] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[m] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[n] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon. Nicol. de Mor. Gent. ap. Stobæum.
[o] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[p] Id. ibid. Idem Lysandro.
[q] Seneca de Benef. lib. v. cap. 14.
[r] Justin.
[s] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv.
[t] Plutarch. Lysandro.
[u] Idem Lycurgo.

It was to be considered disgraceful for old men to be constantly employed in the forum. It was deemed more suitable for them to spend a great part of their time in the schools of exercise, or in the λέσχαι, places of conversation;[v] for it was thought indecent and disgraceful in a man to be fond of law-suits, or to busy himself in the courts of justice, when he had no business there to transact.

Every tenth day the ephori were to examine the ephebi, who for that purpose were to exhibit themselves naked.[w]

The lover was to be punished for the person beloved, if the latter had been guilty of any fault.[x]

The youths were to make no enquiries concerning the laws. As young persons were not permitted to enquire concerning the laws of other countries, and as they were prevented from hearing judicial proceedings in the Spartan courts, so they were forbidden to ask any questions respecting the laws by which they themselves were governed.[y] Obedience was their only duty.

Men of abandoned characters were not to speak in the public assemblies; but their sentiments were to be related by persons of good report.[z]

CHAP. XXI.

Laws relating to War.

Till a man attained the age which the law required, he was not to serve in the army,[a] but was to remain at home for the defence of his country.[b] It is generally thought that till the age of thirty years a man was not capable of serving in the army; but some are of opinion that the military age is not well ascertained.

The Spartans were not to march at any time before the full moon.[c]

They were not to fight often against the same enemy. The reason of this law was, lest the enemy, by the frequent use of arms, should acquire a knowledge of the art of war, and become formidable.[d]

They were not to have any sailors, nor were they ever to engage at sea: ἀπείρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς ναύταις εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχεῖν.[e] This law in process of time was disregarded.

They were not to undertake any τειχομαχίας, sieges of towns.[f]

In war a more free manner of living was to be allowed. The true reason for this probably was, that war might be less burdensome to them.[g]

The camp was to be often moved. The Spartans were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, in order to prevent any

[v] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[w] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. c. 7.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. iii. cap. 10.
[y] Plato de Legibus lib. i.
[z] Æschin. in Timarch.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 3.
[b] Thucyd. lib. v.
[c] Herodot. lib. vi. Lucian. de Astro.
[d] Plutarch. Lycurgo; Idem Agesilao.
[e] Idem Inst. Lacon.
[f] Herodot. lib. ix. Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[g] Plutarch. Lycurgo.

surprise, and also that they might be more troublesome to their enemies by wasting every part of the country.[h]

The soldiers were to sleep all night in their armor; but they who watched were not to be allowed their shields.[i] The reason of this law was, that the soldiers might be ready for battle, and that the sentinels being unprovided with defence might keep themselves awake.[k]

Before an engagement, the king was to sacrifice to the muses. Though the Lacedæmonians were designated by the epithet ἄμουσοι, yet their king sacrificed to the muses, through whose assistance they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to the latest period of time.[l]

In an engagement the army was to advance at the sound of flutes. These flutes both excited and moderated their courage[m] by playing the hymn of Castor, which, consisting of alternate anapæsts and spondees, occasioned a progressive motion of quick and slow steps.[n]

No one was to leave the army, or desert the ranks; but he was either to conquer or die.[o]

He who lost his shield in battle was to be reckoned ἄτιμος, infamous.

When their enemies fled, they were not to pursue them to a great distance.[p]

They were not to spoil the dead bodies of their enemies,[q] nor to hang up the spoils.[r]

He who overcame an enemy by stratagem was to sacrifice an ox to Mars; he who conquered by open force only a cock.[s]

He who had served forty years in the army was to be discharged from military duties.[t]

CHAP. XXII.

Judgments.

THE judgments of the Lacedæmonians were of two kinds, δημοτικαὶ and ἰδιωτικαὶ, public and private. As the Spartans, however, were prohibited the use of money, and the lands were equally divided among them, private actions were for some time very rare;[u] but afterwards they became more frequent, and different causes were tried before different judges, who were the kings, the senate, or the ephori.

The kings determined to whom a virgin, called ἐπίκληρος or πατροῦχος, who inherited the substance of her father,[v] and who had not

[h] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[i] Xenophon. ibid.
[k] Tzetzes Chil. ix. Hist. 276.
[l] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[m] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 70.
[n] Hephæstion.
[o] Herodot. lib. vii.
[p] Herodot. lib. v. Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 6.
[r] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[s] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[t] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. v. Plutarch. Agesilao.
[u] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[v] Pollux lib. iii.

been betrothed by her father, should be married.[w] If any one wished to adopt a son, the matter was to be brought before the kings.[x] To them it also belonged to decide by whom the public roads should be repaired.[y]

The senate were judges in capital offences.[z] They did not, however, decide immediately; the trial frequently continued during several successive days,[a] after which judgment was not given; but the intended verdict was delayed for some time, because an error on such an occasion could not be repaired.[b] If the accused obtained an acquittal, and new proofs were afterwards found against him, he was again arraigned for the same crime.[c]

The ephori were judges in causes of a private nature.[d] They sat every day to pronounce judgment on certain accusations, and to terminate the differences of individuals.[e]

At Sparta were no orators to plead the cause of the accuser or accused; but every one spoke and defended himself, though the more powerful men in the state were generally successful in favor of those whom they favored.[f]

When any one was accused of an offence, a day was appointed for hearing the parties; or if the accused person was absent in the service of the republic, a σκυτάλη, scytale, informing him of the commands of the magistrates, was sent to him;[g] or he was recalled by their ὑπηρέται, servants.[h]

The testimony of slaves, especially against the kings and men of rank in the state, was not admitted; and no Spartan could be condemned before a grave, formal, and long deliberation had taken place, and he had been convicted by the clearest proofs.[i]

In private matters, written documents, and especially bonds or deeds, which were called in the Doric dialect κλάρια, and which related to contracts for debt, were admitted in evidence.[k]

CHAP. XXIII.

Public Honors and Rewards.

The accustomed rewards of the Lacedæmonians consisted chiefly in honors, which were never denied to the deserving, and which were conferred on citizens either during their lives or after death, and also, though more sparingly, on strangers and foreigners.

When the Spartans wished to extol a man very highly, they called him θεῖος ἀνήρ, a divine person;[l] but this honor was very seldom conferred; for at Sparta were many excellent men, and it was diffi-

[w] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 57.
[x] Idem ibid.
[y] Idem ibid.
[z] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[a] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 132.
[b] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[c] Thucyd. ibid.
[d] Plutarch. ibid.
[e] Plutarch. Agide.
[f] Idem Agesilao.
[g] Idem ibid. Thucyd. lib. i.
[h] Plutarch. Agide.
[i] Thucydid. lib. i.
[k] Plutarch. Agide.
[l] Plato in Menone.

cult for one to excel another. Hence Agrileonis, the mother of Brasidas, observed to the Thracians, who said that there was not such a one left in Sparta, "You are wrong, my friends; my son was indeed a man of honor, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men."[m]

To be elected into the number of the three hundred was reckoned the first honor in the city.[n] It was the custom for the ephori to appoint three officers, each of whom selected one hundred men, the best he could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these three hundred men.[o] The persons thus chosen were called λογάδες.[p] Even a dismissal from this order was esteemed an honor; and the dismissed were denominated ἀγαθοεργοὶ, benefactors,[q]—a name also given to those who left the cavalry every fifth year.[r]

It was esteemed honorable to a man, when the people in their assemblies rose up at his presence, or gave way to him.[s] This honor was conferred on the aged.

The προέδρα, first seat in a public assembly, was esteemed a great honor.

Βειέλοπες were thongs with which the Lacedæmonians bound or adorned victors in the contests.[t]

Ἐλαίης στέφανος, a crown of olive, was given as a reward for brave actions.[u]

Statues and effigies were placed in public places to perpetuate the memory of those who had deserved well of their country.[v]

Sepulchres and splendid monuments to heroes, called ἡρῷα, were built;[w] and κενοτάφια, cenotaphs, or empty monuments, were erected in memory of those buried in other places.

Temples were dedicated to those who had distinguished themselves above the rest of mankind.[x]

New and unaccustomed honors were conferred on some, to whom festal days were consecrated,[y] in whose praise annual orations were spoken, and at whose sepulchres games were performed.

CHAP. XXIV.

Punishments.

THE punishments of the Lacedæmonians were of different kinds.

Ζημία was a pecuniary fine, which if the offender could not pay, he was driven into banishment.[z] It sometimes also included corporal punishment.[a]

Κλοιὸς was a collar of wood, which went round the neck, and also bound the hands.[b]

[m] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[n] Plutarch. ibid.
[o] Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[p] Herodotus.
[q] Suidas in verb.
[r] Herodot. lib. i.
[s] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[t] Hesych. Suidas in verb.
[u] Herodot. lib. viii. Plut. Themistocl.
[v] Thucyd. lib. i.
[w] Pausanias.
[x] Plut. Lycurgo; Pausanias.
[y] Plutarch. ibid.
[z] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[a] Pollux.
[b] Xenophon. ibid.

Ἐς τὸν καιάδαν ἐμβάλλειν, to imprison, was employed for retaining malefactors.[c] The word καιάδας, used by the Lacedæmonians to denote a prison, derived its name from the fissures in the ground which were occasioned by earthquakes, and which were denominated καίετοι.[d]

Δῆξις ἀντίχειρος, biting the thumb, was inflicted by the εἴρην on such boys as gave ridiculous or foolish answers to the questions proposed to them.[e]

Παίειν, to strike, was a punishment inflicted by the ephori on such of the ephebi as upon examination were found weak and sickly through idleness and luxury.[f]

Μαστίγωσις, whipping, was used in punishing criminals led through the city.[g]

Κέντησις, a goad, was employed for the same purpose.[h] It was also used in torturing malefactors who refused to confess their crimes.[i]

Ἀτιμία, infamy or disgrace, was a punishment inflicted by compelling a person to abdicate the regal dignity, or the magistracy, or by not permitting him to buy or sell.[k] A species of this punishment was, when any one was compelled to go naked through the forum in the midst of winter, and sing verses in derision of himself, and expressive of the justice of his sentence.[l] Another punishment of this kind was, when a man was deprived of all honors, and obliged to give up his wife to another person, to suffer himself to be beaten by any one he should meet, and to appear only in ragged and dirty clothes, and with only half of his beard cut off: this was inflicted on those who had fled in battle, and who were called τρέσαντες, tremblers.[m] Another mark of infamy was imposed εἰς τοὺς κακοὺς, on the idle or dissolute, who were held in such contempt at Sparta that no one would lodge or exercise with them, who were obliged to give way to their juniors, and rise up at their presence, and who were not allowed to imitate the ἀνεγκλήτους, men of spotless reputation.[n] Lastly, it was a mark of disgrace when any one was ordered by the magistrates to stand unemployed in public with his shield in his hand.[o] It may be observed that the Spartans dreaded nothing so much as infamy or the loss of reputation.[p]

Φυγὴ, banishment, was at Sparta rather the avoiding of penalties than a punishment; for it was generally voluntary, and undertaken by those who were unable to pay a fine which had been imposed on them, or by those who wished to escape ignominy or death; but kings and others who had offended were sometimes legally banished, and compelled to live in a foreign country. There were different kinds of banishment, according as the crime seemed to require: some were commanded to leave Laconia only, and might take up their abode among the allies of the republic; whilst others were

[c] Thucyd. lib. i.
[d] Strabo lib. viii.
[e] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv, c. 7.
[g] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[h] Xenophon. ibid.
[i] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[k] Thucyd. lib. v.
[l] Plutarch. Lycurgo.
[m] Idem Agesil. Xenophon. de Rep. Laced.
[n] Xenophon. ibid.
[o] Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. iii.
[p] Isocrates.

compelled to quit Greece and live with the enemies of Sparta. Manslaughter or involuntary murder was punished with banishment.[q]

Θάναtος, death, though considered by other nations as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted, was esteemed the least formidable by the Spartans.[r]

Βρόχος was a rope with which malefactors were strangled, and was the only instrument of death used by the Spartans.[s]

The punishment of death was not inflicted in public during the day, but in the night, and in a certain part of the prison called δεκάς.[t] After the criminals were dead, their bodies were brought out and buried near the prison apart by themselves.[u]

CHAP. XXV.

Revenues of Sparta.

AT first the Spartans paid no revenue to the government, either in money or by any other means;[v] but in process of time, the frequent wars in which they engaged rendered taxes necessary, and the citizens of Sparta, as well as their allies, contributed to supply the exigencies of the state.

The citizens paid for their estates, which whilst equal, their contributions were also equal in value, and therefore not accurately examined;[w] but the εἰσφοραὶ, tributes, imposed on other kinds of property, varied according to its value; and at length some imposts became more grievous than others, and the richer oppressed the poorer citizens.[x]

The inhabitants of the provinces of Laconia, whom the Spartans called σύμμαχοι, allies, on account of the αὐτονομία, privilege of living under the same laws, and the liberty which they enjoyed, furnished their φόροι, contingents, to the state.[y] A great part of the revenues of Messenia, which the Lacedæmonians had subdued, was annually sent to the Spartan government.

In order to increase their revenue the Spartans doubled the ransom of prisoners, and required for every man taken in arms the sum of two hundred drachms of Ægina;* for by this standard they regulated all the operations of their finances.[z]

The Spartans appointed particular commissaries, who sold to the highest bidders the spoils taken in the course of their campaigns.

During the Peloponnesian war they received in subsidies from the Persians more than five thousand talents, or eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.[a]

[q] Xenophon. Anab. Cyri.
[r] Cic. Tusc. lib. i. Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[s] Plutarch. Agide.
[t] Idem ibid. Herodot. lib. iv.
[u] Plutarch. ibid.
[v] Thucydides.
[w] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[x] Plutarch. Agide.
[y] Thucyd. lib. i. Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. v.
[z] Herodot. lib. vi.
[a] Isocrat. Orat. Συμμαχ.

* The drachm of Ægina was equivalent to about sixpence halfpenny.

As there were originally no εἰσφοραὶ, imposts, so they did not place their money ἐν κοινῷ, in a public treasury.[b] They first deposited it with their neighbours the Arcadians, who dealt treacherously with them.[c] It was then committed to the care of the gods, and carried to the temple of Apollo at Delphi,[d] and to other places of worship.[e] It was not till after Athens had been obliged to submit to the Lacedæmonians, who brought from thence an immense quantity of gold and silver, that money was deposited in a public treasury and a decree passed that it should be admitted into public use. Afterwards the city of Sparta contained more gold and silver than all the rest of Greece;[f] and the treasury was placed under the care and inspection of the ephori.[g]

[b] Thucyd. lib. i. ejusque Schol. Aristot. Polit. lib. ii.
[c] Athenæus lib. vi.
[d] Idem ibid.
[e] Plutarch. Lysandro.
[f] Plato Alcibiade.
[g] Thucydides; Xenophon.

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.

CHAP. I.

The Gods of Greece.

SOME are of opinion that the Greeks received their religion from the Egyptians;[a] but others say that Orpheus, who was a Thracian, and from whom devotion was called θρησκεία, as if θρακία, because invented by a Thracian,[b] was the first that instructed them in all the rites and ceremonies of divine worship.[c] It is, however, improbable, if not impossible, that the whole system of the Grecian religion should have been derived either from Thrace or Egypt, or any other single country; and it seems more likely that Greece, in which almost every city had different gods and different modes of worship, and which was inhabited by colonies of different nations, borrowed from each of these colonies some part of its religious ceremonies.[d] Thus the Thebans, who were the descendants of the Phœnicians, retained in a great measure the mode of worship exercised by that people; and the Argives are thought to have been instructed in the religion of Egypt by Danaus and his followers. Cecrops, the founder of Athens, who was the first that worshipped Jupiter under the name of Ὕπατος, *the Supreme*,[e] was an Egyptian; and hence some are of opinion that he was designated by the epithet διφυὴς, as having *two natures*, because being an Egyptian he spoke the two languages of Egypt and Athens. Phoroneus, who is said by some[f] to have introduced into Greece the use of temples, altars, and sacrifices, was also an Egyptian. Indeed, so many of the Egyptian ceremonies and customs were adopted at Athens, that the Athenians are told by one of the comedians,

[a] Herodot. lib. ii.
[b] Nonnus Ξυναγ. ἱστορ. in Stel. 1.
[c] Aristoph. Ranis v. 1064. Eurip. Rheso v. 943.
[d] Herodot. lib. v.
[e] Euseb. Chronic. Pausan. Arcad.
[f] Clem. Alex. Protrept. Arnobius lib. vi.

Αἴγυπτον τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πεποιήκασι ἀντ' Ἀθηνῶν,
They had made their city Egypt, instead of Athens.

The most ancient Greeks, as well as many other nations, worshipped the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth,[g] which, as they saw them in perpetual motion, they called *θεοὶ* from *τοῦ θέειν, to run*,[h] though the word is capable of other acceptations. Afterwards, the gods of Greece became extremely numerous, and from the different parts of the world were distinguished into the celestial, the terrestrial, and the infernal deities. The celestial deities were called *ἐπουράνιοι, ὀλύμπιοι, ἀθάνατοι, οὐρανίδαι, οὐρανίωνες*;[i] the terrestrial, *ἐπιχθόνιοι, ἥρωες, ἐπίγειοι*; and the infernal, *χθόνιοι, ὑποχθόνιοι, καταχθόνιοι, ὑποταρτάριοι, στύγιοι*. The celestial were held in the greatest honor, and the infernal in the least.

The twelve principal deities, whom the Greeks called *μεγάλοι θεοὶ*, and more frequently *οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ*,[k] were denominated as follows: Ζεὺς Jupiter, Ποσειδῶν Neptune, Ἀπόλλων Apollo, Παλλὰς Minerva, Δημήτηρ Ceres, Ἥφαιστος Vulcan, Ἥρα Juno, Ἄρης Mars, Ἑρμῆς Mercury, Ἄρτεμις Diana, Ἀφροδίτη Venus, Ἑστία Vesta.[l] Their names are also comprehended in the following verses of an unknown poet:

Δώδεκά εἰσι θεοὶ μεγάλοι, Ζεύς, Ἥρα, Ποσειδῶν,
Δημήτηρ, Ἑρμῆς, Ἑστία, Κυλλοποδίης,
Φοῖβος, Ἐνυάλιός τ' Ἄρης, Παλλάς τ', Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἄρτεμίς εἰσι θεοὶ δώδεκα οἱ μεγάλοι.

These twelve deities were held in the greatest reverence, especially by the Athenians, who placed portraits of them in a gallery in the Ceramicus,[m] and who erected to them an altar called *βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν*.[n]

In order to designate the various offices assigned to the gods, they were distinguished by various epithets. These epithets were numerous, and were drawn from the power and dignity which the gods were supposed to possess; from the office which they were believed to fill; from the place in which they were worshipped; from some remarkable action which they were said to have performed; from their origin; from the form of certain parts of their bodies; from some remarkable attribute; from their manners and pursuits; or from the nations by which they were worshipped.[o]

1. Among the various offices assigned to the gods, the dominion of heaven was attributed to Jupiter,[p] who was therefore believed to govern the seasons,[q] and to whom were given the epithets *ὄμβριος, ὑέτιος, ὗων, ἱκμαῖος*, from his sending rain on the earth.[r] For the same reason he was designated *νεφεληγερέτης, ὀρσινεφὴς, αἴθριος*; and from the thunder which he darted, *ἀστεροπητὴς*,[s] *ἀστραπαῖος*,[t] *καταβά-*

[g] Socrat. ap. Plato. in Cratylo; Plutarch. de Placit. Philosoph.
[h] Plato ibid. Plutarch. ibid.
[i] Schol. Aristoph. in Nubes v. 246. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.
[k] Aristoph. Av. v. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. Apollod. lib. iii. cap. 13. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 12.
[l] Schol. Apollon. Rhod. lib. ii. Ennius ap. Apulei. de Deo Socrat.
[m] Pausan. Atticis cap. 3.
[n] Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 54.
[o] Aristot. de Mundo cap. 7. Lucian. in Timone.
[p] Hom. Il. o'. v. 192. Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 59.
[q] Athenæ. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[r] Lycophr. v. 160. Apol. Rhod. lib. ii. v. 524.
[s] Hesiod. Theog. v. 390.
[t] Aristot. de Mundo cap. 7.

της, καταιβάτης,[u] βρονταῖος, κεραύνιος,[v] ἀργικέραυνος,[w] τερπικέραννος,[x] ἐρίγδουπος.[y] Besides, from the government assigned to Jupiter over every part of human life,[z] he was designated by the following names: ξένιος, ἐφέστιος or ἑπίστιος,[a] ἑταιρεῖος,[b] φίλιος, ὅρκιος, ἱκέσιος, ἱκετήσιος; ὁμόγνιος, from a communion of the divine and human natures;[c] βασιλεὺς, σκηπτοῦχος, ἐλευθέριος, from the victory obtained over the Persians at Marathon, and at Platæa. From the places where he was worshipped he was also called Ἰδαῖος, Σινωπίτης, Ἠλεῖος, Αἰτναῖος, Νεμεαῖος, Θεσπρωτὸς, Δωδωναῖος, Κάσιος from the mountain Casius, &c.

2. Apollo, from the benefits which he was believed to bestow on mankind,[d] and from the arts which he was said to have invented,[e] was surnamed ἀποτρόπαιος or ἀποσοβητὴς τῶν κακῶν;[f] ἀλεξίκακος; ἀγυιεὺς and ἀγυιάτης, president of the ways;[g] λοξίας, πύθιος, παιὰν and παιὼν, εὐλύρας, who plays well on the lyre;[h] ἑκατηβόλος, ἑκηβόλος, ἑκάεργος, ἑκατηβελέτης, darting far, or exercising his power over things widely separated;[i] τοξοφόρος or τοξίας carrying a bow.[k]

3. Neptune had the surnames of ἀλυκὸς, that is θαλάσσιος, ἐνάλιος,[l] πελαγαῖος,[m] ἁλιμέδων,[n] πόντιος,[o] ἵππιος, ἵππειος, ἱππηγέτης;[p] and these latter names are said to have been given him from the swiftness with which he was fabled to pass through the sea drawn by horses. He was also called γαιήοχος and θεμελιοῦχος from his surrounding or supporting the earth; and εὐρύστερνος, εὐρυμέδων, and εὐρυβόας, from the great extent of the sea.

4. Mars was surnamed βαθυπόλεμος, very warlike;[q] χάλκεος and χαλκοχίτων, covered with a brazen coat of mail. He was also called μιαιφόνος and βροτολοιγὸς, from the destruction of men by war; and ἀλαλάξιος, from the shout of soldiers when they commenced an engagement.

5. Mercury was surnamed ἐναγώνιος, the president of contests;[r] στροφαῖος, the keeper of the gates,[s] from στροφεὺς, a hinge; ἐμπολαῖος, the negotiator; ἐμποριῶν ἐπιστάτης, the superintendant of merchandize;[t] ἀγοραῖος, from being the inspector of buyers and sellers; κερδῶος, the god of gain; ἐριούνιος, very useful;[u] δόλιος, crafty;[v] ἡγεμόνιος, ὁδηγὸς, ἐνόδιος, the leader and indicator of the ways;[w] ἀργειφόντης, the slayer of Argus; κυλλήνιος, from mount Cyllene in Arcadia; νόμιος, the keeper of cattle; διάκτωρ, the messenger who carried the commands of the gods; and τρικέφαλος, from his statues being placed where three ways met.

[u] Aristophan. Eἰρ. v. 42.
[v] Pausanias.
[w] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 21.
[x] Idem ib. α'. v. 419.
[y] Hesiod. Theog. v. 41.
[z] Aristot. de Mundo cap. 7.
[a] Herodot. lib. i.
[b] Hom. Odys. κ'. v. 790.
[c] Dio Chrysost. Orat. i.
[d] Diod. Sicul. lib. i. cap. 5.
[e] Hom. Il. α'. v. 603.
[f] Aristophan. Pluto v. 359.
[g] Idem Vesp. v. 870.
[h] Idem Thesmoph. v. 978.
[i] Hom. Il. α'. v. 370. 474.
[k] Idem ibid. v. 45.
[l] Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 404.
[m] Pausan. Achaic.
[n] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 330.
[o] Idem ibid.
[p] Lycophr. v. 767.
[q] Pind. Pyth. Od. ii. v. 2.
[r] Aristoph. Pluto v. 1162.
[s] Id. ibid. v. 1154.
[t] Id. ibid. v. 1156.
[u] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 360.
[v] Aristoph. Pluto v. 1158.
[w] Id. ibid. v. 1160.

6. Vulcan was surnamed κλυτοτέχνης,[x] κλυτοεργὸς,[y] the famous workman; and πανδαμάτωρ, the subduer of all things.

7. Juno was surnamed τελεία, the president of marriages, to whom τέλειοι γάμοι were a principal care.[z] She was also called γαμήλιος.

8. Minerva was surnamed ἐργάνη, εὐρεσίτεχνος, the inventress of arts;[a] πολύβουλος, very wise;[b] πολύμητις, abounding in counsel;[c] δαΐφρων, wise or warlike; τριτογένεια;[d] χρυσόλογχος, having a golden lance;[e] γλαυκῶπις, the blue-eyed goddess;[f] πολῖτις, or in the Ionic dialect πολιῆτις, or in the Doric πολιᾶτις, the citizen;[g] πολιὰς and πολιοῦχος, the guardian and patroness of the city of Athens;[h] κληδοῦχος, having the keys or government of the city;[i] ἐρυσίπτολις, the patroness of cities;[k] ἀρυτώνη, invincible in labor; λαοσσόος, preserving the people, or exciting them to battle; λῃστὶς, from obtaining plunder; ἀλαλκομενὶς, from bringing assistance; προναΐα, from the temple which she had at Delphi; πρόνοια, from her foresight; and χαλκίοικος, from the temple of brass erected to her by the Lacedæmonians.

9. Diana was surnamed εἰλείθυια and λοχεία, from her assisting at the birth of children;[l] ἀγροτέρα, an inhabitant of the wood;[m] κυνηγὸς, κυνηγέτις, and θηρήτειρα, the huntress;[n] θηροκτόνος, ἐλαφηβόλος, and ὀρεσίφοιτος, from her love of hunting; ἑκάτη τρίμορφος, the three-formed Hecate, either on account of the triple form of the moon, or because she was thus worshipped where three ways met; hence she was called τριοδῖτις, because she was considered the inspector of public ways; ἰοχέαιρα, delighting in arrows;[o] τοξοφόρος, carrying a bow.[p]

10. Ceres was surnamed κουροτρόφος, the nurse of boys;[q] and θνητῶν θρέπτειρα προπάντων, the supporter of all men.[r]

11. Venus was surnamed οὐρανία, the celestial; ἑταίρα, the mistress; ἡ ἐν κήποις, the hortensian;[s] πάνδημος, the public or terrestrial;[t] and γενέτυλλις, the goddess who presided over generation.[u]

12. Vesta was called πατρῴα, the paternal.[v]

Besides these were δαίμονες, dæmons, who were of a middle kind between gods and men,[w] and in the number of whom were Pluto, Pan, and the Satyrs. These dæmons were distinguished into good and bad; the former of whom were remarkable for their wisdom and prudence, and the latter for their ignorance and want of understanding.[x] There were also ἥρωες, heroes, who were called ἡμίθεοι, who participated in both the divine and human nature, and whose virtues obtained for them after death a place among the gods.[y] Of this de-

[x] Hom. Il. α'. v. 571.
[y] Id. ibid. θ'. v. 345.
[z] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 982.
[a] Orph. Hymn. xxxi. v. 17.
[b] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 260.
[c] Hom. Hymn. in Pallad. v. 2.
[d] Hesiod. Theog. v. 924.
[e] Euripid. Ione v. 9.
[f] Hom. Il. α'. v. 206.
[g] Pausan. Arcad. cap. 47.
[h] Aristoph. Nub. v. 602.
[i] Idem Thesmoph. v. 1153.
[k] Hom. Hymn. i. in Pallad. v. 1.
[l] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 12.
[m] Aristoph. Equ. v. 657.
[n] Idem Lys. v. 1274.
[o] Hom. Hymn. in Apol. v. 15.
[p] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 979.
[q] Hesychius.
[r] Orph. Hymn. xxxix. v. 7.
[s] Pausan. Attic.
[t] Id. Bœot.
[u] Aristoph. Nubes v. 52.
[v] Sophocl. Electr. v. 887.
[w] Plutarch. de Oracul. Defect.
[x] Plato in Epinom. et Sympos.
[y] Lucian. Dialog. Mort.

scription were Bacchus, Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Achilles, Menelaus, Helena, and others,[z] who were called θεοὶ παρέγγραπτοι, reputed gods.[a] They were believed to be the superintendants of human affairs,[b] and the messengers of men to the gods.[c]

The Greeks, however, in general, and the Athenians in particular, were so extremely superstitious, that, not content with the worship of their ancient deities, θεοὶ πατρῷοι, the gods of their country, they frequently consecrated new ones, and admitted into the number the gods of other nations, θεοὶ ξενικοὶ, foreign gods, insomuch that they are said to have had τρὶς μύριοι, thirty thousand objects of divine worship.[d] Though the ancient Athenians considered their religion as consisting chiefly in the rites and ceremonies delivered to them by their ancestors,[e] yet by custom they were obliged to worship a great number of foreign gods; and hence they observed the θεοξένια, feast of all foreign gods, which was also celebrated at Delphi.[f] Nay, so fearful were they of omitting any, that they worshipped unknown gods,[g] and erected to them altars, which were called βωμοὶ ἀνώνυμοι, anonymous altars.[h] No foreign worship, however, could be introduced without a decree of the Areopagus;[i] and hence St. Paul, when he preached Jesus and the resurrection to the Athenians, was summoned before that council to give an account of his new doctrine.[k]

CHAP. II.

Temples, Altars, Images, Groves, Asyla, and Sacred Fields.

IN the first ages of the world men had neither temples nor statues for their gods, but worshipped in the open air; and the Persians, believing that the gods were not of human shape, had no temples, even at a time when they had become common in other nations;[l] and hence some are of opinion that Xerxes burned and destroyed the temples of Greece, it being thought absurd to confine within walls those whose temple and habitation were the whole world.[m]

The Greeks, as well as most other nations, worshipped their gods upon the summits of high mountains,[n] where they afterwards erected temples. It is observable that very high mountains were commonly held sacred to Saturn or Jupiter, and sometimes to other gods, particularly to Apollo.[o] Whatever might be the original cause of this custom, certain it is that it was continued in the heathen world because the tops of mountains approached nearest to the heavens, the seat of

[z] Pausan. Eliac. poster. cap. 9.
[a] Lucian. in Jove Tragœdo.
[b] Hesiod. Ἔργ. v. 122.
[c] Plato in Sympos.
[d] Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. lib. i. v. 250.
[e] Isocrat. Orat. Areopag.
[f] Athen. lib. ix. cap. 3.
[g] Pausan. Eliac.
[h] Id. Attic. Diog. Laert. lib. i.
[i] Joseph. in Appion. lib. ii. Harpocration in Ἐπίθετ.
[k] Act. xvii. 19.
[l] Herodot. Euterpe.
[m] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.
[n] Hom. Il. χ'. v. 170.
[o] Homer. Hymn. in Apollinem v. 144.

the gods, who were supposed from thence more easily to distinguish the prayers of their suppliants.[p]

It is thought that the Greeks received from the Egyptians the custom of building temples,[q] which are commonly believed to owe their origin to the superstitious reverence paid by the ancients to the memory of their deceased friends, relations, and benefactors,[r] and which were first erected only as magnificent monuments in honor of the dead. In confirmation of this opinion, it may be sufficient to observe that those words, which in their proper acceptation signify no more than a tomb or sepulchre, are applied by ancient writers to the temples of the gods:

——————*Τύμβος δ' αὐτὸν ἐκσώσει μόρου*
Ὁπλοσμίας, σφαγαῖσιν ἠυτρεπισμένον.[s]
Returning from the toils of war,
Great Juno's temple him shall save.

——Tumulum antiquæ Cereris, sedemque sacratam
Venimus.[t]
The temple and the hallow'd seat
Of ancient Ceres we approach'd.

Nor is it to be wondered that monuments should in time be converted into temples, since it was usual at every common sepulchre to offer prayers, sacrifices, and libations.

Temples were built with the greatest splendor and magnificence;[u] and no cost was spared on any part of divine worship. This was done partly in respect to the gods, who were supposed to be pleased with costly ornaments; and partly to create a reverence for the deities in those who came to pay their adorations. The Lacedæmonians, however, differed in this respect from all the other Greeks, and served the gods with as little expense as possible. Hence it happened that the Athenians once complained to the oracle of Ammon that the gods had declared in favor of the Lacedæmonians, who offered to them only a small number of victims, and those meagre and mutilated. The oracle replied, that not all the sacrifices of the Greeks were equal in worth to the humble and modest prayer in which the Lacedæmonians were contented with asking the only real blessings of the gods.[v]

Sometimes the same temple was dedicated to several gods, who were thence called *σύνναοι* and *συνοικέται*;[w] and they who had the same common altar were denominated *ὁμοβώμιοι*, *σύμβωμοι*,[x] *σύνθρονοι*, and *σύνθωκοι*. Thus were joined in one temple Hercules and the Muses; in another, Venus and Cupid; in another, Castor and Pollux, &c.

Temples were erected in such a manner as was supposed most agreeable to the gods to whom they were dedicated; for as trees, birds, and other animals, were considered sacred to particular deities, so to almost every god was appropriated a certain peculiar form of

[p] Tacit. Annal.
[q] Herodot. lib. ii.
[r] Eusebius, Lactantius, Clemens Alexandrin. protrept.
[s] Lycophron. Cassandra v. 613.
[t] Virgil. Æneid. lib. ii. v. 74.
[u] Aristophan. Av. v. 612. Ovid. Fast. lib. i. v. 77 et 233.
[v] Plato Alcibiade ii.
[w] Strabo lib. vii. Plut. Sympos. lib. iv.
[x] Strabo lib. xi.

building, which, it was thought, was more acceptable than any other. Thus, the Doric pillars were sacred to Jupiter, Mars, and Hercules; the Ionic, to Bacchus, Apollo, and Diana; and the Corinthian, to Vesta the Virgin. As the ancients believed that the world was governed by divine providence, they ascribed the management of every particular affair to some particular god. Thus, Mars was thought to preside over war, and Venus over love; and as Minerva was the goddess of warriors, scholars, and artificers, in some of the temples dedicated to her were three rows of pillars, one of the Doric, another of the Corinthian, and the third of the Ionic order.

It being the common opinion that some of the gods delighted in woods, some in mountains, some in vallies, some in fields, and others in rivers or fountains, the Greeks built temples in such places as were most agreeable to the deities who were to inhabit them. Wherever they stood, if the situation permitted, the windows opened to the rising sun.[y] The front was towards the west, and the statues and altars being placed at the other end, they who worshipped had their faces towards the east; for it was an ancient custom among the heathens to worship with their faces towards the east.[z] In latter ages, temples were so built that the entrance and statues were towards the east, and those who worshipped towards the west.[a] If the temples were built near the side of a river, they were to look towards its banks; if near a public road, they were to be so placed as to be easily observed by travellers, who might pay their devotions to the gods as they passed.

Temples were divided into two parts, the sacred and profane; of which the latter was called *τὸ ἔξω περιῤῥαντηρίων*, and the former *τὸ ἔσω*. The *περιῤῥαντήριον* was a vessel of stone or brass filled with holy water,[b] with which they who were admitted to the sacrifices were sprinkled, and beyond which it was not lawful for any *βέβηλος*, profane person, to pass. Some say that it was placed in the entrance of the *ἄδυτον*, which was the inmost recess of the temple, and into which none but the priest was allowed to enter; and hence *βέβηλος τόπος* is so called in opposition to the *ἄδυτον*.[c] Others, however, with more probability, tell us that the *περιῤῥαντήριον* was placed at the door of the temple.[d]

The word *σηκὸς* is said by some to denote a temple dedicated to a hero or demigod;[e] but by others it is expounded *ὁ ἐνδότερος τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, the inner part of the temple;[f] and hence it would seem to have been the same as the *ἄδυτον*. In its proper acceptation the word is used for a sheep-fold; and some are of opinion that, because the images of the gods stood in the middle of the temple, and were inclosed with rails on every side, this place, from its similitude to a sheep-fold, was called *σηκὸς*, which in time was used to signify the whole temple, a part being put for the whole.

[y] Lucian. de Domo; Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. vii.
[z] Clem. Alexan. ibid. Hyginus de Agr. Limit. cons. lib. i.
[a] Porphyr. de Antr. Nymph.
[b] Suidas; Phavorinus.
[c] Phavorinus.
[d] Casaub. in Theophrast. Charact.
[e] Ammonius de Verb. Diff. et Similit. Pollux Onom. lib. i.
[f] Hesychius; Suidas.

Belonging also to the temple was *ἀρχεῖον*, which was a repository or treasury for the service of the church, and for those who were desirous of preserving money or other articles of value; and hence the epithets *μεγαλόπλουτον*, *πολύχρυσον*, *ἀρχαιόπλουτον*, are applied to it.[g]

Ναὸς and *ἱερὸν* signified the whole temple. In it were contained *βωμὸς*, the altar, on which oblations were offered; *πρόπυλα* or *προπύλαια*, the portico or outer porch; *πρόναον*, the porch, in which commonly stood an altar or image; and *τέμενος*, the place on which the image of the chief god was erected.[h] That part of the temple which was before the *σηκὸς* was called *πρόδομος*, and that behind it *ὀπισθόδομος*.[i]

As among the most ancient Egyptians, *ἀξόανοι νηοὶ ἦσαν*, the temples were without statues, so the Greeks worshipped their gods without any visible representation till the time of Cecrops, the founder of Athens,[k] who is said to have lived about the age of Moses.[l] At first the idol was commonly a rude stock, and was, therefore, called *σανίς*.[m] Such was that of Juno Samia, which was afterwards converted into a statue. In Achaia were thirty square stones, on which were engraven the names of so many gods without any representation.[n] At Delos was a very ancient statue of Venus, which had a square stone instead of feet.[o] No idols were more common than those of oblong stones erected, and thence termed *κίονες*, pillars.[p] These stones, and others of different figures, were generally of a black color,[q] which seems to have been thought in those times most solemn and appropriate to whatever was designed for religious purposes. They were called *βαιτύλια* and *βαίτυλοι*,[r] a name derived from the Phœnician language, in which *bethel* signifies the house of God. The Grecian images were without form till the time of Dædalus, who made two feet to the stones, which before were of one mass, and who was hence said to have formed moving and walking statues.[s] At first, therefore, they were called only *ξόανα*, *διὰ τὸ ἀποξεῖσθαι*, because they were shaven;[t] and this word properly denotes an idol which is *ἐξεσμένον*, shaven out of wood or stone.[u] Afterwards, when the art of engraving and carving had been invented, the rude lumps were changed into figures resembling living creatures, and generally resembling men; and then an image was denominated *βρέτας*, *διὰ τὸ βροτῷ ἐοικέναι*, because it was like a man.[v] Nevertheless, in more refined ages, the unformed images were reverenced for their antiquity, and preferred to the most curious pieces of modern art.[w]

The matter of which statues were made among the ancient Greeks was generally wood; and, in particular, ebony, cypress, cedar, oak,

[g] Pollux ibid.
[h] Schol. in Sophocl. Œdip. Tyran. v. 15.
[i] Pollux ibid.
[k] Lucian. Libro de Dea Syria.
[l] Eusebius.
[m] Clem. Alexandrin. Protrept.
[n] Pausan. Achaicis.
[o] Idem ibid.
[p] Clem. Alex. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. cap. 10.
[q] Strabo lib. xvii.
[r] Euseb. ibid. Hesych. v. *βαίτυλος*.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. cap. 78. Themist. Orat. xv.
[t] Clem. Alex. Protrept.
[u] Hesych. v. *ξόανον*.
[v] Clem. Alex. ibid. Aristoph. Schol. ad Equ. v. 31.
[w] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. ii. seg. 18.

yew, and box trees, were used for that purpose.[x] The smaller images were usually made of the root of the olive-tree.[y] The trees which were dedicated to particular gods were thought to be most acceptable to those deities; and hence the statue of Jupiter was commonly made of oak; that of Venus, of myrtle; that of Hercules, of poplar; and that of Minerva, of the olive-tree, &c. Sometimes the statues were made of common, and also of precious stones;[z] and sometimes of black stones, to denote the invisibility of the gods. Afterwards, marble and ivory, and sometimes chalk and clay, were employed for this purpose; and lastly, gold, silver, brass, and other metals, were appropriated to this use.[a] It is uncertain what were the forms and postures of the statues, which were commonly made in imitation of the poetical descriptions of the gods, especially of those in Homer, whose authority was held most sacred.

The images were placed in the middle of the temple, where they stood upon pedestals raised above the height of the altar, and enclosed with rails; and hence, as has been already observed, this place was called *σηκός*. That this was the situation of the images is sufficiently evident:

> Tum foribus divæ, media testudine templi.[b]
> Then at the chancel door, where Juno stands.

In this passage, the *fores divæ* are to be understood as the entrance of the *σηκός*.

Βωμὸς was used by the Greeks to denote any altar raised either high or low, though some think that it signifies an altar erected to one of the superior deities only.[c] Altars were of various dimensions, according to the diversity of the gods to whom they were consecrated. The *θεοὶ οὐράνιοι*, celestial gods, had their altars raised considerably above the ground; and we are told that the altar of Jupiter Olympus was twenty-two feet high.[d] The altars of the *θεοὶ χθόνιοι*, terrestrial gods, though denoted, as some say, by the same word, were not so high. Others are of opinion that these last were called *ἐσχάραι*, a name given also to altars on which sacrifices were offered to heroes, and which were placed near to the ground, and only one step high.[e] The subterranean or infernal gods, denominated *ὑποχθόνιοι*, instead of altars, had small ditches or trenches, which were digged up for the purpose of sacrificing, and which were called *λάκκοι* and *βόθροι*.[f] The depth of these trenches would seem to have been about a cubit.[g] The nymphs and such deities, instead of altars, had *ἄντρα*, caves, where religious worship was paid them, because of the waters which flowed into the caverns, and over which the nymphs called naiades presided.[h]

Altars were always lower than the statues of the gods. They were

[x] Pausan. Arcad. Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 7.
[y] Theophrast. Libr. de Plant.
[z] Pausan. Corinthiac.
[a] Lucian. in Jove Tragœdo; Pausan. passim.
[b] Virgil. Æn. lib. i. v. 505.
[c] Ammonius v. *βωμός*.
[d] Pausan. Eliac. α'.
[e] Euripid. Schol. in Phœniss. v. 291. Pollux lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 8.
[f] Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. vi. cap. 2. Id. ibid. lib. iv. cap. 16.
[g] Hom. Odys. lib. xi. v. 25.
[h] Porphyrius.

commonly made of earth, or of ashes heaped together, or of any other durable materials. The altar of Jupiter Olympus at Elis was made of the ashes of burnt sacrifices ;[i] as was also that at Thebes dedicated to Apollo, who was thence surnamed Σπόδιος.[k] Sometimes altars were made of horn, as was the famous one at Delos ;[l] sometimes of brick ;[m] but most commonly of stone. Some also, for greater beauty and splendor, were overlaid with gold.[n] Before temples were erected, altars were built in groves, in other places, and often in highways for the use of travellers.[o] The terrestrial gods had their altars in low places ; but the celestial were worshipped upon the summits of mountains. Before the erection of altars, the Greeks anciently sacrificed on the bare ground, and sometimes on a green turf of earth,[p] called by Horace *cespes vivus*, a living turf; and the sacrifices offered without altars were denominated ἀποβώμιοι θυσίαι.[q]

The form of altars was not always the same. There was an oblong (ἐπιμήκης) altar dedicated to the Parcæ ;[r] a square altar upon the top of mount Cithæron ;[s] and from ancient medals and other authorities it appears that altars were sometimes circular, and sometimes had many sides. The most ancient altars were adorned with horns,[t] which served for various uses: to them the victims were generally fastened; and suppliants, who fled to the altar for refuge, caught hold of the horns. It is not, however, certain that they were originally intended for these purposes; and some derive them from a practice in the first age, in which horns were considered as ensigns or marks of power and dignity. Hence the pictures of the most ancient gods and heroes, and also those of rivers, were commonly adorned with horns.

It was customary to engrave on altars the names or peculiar characters of the deities to whom they were consecrated. This appears from the altar at Athens, on which St. Paul observed the inscription, ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, to the unknown god. Nor is it to be doubted that this practice was adopted on most altars. If the altar was dedicated to more gods than one, their several names or characters were inscribed, unless this could be effected under one designation, as μεγάλοι θεοὶ, the great gods.[u] Sometimes also the occasion of the dedication, with other circumstances, was expressed.

Some altars were ἔμπυροι, intended for sacrifices made by fire; others, ἄπυροι, without fire, and ἀναίμακτοι, without blood, upon which only cakes, fruits of the earth, and inanimate things, could be lawfully placed.[v] At Delos, near the altar of horn, was one sacred to Apollo Genitor, upon which Pythagoras, who thought it unlawful to put animals to death, used to sacrifice.[w] There was another dedicated to Jupiter Ὕπατος, the Supreme, by order of Cecrops, king of Athens ;[x] and the Paphian Venus had an altar which was ἀναίμακτος, free from blood, and upon which it was unlawful to offer animals, but which

[i] Pausan. Eliac. α'.
[k] Idem ibid.
[l] Callimach. Hymn. in Apollin. v. 60.
[m] Pausan. lib. vi.
[n] Athenæ. lib. v.
[o] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. ii.
[p] Lil. Gyrald. de Diis Syntag. xvii.
[q] Hesych. Phavorinus.
[r] Pausan. Eliac.
[s] Idem Bœotic.
[t] Nonnus Dionys. lib. xliv. v. 96.
[u] Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. lib. ii. v. 533.
[v] Orpheus de Lapid.
[w] Diog. Laert. Pythagora.
[x] Pausan. Arcadic.

was not ἄπυρος, void of fire, for the goddess was worshipped only with prayers and pure fire.[y]

Altars and images were consecrated in the same manner. A woman, dressed in a garment of different colors, brought upon her head a pot of sodden pulse, as pease, beans, and the like, which the Greeks gratefully offered to the gods in remembrance of their ancient food.[z] This custom was particularly observed at the consecration of the ἑρμαῖ, statues of Mercury, and was then practised only by the lower sort of people.[a] Sometimes, however, consecrations were more expensive, and were performed with more sumptuous offerings and ceremonies; but these, like other parts of divine worship, varied according to the condition of the worshippers, and the nature or disposition of the deities. At the consecration of a statue to Jupiter Ctesias, they took a new vessel with two ears, on each of which they bound a chaplet of white wool, and on the fore part of it one of yellow, and covered the vessel. They then poured out before it a libation called ambrosia, which was a mixture of water, honey, and all kinds of fruits.[b] The truth is, that the ancient Greeks, in conformity with their usual frugality, consecrated the statues of the gods at a very small expense. Afterwards, when they increased in wealth, and had adopted a more sumptuous mode of living, pompous and costly ceremonies were gradually introduced into their religious worship. In the primitive ages of Greece, even the images and altars of Jupiter were consecrated in the same manner as the statues of Mercury, which were erected in the public streets, and dedicated at a very small expense.[c] But the most common method of consecration was performed by putting a crown upon the altars and images, anointing them with oil, and then offering to them prayers and oblations. Sometimes the Greeks added an execration against those who should profane them, and inscribed on them the name of the deity, and the cause of their dedication. It was customary, also, to dedicate trees or plants in the same manner as they consecrated altars and statues:

> Πρῶταί τοι στέφανον λωτῷ χαμαὶ αὐξομένοιο
> Πλέξασαι, σκιερὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνιστον·
> Πρῶται δ' ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὄλπιδος ὑγρὸν ἄλειφαρ
> Λασδόμεναι, σταξεῦμες ὑπὸ σκιερὰν πλατάνιστον·
> Γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράψεται (ὡς παριών τις
> Ἀνγνοίη) Δωριστὶ, Σέβευ μ', Ἑλένας φυτὸν εἰμί.[d]
>
> We first a crown of creeping lotus twine,
> And on a shadowy plane suspend, as thine;
> We first beneath the shadowy plane distil
> From silver vase the balsam's liquid rill;
> Graved on the bark the passenger shall see,
> "Adore me traveller! I'm Helen's tree." ELTON.

The act of consecration consisted chiefly in the unction, which was a ceremony derived from the most ancient times; and at the consecration it was customary to offer a great number of sacrifices, and make sumptuous entertainments.

[y] Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 3.
[z] Schol. in Aristophan. Pluto, act. v. scen. 3.
[a] Idem ibid.
[b] Athenæus lib. ix.
[c] Schol. in Aristoph. Pluto, act. v. scen. 3.
[d] Theocrit. Idyll. xviii. v. 43.

Altars were frequently erected under the shade of trees;[e] and groves of trees for that purpose were preferred to any other place. Indeed it was so common to erect altars and temples in groves, that all sacred places, even those which wanted trees, were called groves;[f] and hence we find *βωμούς τε καὶ ἄλσεα*, altars and groves,[g] and *βωμοὺς καὶ τεμενίαν φυλλάδα*, altars and a leafy grove,[h] joined together. Several causes are assigned why groves were so much used for that purpose. First, the pleasantness of such places occasioned a love for religious worship, especially in warm countries, where nothing is more delightful and refreshing than cool shades; and hence sacred groves consisted of tall and beautiful trees, rather than of those which yielded fruit. Thus one of the temples of Diana stood within a grove *δενδρέων μεγίστων*, of the largest trees;[i] and the way to the temple of Mercury was planted on both sides with *δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα*, trees reaching to heaven.[k] Secondly, the solitude of groves was thought to inspire a religious awe and reverence in the minds of the people:[l]

> Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
> Quo possis viso dicere Numen adest.[m]
>
> A darksome grove of oak appeared near,
> Whose gloom impressive told "A god dwells here."

Thirdly, some are of opinion that the erection of temples and altars in groves was originally derived from men living in such places before houses were built. Thus the ancient Germans are said to have had no other defence for their infants from the inclemency of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts, than what was afforded by the junction of boughs of trees.[n] Indeed, it is not unworthy of observation, that most of the ceremonies used in religion were at first taken from the customs of human life; but whilst the manners and customs of men changed, the same rites were still retained in religious worship. Thus, from the houses of men were derived temples; the altars served instead of tables; and the sacrifices were the entertainments of the gods. The animals, which were commonly eaten by men, were offered as victims to the gods; and in those ages in which animal food was not used, the sacrifices consisted of the fruits of the earth. In latter ages, when cities became peopled, groves gradually fell into disuse; but they were still held in great veneration, and it was deemed a heinous offence to deface or cut down any of the consecrated trees.[o]

Temples, statues, and altars, were reckoned so sacred, that to many of them was granted the privilege of protecting offenders; and it was reckoned an act of sacrilege to force from them malefactors and criminals who had fled to them for refuge. Hence the persons who slew the followers of Cylon, that had plundered the temple of Minerva, were ever after called *ἀλιτήριοι*, profane and impious, be-

[e] Virg. Æneid. lib. ii. v. 512.
[f] Strabo Geogr. lib. ix.
[g] Callimach. Hymn. in Dianam v. 38. Id. Hymn. in Pallad. v. 63.
[h] Sophocl. Trachin. v. 763.
[i] Herodot. Euterpe cap. 138.
[k] Idem.
[l] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 1. Senec. lib. v. epist. iv. cap. 4.
[m] Ovid. Fastor. lib. iii.
[n] Tacit. de Mor. German.
[o] Callimach. Hymn. in Cererem.

cause they executed them holding by the altars.[p] The death of Laodamia, who had fled for protection to the altar of Diana, was followed by a famine and intestine and foreign wars, till the whole Ætolian nation was nearly destroyed; and Milo, by whom Laodamia had been killed, was seized with madness, and laid violent hands on himself twelve days after the perpetration of the crime.[q] Hence from this and other examples of a like nature, the privileges of the asyla were generally preserved inviolable; and hence the Grecian temples were filled with the worst of slaves, with insolvent debtors, and criminals who had fled from justice, and whom no authority was sufficient to expel.[r] In some instances, however, the doors of the temples were shut, and the roofs uncovered, in order to starve the criminals who had fled for refuge.[s] Sometimes also the malefactors were expelled by fire:

Πῦρ σοι προσοίσω, κοὐ τὸ σὸν προσκέψομαι.[t]

I will bring fire; I reck not of the place. POTTER.

It being a direct act of sacrilege to take away suppliants from the sanctuary whither they had fled for protection, this last method was employed to oblige them to leave it of their own accord.[u] Yet this evasion of the sacred privileges was not considered free from impiety:

Σὺ δ' οὖν κάταιθε· θεοὶ γὰρ εἴσονται τάδε.[v]

Then burn me; but these things the gods will see. POTTER.

From the frequent mention of suppliants who secured themselves in the temples, and at the altars and images of the gods, it might be thought that all of them were asyla, according to the words of the poet:

—— ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν, θὴρ μὲν πέτραν,
Δοῦλοι δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν.[w]

The wild beast is protected by the rocks,
And vile slaves by the altars of the gods.

Certain, however, it is, that though the right of asylum was granted to many temples, to the sacred groves in which they stood, to the houses and chapels within their precincts,[x] and even to detached altars,[y] such alone were sanctuaries as received that privilege from the manner of their consecration.[z] Some were asyla for all men, and others were appropriated to particular persons and crimes. Thus the temple of Diana at Ephesus was a refuge for debtors; and that of Theseus was a sanctuary for slaves and for those of low condition, who fled from the severities and inhuman treatment of their masters and of men in power.[a] Nor was this honor granted only to the

[p] Plutarch. Solone; Pausan. Atticis, et Achaicis.
[q] Justin. Histor. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.
[r] Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 60. Eurip. Ion. v. 1312. act. iv.
[s] Pausan. Laconicis.
[t] Euripid. Andromach. v. 256.
[u] Euripid. Hercul. Furent. v. 240. Plaut. Mostel. act. v. scen. 1. Idem Rudent. act. iii. sc. 4.
[v] Euripid. Andromach. v. 257.
[w] Euripid. Supplic. v. 267.
[x] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 128 et 134. Strabo lib. viii. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 14.
[y] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 126.
[z] Servius in Æneid. lib. ii.
[a] Plutarch. Theseo.

gods, but also to princes and other great personages, on whose statues and monuments were frequently bestowed the privilege of asylum.[b]

Some say that the first asylum was built at Athens by the Heraclidæ, and that it was a refuge for those who fled from the oppression of their fathers; whilst others are of opinion that it was a sanctuary for suppliants of every description.[c] Again, others affirm that the first asylum was erected by Cadmus at the building of Thebes, where the privilege of sanctuary was granted to all criminals.[d] Certain it is, that sanctuaries were common in the heroic ages;[e] and that long before the time of Codrus, the last king of Athens, the Athenians were instructed by the oracle at Dodona to spare the Lacedæmonians who should betake themselves as suppliants to the Areopagus, or to the altar of the Furies.[f] Polyxena, who was to be sacrificed to appease the ghost of Achilles, was advised to flee to an asylum:

Ἀλλ' ἴθι πρὸς ναοὺς, ἴθι πρὸς βωμούς.[g]

Go to the temples, to the altars go.

The sacredness of the asyla continued till the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, who, in consideration of the inconveniencies which arose from the toleration of villains, dissolved most of them, and preserved only to Juno Samia and to one of the temples of Æsculapius their ancient privileges. Some indeed say that he abolished the asyla in all parts of his dominions;[h] but others with greater exactness assert that he only regulated and reformed them.[i]

The fields dedicated to religious uses were called τεμένη, which are interpreted by τετμημένα, secret places, or places set apart from common purposes. Hence τέμενος is said to be ἱερὸν χωρίον ἀφωρισμένον θεῷ κατὰ τιμὴν, ἢ ἥρωϊ, a sacred portion of land set apart in honor of some god or hero.[k] Sometimes the produce of these fields was carefully collected, and reserved for the maintenance of the priests, or for other religious purposes.[l] Τέμενος also signifies any place consecrated to holy uses, as a temple, an altar, and whatever was set apart θεῷ ἢ βασιλεῖ, to a god or a king.[m] Land dedicated to the gods was also called ὀργάδος;[n] but this word, which signifies all land capable of producing fruits, was used by the Athenians to denote a particular tract of land situated between Attica and Megaris, and consecrated to the two goddesses, Ceres and Proserpine;[o] and this tract was not allowed to be tilled.[p]

[b] Strabo lib. iii.
[c] Statius Theb. lib. xii. Servius in Æneid. lib. viii.
[d] Alex. ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 20. Pausan. lib. vii. Epigram. Græc. Anthol. lib. iv.
[e] Pausanias Corinthiacis.
[f] Idem Achaicis cap. 25.
[g] Euripid. Hecubæ v. 146.
[h] Sueton. Tiberi. cap. 37.
[i] Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 60, 61, 62, 63.
[k] Schol. in Hom. Il. β'. v. 696.
[l] Plato de Leg. lib. vi.
[m] Hesychius.
[n] Pollux Onomast. lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 10.
[o] Helladius Chrestomath.
[p] Thucyd. lib. i. Plutarch. Pericle.

CHAP. III.

Grecian Priests, and their Offices.

Ἱερεῖς, priests, were accounted mediators between gods and men: they offered the sacrifices and prayers of the people to their deities; and, on the other hand, they were ἑρμηνευταὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις, deputed by the gods to be their interpreters to men, to instruct them in what manner to pray for themselves, and teach them the several rites and ceremonies of divine worship.[q] On this account priests were next in precedence to kings and chief magistrates, and in many places wore the same habit. Besides the name of ἱερεῖς, priests were also called ἱερουργοὶ, θεουργοὶ, θῦται; by the poets θυηπόλοι, θυτῆρες, ἱερομνήμονες, which was specially applied to the priests of Neptune;[r] ἀρητῆρες, and in general ὑπηρέται θεοῦ.[s]

In most of the cities of Greece, and particularly at Athens, the care of divine worship was committed to the chief magistrates, who were frequently consecrated to the priesthood:[t]

> Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.[u]
> Anius king, and priest of Apollo.

In some parts of Greece the dignity of priests was equal to that of kings.[v] At Sparta the kings, immediately after their accession, took upon them the two priesthoods of the heavenly and Lacedæmonian Jupiter; and all the public sacrifices for the safety of the commonwealth were offered by them only, it being the general opinion that the gods were more ready to hear the prayers of them than of other men.[w] Nor was this a privilege peculiar to royal priests, but common to all others, who even in the most ancient times were accounted the immediate ministers of the gods, and the dispensers of their favors to mankind. Hence, when any public calamity was to be averted, or any great and uncommon blessing to be obtained, recourse was always had to those who had been consecrated to the office of priesthood.[x] On ordinary occasions, however, and in the absence of priests, it was customary for others to offer prayers and sacrifices.[y]

Some of the priests obtained their office by inheritance;[z] some were appointed by lots; some by the designation of princes; and others by popular elections.[a] They who obtained the office by lot were denominated κληρωτοὶ; they who procured it by election, αἱρετοὶ, or ἐψηφισμένοι; and they who enjoyed it by inheritance, οἱ ἐκ γένους. The ancient and powerful families, which at Athens transmitted the priesthood from father to son, were the following:—Εὐμολπίδαι, that derived their name from Eumolpus, who is said to have been the father

[q] Plato Politico et Convivio.
[r] Plutarch. Sympos. lib. viii.
[s] Pollux Onomast. lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 14.
[t] Plato Politico.
[u] Virg. Æneid. lib. iii. v. 80.
[v] Plutarch. Quæst. Roman. sub finem.
[w] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[x] Hom. Iliad. α'. v. 99.
[y] Hom. Odyss.
[z] Plato de Leg. lib. vi. Plutarch. in x. Rhetor. Hesych. Harpocrat. et Suid. in Κυνίδ.
[a] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 300. Eustath. in loc. Demosth. Exord. Conc.

of the poet Musæus,[b] and whom the Athenians set over the Eleusinian mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine,[c] a priesthood which ever after continued in his family; Κήρυκες, that derived their origin from Ceryx, the youngest son of Eumolpus, though the Ceryces themselves contend that he was the son of Mercury and Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops;[d] Εὐπατρίδαι, Patricians, who were to search and make known divine and sacred things;[e] Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, as being the genuine offspring of Butas, the famous priest of the Athenians, from which family were chosen the priestess of Minerva Polias at Athens,[f] and also those who carried a white umbrella in the feast called Σκίρα in honor of Minerva;[g] and Θαυλωνίδαι, the descendants of Thaulon, who were the βούτυποι, killers of the ox, at the feast Διιπόλεια.[h] There was also at Argos a sacred family called Ἀκεστορίδαι; and the virgins of that family attended at an annual lustration of Minerva, in which, as companions and servants, they performed sacred rites to that goddess.[i]

Whoever was admitted to the priesthood was to be sound and perfect in all his members, it being thought a dishonor to the gods to be served by one who was lame or maimed; and therefore, before his consecration, he was examined whether he was ὁλόκληρος and ἀφελής, perfect and entire in all his limbs.[k] It was also requisite that he should be γνήσιος, born in lawful marriage;[l] that his past conduct should have been irreproachable;[m] and that he was of a proper age for undertaking the sacred office.[n] With respect to learning, it was considered sufficient if he was versed in the ritual of the temple to which he was appointed; if he was able to perform the ceremonies with decency, and discriminate between the different species of prayers and worship to be addressed to the gods.[o]

The priests were required to be chaste and uncontaminated with the pleasures of the world, and entirely devoted to piety and retirement.[p] Hence in Crete they not only denied themselves the use of animal food, but abstained from eating any thing that was boiled. Some of the priests carried their religious austerity so far as to dismember themselves;[q] and some, by drinking the juice of hemlock, enfeebled their powers of generation. In short, it was customary for those who attended on the more sacred and mysterious rites, to make use of herbs for preserving their chastity, and retire from the world that they might devote themselves to piety and the exercise of religion. They commonly strewed under their bed-clothes the leaves of λύγος or ἄγνος, which was so called from its being an enemy to generation, and which was considered as a preservative of chastity.[r]

[b] Diog. Laert. in Procem.
[c] Pausan. Attic. c. 38. Plut. de Exil.
[d] Pausan. ibid. Hesych. et Suid. v. Κήρυκες.
[e] Plutarch. Theseo.
[f] Æschin. de Falsa Legat.
[g] Harpocrat. v. Σκίρον; Schol. Aristophan. ad Concionatr. v. 18. Strabo l. ix.
[h] Hesych. et Suid. v. Θαύλων.
[i] Callim. Hym. in Lavacr. Pallad. v. 33.
[k] Hesych. et Etymol. Mag in Ἀφελής; Athenæ. lib. vii.
[l] Plato de Leg. lib. vi.
[m] Plato ibid. Æschin. in Timarch. Demosth. adv. Androt.
[n] Plato ibid.
[o] Idem Politico.
[p] Æschin. in Timarch. Demosth. adv. Androt. Plato de Leg. lib. vi.
[q] Strabo lib. xiv. Lactant. Div. Inst. lib. i. cap. 21.
[r] Eustath. in Il. ζ'.

Some temples were served by priestesses, who were called ἱέρειαι and ἀρήτειραι; and if high-priestesses, ἀρχιέρειαι and ἱεροφαντίδες. They were chosen from the most noble families, and ministered in the holy rites of the goddesses Juno, Rhea, Ceres and Proserpine, Minerva, Diana, and Venus; and also in those of Apollo, Hercules, and Bacchus.[s] The priestesses of Ceres were called by way of eminence Μέλισσαι; those of Proserpine were denominated Θυσιάδες; those of Rhea, Κερνοφόροι; those of Minerva, among the Cilicians, Ὑπεκκαύστριαι; those of Bacchus, Βάκχαι, Θυάδες, Μαινάδες, and Μιμαλλόνες; and the name of the priestess of Apollo was Πυθιὰς, Προφῆτις, and Φοιβάς. For the most part the priestesses were virgins, to whom perpetual chastity was enjoined;[t] but afterwards they were elected to their office only till the time of their marrying.[u] It would seem, however, that in the most ancient times priestesses might be married women; for mention is made of Theano, the priestess of Minerva, and wife of Antenor the Trojan.[v] That priests were sometimes married is sufficiently evident, for we read of Chryseis, the daughter of Chryses, priest of Apollo,[w] and of Dares, priest of Vulcan, who is said to have had two sons.[x] In some holy rites, however, the priesthood was conferred on women who were widows, or who had been married only once, and who afterwards were to abstain from all intercourse with their husbands;[y] for second marriages were considered disreputable.[z] At Delphi and at Athens, the sacred fire, which was preserved unextinguished, was committed to the care not of virgins, but of widows who were beyond the age of child-bearing.[a]

At Athens all the priests and priestesses, with the sacred families, and others entrusted with the care of religion, were obliged to give an account to certain officers in what manner they had discharged their several functions.[b]

In small cities all the sacred offices were commonly executed by one person, who offered the sacrifices, had the care of the temple, collected the revenues, and managed other matters which pertained to the worship of the gods; but in places where the worshippers were numerous, and the religious services too burdensome for one priest, several were appointed, with officers κεχωρισμένοι τῆς ἱερουσύνης, distinct from the priesthood; as ἱεροποιοὶ, sacrificers; ναοφύλακες, keepers of the temple; ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, treasurers of the sacred revenue,[c] &c.

Of the different orders of priests no exact account can be given; for not only to every god a different order of priests was consecrated, but even priests of the same gods were different, according to the diversity of place and other circumstances. In every place, however, was an ἀρχιερωσύνης, high priest, whose office consisted in superintending the rest, and in executing the more sacred rites and ceremo-

[s] Pausan. Bœot. Id. Lacon. Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. v. 9.
[t] Pausan. Bœot.
[u] Id. Achaic. Arcadic. et Corinth.
[v] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 298. Eustath. in loc.
[w] Hom. Il. α'. v. 13 et 372.
[x] Id. Il. ε'. v. 9.
[y] Pausan. Arcad. cap. 5.
[z] Virg. Æneid. lib. iv. v. 19.
[a] Plutarch. Numa.
[b] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[c] Aristot. Polit. lib. vi. cap. 8.

nies of religion. High priests were also called by the Greeks ἀρχιερεῖς, ἄρχοντες, βασιλεῖς, πρυτάνεις,[d] ἱεροδιδάσκαλοι, ἱεροφύλακες, ἱεροφάνται,[e] στεφανηφόροι, and κριθολόγοι, collectors of barley, which was used in the most ancient sacrifices.[f] The Opuntians had two chief priests; one of whom belonged to the celestial gods, the other to the δαίμονες, demigods.[g] At Athens almost every god had a chief priest who presided over the rest; as the dadouchus over the priests of Hercules, and the stephanophorus over those of Pallas. The Delphians had five high priests, who assisted in performing the holy rites, and had the chief management of the several parts of divine worship: they were called ὅσιοι, holy; the principal of them presided at sacrifices, and was denominated ὁσιωτὴρ, the purifier; and he who had the care of the oracle was called ἀφήτωρ, a surname of Apollo, signifying one that gives oracles.

Another holy order was that of the παράσιτοι,[h] who were anciently reckoned among the chief magistrates, and who received their name from being allowed part of the sacrifices, or from the nature of their office. They gathered of the husbandmen the corn allotted for public sacrifices, which the Greeks called προσόδια μεγάλα, the great income, an expression sometimes used to denote the great sacrifices,[i] which were so denominated because the charges were defrayed from these public revenues.[k] The store-house, in which these first-fruits were preserved, was called παρασίτιον.[l] Hence it appears that the word παράσιτος was anciently used to denote a person maintained at the public charge, though it afterwards signified a flatterer, who for the sake of a dinner would conform to every man's humour.[m]

The κήρυκες, public criers, assisted at the sacrifices. Their office consisted in killing the offerings, in preparing things necessary for the sacrifices, and in serving as cupbearers at the feast.[n] They were called Διὸς ἄγγελοι,[o] because they assisted at the sacrifices of the gods, and τὰς ἑορτὰς τῶν θεῶν ἤγγελον, gave notice when the festivals were to be celebrated. In short, they were public servants employed on almost all occasions, but never in base or servile offices. Their name, however, was derived from the verb γηρύειν, to proclaim,[p] which was the most appropriate part of their office, and which they performed as well in time of divine service as in civil affairs: for at the beginning of the holy rites they commanded silence and attention in these or similar words: Εὐφημεῖτε, σιγῇ πᾶς ἔστω λέως; and when the religious ceremonies were terminated, they dismissed the people with the words Λαῶν ἄφεσις. The ceryces were the first that taught men to boil their meat, which was before eaten raw.[q] The tongues of the sacrifices were their reward.

Νεωκόροι, or Ζακόροι, received their name from κορεῖν, which signi-

[d] Idem ibid.
[e] Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Roman. l. ii.
[f] Plutarch. Quæst. Græc.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] Athenæ. Deipnosoph. lib. vi. Pollux lib. vi. cap. 7. Hesychius.
[i] Aristoph. Av. v. 853.
[k] Schol. Aristophan. ibid.
[l] Athenæ. ibid. Pollux ibid.
[m] Eupolis apud Athenæum.
[n] Athenæ. lib. x. et xiv. Hom. Odys. ν'. v. 276. et Eustath. in loc.
[o] Homer.
[p] Eustath. Steph. Thesaur. Græc.
[q] Athenæus lib. xiv.

fies to adorn and keep clean. It was their office to adorn the temples, and see that the furniture of them was clean.[r]

Ναοφύλακες were keepers of the temples, who took care of the holy utensils, which they repaired when necessary.[s]

Πρόπολοι θεῶν were priests always attendant on the gods, whose prayers the people desired at sacrifices. The rites which they performed were different from those that belonged to the κήρυκες; and their share in the sacrifices was the skin and feet. Indeed, the priests, and all who served the gods, were maintained out of the sacrifices and other offerings;[t] and in the primitive ages they were commonly rich.[u]

The clothing of the priests was not of one kind; but when they officiated in the sacred rites, their garments, which were made of fine flax or linen, commonly descended to the ancles, and were of a white color.[v] They wore also crowns upon their heads; and their feet were bare.[w]

CHAP. IV.

Sacrifices, Presents, and Tithes.

SACRIFICES were 1. εὐκταῖα or χαριστήρια, vows or free-will offerings. These were such things as were promised to the gods before, and paid after, a victory; the first fruits which were offered by husbandmen after harvest, and which were grateful acknowledgments to the gods, by whose blessing they had received a plentiful reward for their labor in cultivating the ground. They were also sometimes called θυσίαι δωροφορικαὶ, as being free gifts;[x] and ἀποπληστικαὶ, because some vows made to the gods were thereby fulfilled.

2. Ἱλαστικὰ, or διαλλακτικὰ, propitiatory offerings, which were intended to avert the anger of some offended god, and which comprehended all the sacrifices used in expiations.

3. Αἰτητικὰ, petitionary sacrifices for success in any enterprise. The heathens would not undertake a matter of any consequence without first asking the advice and imploring the assistance of the gods by sacrifices and presents.

4. Τὰ ἀπὸ μαντείας, such as were imposed and commanded by an oracle or prophet, and were to be performed either by whole cities or particular persons.

5. Τιμητικὰ, sacrifices in honor or veneration of the gods, whose natures seemed to require some testimony of reverence from men.

6. Σωτήρια, sacrifices on account of safety, which a person who had been in great danger believed that he had obtained from the gods.[y]

[r] Euripid. Ion. v. 121.
[s] Aristot. Politic. lib. vi. cap. 8.
[t] Aristoph. Pluto act. v. sc. 2. Schol. Aristoph. ibid. et in Vesp.
[u] Hom. Il. α'. v. 13. et ε'. v. 9.
[v] Plato de Leg. lib. xii. Cicero de Leg. lib. ii. Virgil. Æn. lib. xii. v. 169.
[w] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 36. Athenæ. lib. i. Aristoph. Equ. v. 222.
[x] Suidas in v. θυσίαι.
[y] Lucian. in Jove Tragœdo.

The following are the principal words used to denote a sacrifice: δῶρον, ἱερὸν, ἱερεῖον, θυσία, ἱερουργία. The act of sacrificing was commonly expressed in the forms θύειν, θυσίας προσφέρειν or ἀναφέρειν, ἱερεύειν, ἱεροποιεῖν, ὀργιάζειν, ῥέζειν, ἔρδειν, δρᾶν. The last three words signify generally to perform any act, but they are applied specifically to those who sacrificed, and who thus discharged the highest and most laudable action.

In the most ancient sacrifices were neither living creatures, nor any thing costly or magnificent; no myrrh, frankincense, or other perfumes: herbs and plants were plucked up by the roots, and burnt with their leaves and fruit before the gods; and this was considered a very acceptable oblation.[z] By a law of Triptolemus the Athenians were required θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, to worship the gods with the fruits of the earth.[a] Barley, and afterwards wheat, were offered in sacrifice to the gods.[b] Bloody sacrifices were with difficulty introduced. Man felt a natural horror at plunging the steel into the breast of an animal destined to the plough and to become the companion of his labors:[c] it was prohibited under pain of death[d] by an express law; and universal practice induced him to abstain from the flesh of animals.[e] Till the time of Draco, the Attic oblations consisted only of the products of the earth. In other places this frugality and simplicity had already been laid aside; and at Athens a similar change was effected not long after the time of Draco; for no sooner did men relinquish their ancient food of herbs and roots, and make use of the flesh of animals, than they changed their sacrifices and offered to the gods living creatures.

The solemn sacrifices consisted of the following particulars: σπονδὴ, θυμίαμα, and ἱερεῖον;[f] but though the more solemn sacrifices consisted of these three parts, it was lawful to use either of them separately. The Greeks offered drink offerings of wine not only at sacrifices, but also at the commencement of a journey, at the entertainment of strangers, at the time of retiring to rest, and on any other occasion.[g] In short, in all the common affairs of life they seem to have desired the favor and protection of the gods by oblations of incense and of drink offerings; whereas the more solemn sacrifices were used only on particular and important occasions, on account of the expense and trouble which attended them. The truth is, the oblations of the gods were furnished in the same manner as the entertainments of men. Hence, as men delight in different kinds of food, the gods were thought to be pleased with several sorts of sacrifices; some with human victims, some with beasts of various kinds, and others with herbs only, and the fruits of the earth. All, however, required salt and drink; and hence there was scarcely a sacrifice without salt and an oblation of drink; but the latter was frequently offered without victims, though victims were seldom, if ever, sacrificed without oblations of drink.

[z] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. ii.
[a] Idem ibid. lib. iv.
[b] Idem ibid. Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. Pausan. Eliac. cap. xv.
[c] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[d] Varro de Re Rustic. lib. ii. cap. 5.
[e] Plato de Leg. lib. vi.
[f] Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. v. 334.
[g] Eustath. in Il. α'.

Σπένδειν and λείβειν among the Greeks have the same meaning, and signify only to pour forth;[k] but from their constant use at the drink offerings of the gods, they were at length appropriated to them. The same may be observed of their derivatives σπονδὴ and λοιβὴ, which do not differ from each other. Χοὴ also denotes a libation offered to some god.[l] The matter in the σπονδαὶ was generally wine. There were two sorts of wine: that which was called ἔνσπονδον, from its being lawful to use it; and the other ἄσπονδον, from its being unlawful to employ it in libations. Of the former kind was ἄκρατον, pure and unmixed wine; and of the latter, wine mixed with water.[k] Though mixed wine was sometimes used at sacrifices, yet it was a mixture not of water and wine, but of different sorts of wine.[l] It was unlawful to offer upon the altars the juice of the grape called aspendia;[m] or to make an oblation of wine pressed from grapes cut, pared round, or polluted by falling to the ground; or of that which came out of a wine-press trodden with bloody or wounded feet, or from a vine blasted or unpruned.[n] But though libations consisted generally of wine, they were sometimes composed of other ingredients, and called νηφάλιοι θυσίαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ νήφειν, from being sober. These were offered to the Eumenides, to show that divine justice ought to be always vigilant;[o] to Bacchus, that men might not at all times be accustomed to strong and unmixed wines;[p] and to the nymphs, to Venus Urania, Mnemosyne, the morning, the moon, and the sun.[q] The Eleans never offered wine to the δέσποιναι, namely, Ceres and Proserpine, nor at the altar dedicated to all the gods.[r] To Pluto, instead of wine, oil was offered;[s] and Ulysses, in an oblation to the infernal gods, poured out wine mixed with honey, then pure wine, and afterwards water.[t] There were also other gods to whom in certain places the Greeks sacrificed without wine; as Jupiter Ὕπατος, the Supreme, on whose altar the Athenians never offered wine or living creatures.

The νηφάλια ἱερὰ, sober sacrifices, are divided into four sorts: 1. τὰ ὑδρόσπονδα, libations of water; 2. τὰ μελίσπονδα, libations of honey; 3. τὰ γαλακτόσπονδα, libations of milk; 4. τὰ ἐλαιόσπονδα, libations of oil; which were sometimes mixed with each other. In the primitive times, most of the libations were νηφάλιοι; and in these water was first used, then honey, afterwards oil, and in latter ages wine.[u]

It may be also observed that libations were always offered in cups full to the brim, as it was deemed an irreverence to the gods to present any thing which was not τέλειον καὶ ὅλον, whole and perfect. Thus to fill the cup was termed ἐπιστέφειν κρατῆρα, to crown it; and the cup so filled, ἐπιστεφὴς οἴνοιο, crowned with wine, ἤτοι ὑπερχειλὴς

[k] Hesychius; Phavorinus.
[l] Hom. Odys. lib. xi. v. 26.
[k] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 19.
[l] Eustathius.
[m] Plin. ibid. cap. 18.
[n] Idem ibid. cap. 19.
[o] Suidas in v. νηφάλιοι θυσίαι.
[p] Plutarch. de Sanitate.
[q] Suidas ibid.
[r] Pausan. Eliac. pr. cap. xv.
[s] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 254.
[t] Hom. Odys. lib. xi. v. 26.
[u] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. ii.

ποιεῖται ὥστε διὰ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἐστεφανοῦσθαι, the liquor appearing above the cup in the form of a crown :[v]

Κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.[w]
Up to the brim they filled their cups.

The second thing to be considered in the sacrifices is the *θύος*, which did not originally signify the victim, but *τὰ ψαιστὰ, broken* fruits, leaves, or acorns, of which the ancient sacrifices consisted; and hence *τὰ θύη* are expounded by *θυμιάματα*, incense.[x] In like manner the verb *θύειν* is never employed by Homer to denote the offering of the victim (for in this sense he has made use of *ῥέζειν* and *δρᾶν*), but only of these *ψαιστά*.[y] Afterwards, however, a change took place in the signification of those words, which became appropriated almost exclusively to animals; and *θυσία* denoted a sacrifice of some living animal.[z] In the primitive ages there were no sacrifices of which trees did not form a considerable part. These were chiefly odoriferous trees. The first oblations, however, were only *χλόαι*, green herbs.[a] In latter ages the offerings commonly consisted of frankincense or some perfumes; but it was a long time before frankincense was used; and in the Trojan war it was unknown, and instead of it the Greeks offered cedar and citron.[b] It is observable that some kinds of trees were offered with libations of wine; others with only *νηφάλια ἱερὰ*, which are thence called *νηφάλια ξύλα*. Of these latter sort were *τὰ μήτ' ἀμπέλινα, μήτε σύκινα, μήτε μύρσινα*, all except the vine, fig, and myrrh, which being offered with wine only, were called *οἰνόσπονδα*.[c]

The *οὐλοχύται, οὐλαὶ*, or molæ salsæ, cakes of salt and barley, were scattered between the horns of the victim, on its back and the parts dissected for burning, and also upon the altar before it was sacrificed.[d] Till the invention of mills the barley was offered whole and unbroken; and hence the cakes were called *οὐλαὶ*, as being *ὅλαι*.[e] This oblation was called *οὐλοθυτεῖν*, and was in memory of the most ancient fruits and sacrifices.

Of the same kind also were the *πόπανα*, which were broad, round, and thin cakes; and those called *πέλανοι*, of which three sorts have been reckoned, called *θίσιοι, ἀνάσατοι*, and *ἀμφιφῶντες*.[f] Another kind of cakes was denominated *σελῆναι*, from their figure, which was broad and horned in imitation of the new moon. There was also another sort of cakes with horns, called from their figure *βόες*, because they had horns like those of an ox; and they were commonly offered to Apollo, Diana, Hecate, and the moon. In sacrifices to the moon, after offering six of the *σελῆναι*, the Greeks offered one of these, which on that account was termed *βοῦς ἑβδομος*. One of the *βόες* was also offered after a sacrifice of six animals;[g] and hence

[v] Athenæ. lib. i. cap. 11. lib. xv. c. 5.
[w] Hom. Il. α'. v. 470.
[x] Suidas; Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 60.
[y] Athenæ. lib. xiv.
[z] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. ii.
[a] Porphyr. ibid.
[b] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 1.
[c] Suidas.
[d] Serv. in Virg. Æn. lib. ii. v. 133.
[e] Eustath. in Il. α'.
[f] Phavorinus; Aristoph. Pluto v. 660. Id. Thesmophor. v. 291.
[g] Suidas voc. *βοῦς ἑβδομος*.

βοῦς ἕβδομος, as being a lifeless mass, was proverbially applied to a stupid and senseless person. There were also other offerings of this kind, peculiar to certain gods; as the ὀβελιοφόροι to Bacchus, and the μελιττοῦται to Trophonius. It may be here observed that no oblation was deemed acceptable to the gods without a mixture of salt; and that no sacrifice was offered without meal mixed with salt:[h]

—— Mihi sacra parari
Et fruges salsæ.[i]

Hence the primitive oblations are thus described:

Ante, deos homini quod conciliare valebat,
Far erat, et puri lucida mica salis.[k]

In early times the gods were cheaply pleased,
A little meal with salt their wrath appeased.

As salt was an emblem of friendship and hospitality, and as it was used in the food of men, it was thought to be necessary in the entertainments and sacrifices of the gods. For the same reason also there was scarcely any sacrifice without corn or bread, and particularly barley, which was the first kind of grain used by the Greeks after they ceased to feed on acorns; and hence κριθὴ is by some derived from κρίνειν, to discern, because by that sort of food men were distinguished from other animals which continued to live on acorns. On the same account the Athenians offered only such barley as grew in the field Rharium, where it was first sown.[l]

The third and principal part of the sacrifice was ἱερεῖον, the victim, which was required to be perfect and sound in all its members, without spot or blemish;[m] and hence the Athenians were enjoined to offer ἔκκριτα ἱερεῖα, chosen and select sacrifices; and it was customary to choose the best of the flocks and herds as being most acceptable to the gods.[n] If the sacrifice was approved by the priest, it was called τελεία θυσία; and hence comes the frequent mention of ταῦροι, αἶγες, βόες τέλειοι;[o] but if he did not approve of it, another victim was brought for trial, till one every way perfect was found. The Spartans, who were accustomed to serve their gods with as little expense as possible, frequently sacrificed ἀνάπηρα, maimed and defective animals,[p] from an opinion that if their minds were pure, their external worship, in what manner soever performed, could not fail of being acceptable to the gods.

Different animals were offered by different persons: a shepherd sacrificed a sheep; a goatherd, a goat; a neatherd, an ox; and a fisher, a fish.[q] Animals also differed according to the diversity of the gods: to the infernal and evil deities black victims were offered; to the good and heavenly, white; to the barren, barren; to the fruitful, pregnant; to the gods, males; and to the goddesses, females. Particular animals were consecrated to particular deities; as to the Sun a horse was offered, to Diana a stag, to Hecate a dog, and to

[h] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 7.
[i] Virg. Æn. lib. ii. v. 131.
[k] Ovid. Fast. lib. i. v. 337.
[l] Pausan. Attic. cap. xxxviii.
[m] Schol. in Hom. Il. α'. v. 66.
[n] Virg. Georg. lib. iii. v. 157. Apollon. Rhod. lib. ii. v. 355.
[o] Hom. Il. α'. ibique vetus Scholiastes.
[p] Plato Alcibiad. ii.
[q] Athen. lib. vii. et viii.

Venus a dove. Animals were also chosen according to the dispositions of the gods to whom they were offered. Mars was thought to be delighted with ferocious and warlike animals, as the bull. To Ceres was sacrificed a sow, which is an enemy to corn, and which is therefore represented as being the first animal eaten by men and sacrificed to the gods. Hence in Greek it is called σῦς; and this name is supposed to be derived from θύειν, to kill or sacrifice, by changing the θ into σ.[r] Next to the sow, the goat was sacrificed, from its feeding on vines and being an enemy to Bacchus.[s] Besides the sow and the goat, the animals commonly sacrificed were the bull, ox, cow, sheep, lamb, &c.; and among the birds, the cock, hen, &c. Some were more acceptable at one age than another. An heifer, which was a year old and which had never worn the yoke, was a pleasing sacrifice to the gods.[t] To Jupiter, Ceres, Juno, Apollo, and Bacchus, victims advanced in age might be offered:

Αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
Πίονα, πενταέτηρον, ὑπερμενεῖ Κρονίωνι.[u]

A steer of five years' age, large limb'd and fed,
To Jove's high altars Agamemnon led. Pope.

The Bœotians used to sacrifice certain eels of an uncommon size, which were taken in the lake Copais. When asked by a stranger, who was present at these sacrifices, the cause of the rites, the Bœotians answered, that they observed the customs of their forefathers without thinking themselves obliged to give a reason for them to every stranger.[v]

In ancient times almost the only animal which it was unlawful to sacrifice was the laboring ox, from which the Athenians abstained on account of its assisting them in tilling the ground.[w] Indeed, not only the Athenians, but almost all other nations, thought that to kill the ox was a crime which deserved to be punished with death.[x] Afterwards, however, this animal was used both in feasts and sacrifices;[y] and at length the ox became so common a victim, that whatever animal was sacrificed, it was usual to employ the word βουθυτεῖν as a general term instead of θύειν, to kill.[z] Cecrops is said to have been the first person that killed the laboring ox;[a] but some assert that in the time of the Trojan war it was held unlawful to kill this animal.[b]

Men were also sometimes sacrificed; but this barbarous practice was less common in Greece than in many other countries. Indeed, the ancient Greeks considered it as an act of such cruelty and impiety, that Lycaon, king of Arcadia, was feigned by the poets to have been turned into a wolf for offering a human sacrifice to Jupiter.[c] In latter ages this practice was certainly more common.[d] In Arcadia Bacchus had an altar on which young damsels were beaten to death

[r] Athen. lib. ii. Varro de Re Rustic. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[s] Ovid. Metam. lib. xv.
[t] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 292. Odys. γ'. v. 282.
[u] Hom. Il. β'. v. 402.
[v] Athenæ. lib. vii. cap. 13.
[w] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[x] Varro de Re Rustic. lib. ii.
[y] Ælian. de Animal. lib. xii. cap. 14. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii.
[z] Aristophan. Plut. v. 820.
[a] Eusebius Chronic.
[b] Theon in Arat.
[c] Pausan. Arcadicis.
[d] Plutarch. Themistocle; Virg. Æn. lib. x. v. 517.

with bundles of rods; and the Lacedæmonians scourged their children sometimes to death in honor of Diana Orthia.[e]

Sacrifices were to be agreeable to the condition of the person by whom they were offered. It was considered a high contempt of the gods for a rich man to bring a mean offering; but from a poor man the smallest oblations were acceptable. If a man could not afford to offer a living ox, it was lawful for him to sacrifice one made of bread-corn;[f] or he might offer *πόπανα* and *πέλανοι*, cakes;[g] and when from other causes a person could not provide the accustomed sacrifices, he was at liberty to offer what the place or time afforded. But from those who were able to procure them, more costly offerings were required. By the rich, when they had received or desired some great favor from the gods, many animals were offered at once; and hence mention is frequently made of hecatombs, which consisted of one hundred oxen, and of chiliombs, which were an immolation of one thousand. Though a hecatomb, which derived its name from *ἑκατὸν βοῦς*, an hundred oxen, properly signified a sacrifice of one hundred oxen, yet it generally denoted a sacrifice of one hundred animals of any kind.[h] Some, however, say that the word hecatomb is derived from *ἑκατὸν βάσεις*, an hundred feet; and the sacrifice must then have consisted only of twenty-five animals. Some think that a finite is put for an indefinite number, and that a hecatomb was a sacrifice only of many animals; whilst others are of opinion that the name is derived not from the number of victims, but from that of the persons present at the sacrifice. It is, however, observable that a hecatomb was sometimes offered by erecting one hundred altars of turf, and killing one hundred sows, sheep, or other animals.[i] Another sacrifice consisted of seven offerings; a sheep, a goat, a sow, an ox, a hen, a goose, and an ox made of meal, whence some derive the proverb *βοῦς ἑβδομος*.[k] Another sacrifice, in which were offered only three animals, was called *τριττὺς* or *τριττύα*.[l] This consisted sometimes of two sheep and an ox;[m] sometimes of an ox, a goat, and a sheep; sometimes of a boar, a ram, and a bull; and at other times of a sow, a he-goat, and a ram.[n] Another sacrifice, which consisted of twelve animals, was called *δωδεκαὶς θυσία*.[o]

No man, who had not purified himself during certain days, and abstained from carnal pleasures, was admitted to some of the solemn sacrifices.[p] So rigid were the Greeks in the observance of this custom, that, at some of their solemnities, the priests and priestesses were obliged to take an oath that they were duly purified.[q] Every person who attended the solemn sacrifices was purified by water. For this purpose a vessel, which was filled with holy water, and which was called *περιῤῥαντήριον*, was placed at the entrance of the

[e] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon. Cic. Tuscul. lib. ii. cap. 14.
[f] Suidas v. *βοῦς*.
[g] Aristophan. Plut. v. 660, 661.
[h] Eustath. ad Il. *α'*. Hesych. v. *ἑκατόμβη*. Hom. Il. *α'*. v. 315. Strabo lib. viii. Hom. Odys. *γ'*. v. 5.
[i] Jul. Capitol. in Maximo et Balb.
[k] Suidas v. *βοῦς*.
[l] Suidas v. *τριττύς*. Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. v. 820.
[m] Eustath. ad Odys. *λ'*.
[n] Aristophan. ibid.
[o] Eustath. ibid. Suidas ibid.
[p] Tibull. lib. ii. eleg. 1.
[q] Demosth. Orat. in Neæram.

temples; and the verbs *περιῤῥαίνειν*, *περιμάττεσθαι*, *περιθειοῦν*, *περιαγνίζειν*, &c. are derived from the custom of purifying by surrounding with water. This water was consecrated by putting into it a burning torch, which had been taken from the altar, and which was sometimes used in sprinkling those who entered the temple:[r]

Φέρε δὲ τὸ δᾳδίον, τόδ' ἐμβάψω λάβων.[s]
Bring the torch, and taking it I will purify.

Instead of torches, they sometimes used a branch of laurel,[t] or olive.[u] Before the worshippers sacrificed to the celestial gods, they washed their whole bodies; but before they performed the sacred rites to the infernal deities, a sprinkling of water was sufficient. Sometimes the feet, as well as the hands, were washed; and hence the proverbs *ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν*, and *ἀνίπτοις ποσὶν*, which were commonly applied to men who undertook any matter without due care and preparation. A programma was fixed up that no man should go beyond the *περιῤῥαντήριον* before he had washed his hands;[v] and to omit this ceremony was reckoned so great a crime, that one Asterius is said to have been struck dead with thunder, because he had approached the altar of Jupiter with unwashed hands.[w] This custom was observed in the lesser parts of divine worship, as well as at solemn sacrifices. Hector was afraid of making a libation to Jupiter before he had washed:

Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον
Αζομαι.[x]
With unwash'd hands I dread to bring
My off'ring to the heavenly king.

Telemachus is said to have washed his hands before he ventured to pray to the gods.[y] By thus washing themselves, the Greeks believed that they were purified from their sins. For the same reason, they sometimes washed their clothes before they offered prayers to the gods.[z]

The water used in purification was to be clear, and without impurities. It was commonly fetched from fountains and rivers.[a] The water of lakes or ponds, and even the purest stream which had been separated a great way from its source, was unfit for this purpose.[b] Sea-water, however, if it could be obtained, was preferred to others on account of its saltness:[c]

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.[d]
The cleansing sea removes all human ills.

When sea-water could not be easily procured, they sometimes mixed the water with salt, and to that they frequently added brimstone, which was also thought to possess a purifying quality; and hence *περιθειοῦν* signifies to purify. Houses were thus purified:

[r] Athen. lib. ix. Eurip. Hercul. Furent. v. 228.
[s] Aristophan. Pace.
[t] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30.
[u] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 229.
[v] Porphyr. de Victim.
[w] Timarchid. Libro de Coronis.
[x] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 266.
[y] Hom. Odys.
[z] Idem ibid.
[a] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 460.
[b] Virg. Æneid. lib. vi. v. 635. lib. ii. v. 719.
[c] Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv. v. 662 et 670.
[d] Euripid.

——Καθαρῷ δὲ πυρώσατε δῶμα θείῳ
Πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δ' ἅλεσσι μεμιγμένον, ὡς νένομισται,
Θαλλῷ ἐπιῤῥαίνειν ἐστεμμένον ἀβλαβὲς ὕδωρ.[e]

With sulphur, first, the mansion purify;
Then salted water (as it has been)
Besprinkle with an ever-green.

Οἶσε θέειον, γρηῦ, κακῶν ἄκος, οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρ
Ὄφρα θεειώσω μέγαρον.[f]

Bring hither fire, and hither sulphur bring,
To purge the palace. POPE.

It may be also remarked that the purified person was sprinkled three times, the number three being commonly observed in the performance of religious ceremonies.[g]

There were likewise other methods of purifying: one was by drawing round the person purified a squill, or sea-onion;[h] another, by eggs;[i] and a third was called *περισκυλακισμὸς*, from *σκύλαξ*, a whelp, which was dragged around him; and this last method was almost universally used by the Greeks.[k] It may be also observed that the blood of a young pig newly farrowed was sometimes used in purifying.[l]

To purify was denoted by the words *καθαίρειν*[m] and *ἁγνίζειν*;[n] and purification was commonly called *καθαρισμὸς*, *καθαρμὸς*, *ἁγνισμὸς*, *ἱλασμὸς*, *τελετὴ*, &c.

Whoever had been guilty of any notorious crime, as murder,[o] incest, or adultery, was forbidden to be present at the holy rites, till he had been purified; and if he presumed to enter the temple dedicated to the Eumenides, he was immediately seized by the Furies, and lost the use of his reason.[p] Any one returning from a victory,[q] or a funeral,[r] was not permitted to sacrifice, or pray to the gods, before he had been purified.

The persons allowed to be present at the sacrifices were called *ἀβέβηλοι*, *ὅσιοι*, &c. They who were not permitted to attend were denominated *βέβηλοι*, *ἀλιτροὶ*, *ἀκάθαρτοι*, *ἐναγεῖς*, *δυσαγεῖς*, *μιαροὶ*, *παμμιαροὶ*, *ἀνόσιοι*, *ἐξειργόμενοι*, &c.; and of this description were servants at some places, captives, unmarried women, and at Athens all bastards.[s] These last, however, were allowed to be present in the temple of Hercules at Cynosarges, because that Hercules, who had only a mortal woman for his mother, was considered in some respects illegitimate.

It was also unlawful for the *δευτερόποτμοι*, or *ὑστερόποτμοι*, those who had been thought dead, and after the celebration of their funeral rites had unexpectedly recovered, or those who, after a long absence in foreign countries, where it was believed they had died, returned home in safety, to enter the temple of the Eumenides.[t] At

[e] Theocrit. Idyl. xxiv. v. 94.
[f] Hom. Odys. lib. xxii. v. 481.
[g] Ovid. Metam. lib. vii. v. 259.
[h] Lucian. in Ἐπισκοποῦντες.
[i] Idem Dialog. Mort. Dialog. Diogen. et Pollucis, et in Cataplo; Ovid. ibid.
[k] Plutarch. Quæst. Roman.
[l] Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv. v. 704.
[m] Aristophan. Vesp. v. 118. Hom. Il. π'. v. 228.
[n] Euripid. Electra v. 793.
[o] Schol. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 666.
[p] Pausan. Achaic.
[q] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 267.
[r] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 7.
[s] Isæus.
[t] Hesych. v. δευτερόποτμος; Plutarch. Quæst. Roman.

Athens such persons were purified by being let down through the lap of a woman's gown, that they might appear to be newly born, and were then admitted to the holy rites. It would be endless to mention all those accounted profane at particular places or sacrifices. Before the ceremonies commenced, the *κήρυξ*, or sometimes the priest, with a loud voice commanded all those accounted profane to depart:

———*ἑκὰς, ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός.*[u]

This has been imitated as follows:

———procul, o procul este, profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco.[v]
———'Far hence be souls profane!'
The Sibyl cried, 'and from the grove abstain.' Dryden.

Sometimes the interior part of the temple was separated from the rest by a cord, beyond which the *βέβηλοι* were not permitted to pass. This cord was called *σχοινίον*; and hence men excluded from the holy rites were said to be *ἀπεσχοινισμένοι*, separated by a cord.[w]

During the time of sacrificing, the priests were richly attired; and on their vestments, which greatly resembled royal robes, were inscribed in golden letters the names of the benefactors to the temple.[x] At Athens they sometimes used the costly and magnificent garments invented by Æschylus for the tragedians.[y] At Sparta, their garments were neither splendid nor costly, but suited to the other parts of their worship; and they always prayed and sacrificed with naked feet. In all holy worship, the clothes of those who officiated were to be loose and unbound, and without spot or stain. If they had touched a dead body, or had been struck by thunder, or otherwise polluted, it was unlawful for the priest to officiate in them. The vestments of the priests generally reached to the ancles, and were of a white color;[z] and a garment of this kind was called *λευκὴ*, *λαμπρὰ*, and *καθαρὰ*, white, splendid, and pure.[a] Indeed, the purity of the sacerdotal robes is frequently insisted on.[b]

Various habits also were used according to the diversity of the gods in whose honor the solemnities were celebrated. They who sacrificed to the celestial deities were clothed in purple; to the infernal gods, in black; and to Ceres, in white garments. They had likewise upon their heads crowns, which were commonly made of the leaves of such trees as were consecrated to the god, or of such things as were attributes of the deity whose ministers they were. Thus, in the sacrifice of Apollo the priests were crowned with laurel;[c] in those of Hercules, with poplar; the priestess of Ceres was crowned with poppies and ears of corn;[d] and the priestess of Minerva, with the ægis, the cuirass, and a helmet crested with tufts of feathers.[e] Crowns and garlands were so anciently used, and were considered so necessary in recommending men to the gods, that some have thought the custom

[u] Callim. Hymn. in Apollin.
[v] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 358.
[w] Demosth. Orat. in Aristogit.
[x] Libanius in ibid.
[y] Athenæ. lib. i. cap. 18.
[z] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.
[a] Plato de Leg. lib. xii.
[b] Virg. Æn. lib. xii. v. 169.
[c] Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. *β'*. v. 159.
[d] Callim. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 45. Plutarch. in X. Rhetor.
[e] Polyænus lib. viii. cap. 59.

of wearing them at feasts was derived from the entertainments at which the gods were supposed to be present.[f]

Besides the crown, the priest sometimes wore upon his head a sacred fillet, or mitre, from which a riband was suspended on each side.[g] The fillets were commonly made of wool, and were also hung upon the horns of the victim, and upon the temple and altar; and the crowns were used in the same manner. The fillet and ribands were tied to the horns, and the crowns and garlands upon the necks of the victim. Whether this order was always observed is uncertain; but it appears that victims were adorned with garlands. On solemn occasions, as the receiving and requesting of any remarkable benefit, the horns of the victim were overlaid with gold:

Σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν, εὐρυμέτωπον,
Ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὔπω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ·
Τήν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω, χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας.[h]

A youthful steer shall fall beneath the stroke,
Untamed, unconscious of the galling yoke,
With ample forehead, and with spreading horns,
Whose taper tops refulgent gold adorns. POPE.

Hence, in allusion to this custom, oxen intended for sacrifice were called χρυσοκέροι.[i] It has been observed that only the larger sacrifices, as oxen, were thus adorned;[k] but it appears that a sacrifice was commanded to be offered to Apollo of an ox and two she-goats with gilded horns;[l] and some are of opinion that goats were reckoned in the number of greater victims, as sheep were accounted the greatest, not from their size but their value, and their acceptableness to the gods.

The altars were decorated with sacred herbs, and especially with such as were peculiar to the god to whom the sacrifice was offered.

The solemn times of sacrificing varied according to the disposition of the gods. To the celestial gods the Greeks sacrificed ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἀνατέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου, in the morning about the time of the sun's rising, or at least in open day. To the manes and infernal gods, who were thought to hate the light, and to frequent the earth by night only, they offered their devotions περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς, about sun-set,[m] and very often at midnight; when the magical rites, at which Hecate presided, were celebrated.

All things being prepared, the οὐλαὶ or οὐλοχύται, cakes of salt and barley, the crowns, the knife, and other instruments, were brought in a basket called κανοῦν; and hence the Athenian virgins, whose office it was to carry this basket at the Panathenæa and some other solemnities, were denominated κανηφόροι.

If the victim was a sheep, or a small animal, it was driven loose to the altar; but the larger sacrifices were frequently brought by the horns:

βοῦν δ' ἀγέτην κεράων.[n]

By the horns an ox they led.

[f] Athenæ. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[g] Virg. Æn. lib. x. v. 538.
[h] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 292.
[i] Porphyr.
[k] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3.
[l] Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i.
[m] Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. i.
[n] Homer.

Sometimes the victim was led by a rope, which in that case was long, and not close or strait, lest it should seem to be brought by force to the altar;[o] and lest the victim should appear to be sacrificed unwillingly, and by constraint, the cords were commonly loosed.[p] The expressions, προσάγειν τῷ βωμῷ,[q] παραστῆσαι θύματα or θυσίαν τοῖς βωμοῖς, and simply παραστῆσαι,[r] signify to bring the victim to the altar.

At the sacrifice of hecatombs, chiliombs, and such like, certain persons were appointed to fetch the victims, which were preceded by musical instruments and other solemnities.

When the victim had been brought to the altar, the priest turning to the right hand, went round it, and sprinkled it with meal and holy water;[s] he also sprinkled the persons who were present, taking a torch from the altar, or a branch of laurel. This water was called χέρνιψ, and was that with which they had washed their hands at the purification. Hence χερνίπτεσθαι is frequently used instead of ἱερὰ ῥέζειν, to offer sacrifice. The vessels also were purified with onions, water, brimstone, or eggs.

After this the crier called with a loud voice, Τίς τῇδε; Who is here? To which the people replied, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, Many and good. They then prayed, the priest first exhorting them to join him by saying, Εὐχώμεθα, Let us pray.[t] Their prayers commonly were, that the gods would vouchsafe to accept their oblations, and send them health and happiness; and at their αἰτητικὰ, petitionary sacrifices, they added a request for some particular favor. They seem to have used on such occasions a general form of prayer, which was sometimes varied with respect to the words.[u] At this time also the crier commanded silence in these or similar words: Εὐφημεῖτε· σίγα, σιγᾷ πας ἔστω λεώς. The same custom was observed in the sacrifices of the Romans, who proclaimed *favete linguis*, answering to εὐφημεῖτε, by which the people seem not to have been commanded to remain in profound silence, but to abstain from all profane speeches and ominous words. Prayer being ended, and the priest having previously examined all the members of the victim to see if it had any blemish or other defect, he proceeded to investigate whether it was also sound within. For this purpose meat was set before it: if the victim was a bull, they offered it barley-meal; if a goat, vetches. If it refused to eat, they pronounced it unsound. They sometimes sprinkled it with cold water, which if it endured without shrinking, it was thought to be unwell.[v] This being finished, they tried whether the victim was a willing sacrifice, by drawing a knife from its forehead to its tail:[w] if it struggled, it was rejected; but if it stood quietly at the altar, it was deemed a pleasing and an acceptable sacrifice to the gods. It was not, however, thought sufficient, unless the victim also gave its consent by a nod, which was the ancient manner of granting or approving; and hence the word ἐπινεύειν signifies to give assent. For

[o] Juvenal. Sat. xii.
[p] Virg. Æn. lib. v. v. 772.
[q] Lucian. de Sacrif.
[r] Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. Euripid. Heracl. v. 503.
[s] Aristophan. ejusque Schol. in Pace.
[t] Aristophan.
[u] Idem; Athen. lib. xiv.
[v] Plutarch. de Defect. Orac.
[w] Servius in Æn. lib. xii. v. 173.

this purpose, they poured water into its ear, and sometimes barley, which they called *προχύτας*;[x] for till the victim gave its assent by a nod, they did not sacrifice it.[y]

After this, they prayed again; and the priest taking a cup of wine, of which he and the rest of the company tasted, poured the remainder between the horns of the victim.[z] Frankincense, or other odours, which were taken out of the censer called *θυμιαματήριον*, with three fingers,[a] were then strewed upon the altar, and, as some say, upon the forehead of the victim. Hence the Pythia at Delphi declared that an hundred oxen with gilded horns, which a rich Thessalian offered up with all the parade of ostentation, was a less acceptable sacrifice to the gods than the *ψαιστὰ*, which a citizen of Hermione drew from his wallet with his three fingers, and threw upon the altar.[b]

They afterwards poured part of the *οὐλαὶ*, cakes of barley-meal and salt, on the back of the victim, which on that account was sprinkled with a small quantity of water. This being done, they again prayed, and cast into the fire upon the altar the remainder of the *οὐλαὶ*, together with some hairs plucked from the forehead between the horns of the victim.[c] All these were called *προθύματα*, because they were offered before the victim.[d]

Then the priest, or the *κήρυξ*, or sometimes the most honorable person of the company in which no priest was present, killed the beast by knocking it down with a club or hatchet, and afterwards cutting its throat with a knife, which was called *μάχαιρα*[e] and *σφαγίς*.[f] Sometimes the person who killed and prepared the victim was different from him who offered it upon the altar, which was accounted a more noble office. The servants of the priests, and especially the *βουθύται*, were commonly employed in slaying the beast. If the sacrifice was in honor of the celestial gods, the throat was turned towards heaven when cut with the knife, and the head was bended back; and this is called by Homer *αὖ ἐρύειν*:[g] but if it was made to the heroes or the infernal deities, the victim was killed with its throat and head towards the ground.[h] If by any means the animal escaped the stroke; if it leaped up again, bellowed, or did not fall to the ground; if it expired with pain and difficulty, did not bleed freely, or was a long time in dying; it was deemed unacceptable to the gods: for these were considered omens of an evil tendency, as those of an opposite kind were thought to be tokens of divine favor and good will. The *κήρυκες* then assisted in flaying the beast, in lighting the wood, and in other inferior offices; whilst the priest, or soothsayer, turned over the bowels with a knife (for it was unlawful to touch them with his hands), and observed the presages of futurity. The examination of the entrails was called *σπλαγχνοσκοπία*, and a soothsayer, *σπλαγχνόσκοπος*, from *σπλάγχνα*, the bowels. The blood was reserved in a

[x] Schol. Apollon. Rhod. in Argon. lib. v. v. 425.
[y] Plutarch. Sympos. lib. viii.
[z] Ovid. Metam. lib. viii. v. 593.
[a] Idem Fast. lib. ii.
[b] Servius in Æn. lib. ii. v. 133.
[c] Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 446. Dion. Halic. Archæol. lib. vii. Euripid. Electra v. 810.
[d] Aristophan. Plut. v. 660.
[e] Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 335.
[f] Euripid. Electra v. 811.
[g] Hom. Il. α'. v. 459.
[h] Eustath. in Hom. ibid.

vessel called *σφαγεῖον*, *ἀμνίον*,[i] or *ποιμανδρία*,[k] and was offered on the altar to the celestial gods, or poured around the altar;[l] if the sacrifice was made to the deities of the sea, the blood was poured into salt water; and if on the sea-side, the animal was not slain over the *σφαγεῖον*, but over the water, into which they sometimes threw the victim:

> Ἡ ῥ' ἅμα δ' εὐχωλῇσιν ἐς ὕδατα λαιμοτομήσας
> Ἧκε κατὰ πρύμνης.[m]
>
> Then praying to the blue-ey'd deity,
> O'er the curl'd surface stabb'd the sacrifice,
> And heav'd it over deck.

In the sacrifices to the infernal gods, the victim was either slain over a ditch, or the blood poured out of the *σφαγεῖον* into it.[n]

After this, wine, with frankincense, was poured into the fire to increase the flame. They then laid upon the altar the sacrifice, which, in ancient times, was burned whole to the gods, and which was thence called *ὁλόκαυστον* or *ὁλοκάυτωμα*. The poets pretend that Prometheus abolished this custom; he, as they say, considering that poor men had not sufficient for defraying the expenses of a whole burnt-sacrifice, obtained leave from Jupiter, that one part might be offered to the gods, and the remainder reserved for themselves. It appears, however, that it was not the custom of the Greeks to burn a whole victim to the gods, unless the sacrifice was made to the infernal deities, when the offering was termed a holocaust:

> Tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras:
> Et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis.[o]
>
> With holocausts he Pluto's altar fills:
> Seven brawny bulls with his own hand he kills. Dryden.

The parts belonging to the gods were the *μηροὶ*, thighs, which they covered with *κνίσσῃ*, fat, that they might consume all in a flame; for, unless all was burnt, they thought they did not *καλλιερεῖν*, or that their sacrifice was not acceptable to the gods. Upon the *μηροὶ*, which were burnt with cloven wood,[p] were cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the animal, as the *ἀπαρχαὶ*, first fruits of the whole; and this action was called *ὠμοθετεῖν*, because they first cut the *ὦμος*, shoulder, or because they put these *ὠμὰ*, raw pieces of flesh, upon the other parts:

> ——ἔσφαξαν, καὶ ἔδειραν,
> Μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον, κατά τε κνίσσῃ ἐκάλυψαν,
> Δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὠμοθέτησαν.[q]
>
> ——They their retracted necks
> First pierced, then flay'd them; the disjointed thighs
> They, next, invested with the double cawl,
> Which with crude slices thin they overspread. Cowper.

The *μηροὶ*, thighs, were appropriated to the gods because of the honor due to those parts, and their service to animals;[r] and by the

[i] Schol. in Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 444.
[k] Lycophron.
[l] Lucian. de Sacrif.
[m] Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. iv. v. 1601.
[n] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 34.
[o] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 252.
[p] Hom. Il. α'. v. 462.
[q] Idem ibid. v. 459.
[r] Eustath. in Hom. Il. α'.

sacrifice of them the Greeks commended, in the mystical sense of this rite, both themselves and all their actions to the divine protection. Some authors are of opinion that they sometimes offered the entrails; whilst others think that these were divided among the persons present; and Homer, in the description of sacrifices, commonly tells us that they feasted upon the entrails, *σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο.*[s] It would appear, however, that they cut off the *ἀπαρχαὶ*, first fruits, from the entrails as well as from other members, and presented them to the persons who offered the sacrifice, and by whom they were laid upon the altar.[t] Certain it is, that sometimes the heart of the victim, after being cut into parts resembling cakes, which were placed near the flesh upon the altar, was offered in the sacrifice.[u] It appears, indeed, that the word *σπλάγχνα*, which properly signifies the bowels, denotes also the spleen, liver, and heart; and that it is sometimes used for the heart is evident from the signification of its compounds; for *ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ* means a coward, and *εὔσπλαγχνος*, a man of courage.[v] Each of the parts offered in sacrifice was sprinkled with fine barley-meal.[w]

Whilst the sacrifice was burning, the priest, and the person who gave the victim, jointly offered their prayers to the god, with their hands upon the altar, which was the usual manner of praying. In order to induce the god to be propitious, music was sometimes played at the time of sacrifice,[x] but chiefly when the sacrifice was made to the aërial deities, who were supposed to delight in musical instruments and harmonious songs.

It was also customary on some occasions to dance round the altars, whilst they sang the sacred hymns, consisting of three stanzas or parts: the first of which, called *strophe*, was sung in turning from east to west; the second, called *antistrophe*, in returning from west to east; they then stood before the altar and sang the *epode*, which was the last part of the song. These hymns were generally composed in honor of the gods, and contained an account of their celebrated actions, their clemency, liberality, and the benefits conferred by them on mankind; and they concluded with a petition for the continuance of their favors. They were called by a general name *παιᾶνες*; and hence to sing in praise of any god or hero was denominated *παιανίζειν*; but the hymns of almost every god had a particular name. Thus the hymns dedicated to Diana were called *οὔπιγγες* or *οὔπιγγοι*, from *Οὖπις*, one of her surnames; those to Ceres received the name of *ἰούλων* and *δημητριούλων*, because she was called *Ἰουλὼ*, from *οὖλοι*, or *ἰοῦλοι*, bundles of ears of corn; and those to Bacchus, *διθύραμβοι*, *ἰόβακχοι*, from the beginning of the song *Ἰὼ Βάκχε*, and *ἰθυφαλλικὰ*, from the phalli which were carried about in the rites of Bacchus. The hymn of Venus was denominated *ὕπιγγος*; that of Apollo was peculiarly called *παιὰν*; and both of them were named *προσῴδια*. Of all musical instruments the flute was chiefly used at sacrifices; and hence *αὐλητοῦ βίον ζῆν* was a proverbial expression applied to those

[s] Hom. Il. α'. v. 464.
[t] Dion. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. vii.
[u] Orph. Argon. v. 314.
[v] Schol. in Sophocl. Ajac. Eustath. in Hom. Il. α'.
[w] Dionys. Halicarn. ibid. Hom. Odys. ξ'. v. 429.
[x] Plutarch. Sympos. lib. vii. q. 1.

who lived at the cost of other men, because *αὐληταὶ*, players on the flute, attended at sacrifices, of which they partook, and were at no charges for their victuals.[y]

The sacrifice being ended, the priest had his share; and at Athens a tenth part was also due to the magistrates called *πρυτάνεις*. At Sparta the kings had the first share in all public sacrifices, and the skin of the victim. It was also usual to take home for the sake of good fortune some part of the offering, which was called *ὑγίεια* from its conducing to health.[z] The Athenians were commanded by a law to observe this custom; and covetous men sometimes sold what remained, and made a profit of their devotion. Sometimes the remaining parts of the sacrifice were sent to absent friends.[a]

After the sacrifice, and especially if any particular mark of divine favor had been received, a feast was made; and for that purpose tables were provided in all the temples. The ancient Greeks never indulged to excess except at such times; and hence an entertainment was called *θοίνη*, because they thought themselves obliged *διὰ θεοὺς οἰνοῦσθαι*, to get drunk in honor of the gods; and to be drunk was termed *μεθύειν*, because they drank to excess *μετὰ τὸ θύειν*, after sacrificing. Hence also the gods were said to feast with men:

Αἰεὶ γὰρ τοπάρος γε θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς
Ἡμῖν, εὖθ' ἕρδωμεν ἀγακλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας·
Δαίνυνταί τε παρ' ἄμμι, καθήμενοι ἔνθα περ ἡμεῖς.[b]

——For the gods
Have deign'd not seldom from of old to mix
In our solemnities; have fill'd a seat
Where we have sat, and made our banquet theirs. Cowper.

On the same account, Jupiter and the rest of the gods are said to go to a feast in Ethiopia, which is only a poetical description of a festival in that country.[c] It may be observed that *δαὶς* and *θαλία*, as well as *θοίνη*, signify an entertainment after sacrificing.

During the whole time of the feast the Greeks continued to sing the praises of the god:

Οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο,
Καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
Μέλποντες Ἑκάεργον· ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων.[c]

With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
The Pæans lengthened till the sun descends;
The Greeks, restored, the grateful notes prolong:
Apollo listens and approves the song. Pope.

When they sacrificed to Vesta, it was customary to eat up whatever remained; and hence the proverb Ἑστίᾳ θύειν, to sacrifice to Vesta, was applied to gluttons, who devoured all that was set before them. To this goddess they offered the first part of their libations, at least of those which were paid to the household gods; and hence the proverb ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι, to begin at home. This custom is said to have been founded on a grant of Jupiter, who, after he had suppressed the sons of Titan, promised to bestow on Vesta whatever she should

[y] Suidas in v. αὐλητοῦ.
[z] Athenæus lib. iii. Hesych. v. ὑγίεια.
[a] Theocrit. Idyl. v. v. 139.
[b] Hom. Odys. η'. v. 202.
[c] Hom. Il. α'. v. 473.

request; and therefore the goddess first desired that she might enjoy perpetual virginity, and next, that she might have the first of all sacrifices.[d] The last part of the libations was also offered to her, who was the same as the earth, to which the first and last parts belong, because all things are produced from the earth, and are resolved into it again; or because Vesta, who presides over the altars and hearths, is the keeper of the most secret things, and on that account deserving of greater honor than the other deities.[e]

In some parts of Greece the feast was to be ended before sun-set; and in no place was it to exceed an appointed time.[f] After the feast the Greeks played at dice and other kinds of sports;[g] a custom derived from the common practice of diverting themselves after their meals. The entertainment and recreations being ended, they returned to the altar, and offered a libation to Jupiter Τέλειος, the Perfect. The ancient Greeks used to offer the tongues and a libation of wine to Mercury, as the god of eloquence, and also to other deities;[h] and the tongues were offered at this time as an expiation for any indecent language which had been uttered, as a token of their committing to the gods whatever discourse had passed at the table, or to signify that what had been there spoken ought not to be afterwards remembered or divulged. After this they returned thanks to the god for the honor and advantage of sharing with him in the victim, and were then dismissed by the κήρυξ in these or similar words, λαοῖς ἄφεσις.[i]

Besides sacrifices, the Greeks offered to the gods various presents, which were intended to appease their anger, to obtain some future benefit, or gratefully to acknowledge a former favor. These consisted of crowns, garlands, cups of gold or other valuable metal, statues, tripods, arms and spoils taken from an enemy, and whatever might conduce to adorn and enrich the temples. The presents were denominated ἀναθήματα, and sometimes ἀνακείμενα, from their being deposited in the temples, in which they were laid on the floor, or hung upon the walls, doors, pillars, or roof.[k]

Sometimes the occasion of the dedication was inscribed on the present itself, or, when that would not bear an inscription, on a tablet hung near it.[l]

When any person forsook his employment, or exchanged his manner of life, it was customary to dedicate the implements belonging to it, as a commemoration of the divine favor and protection. Thus, a fisherman made a present of his nets to the nymphs of the sea;[m] a shepherd hung up his pipes to Pan, or some other of the country deities;[n] Laïs, decayed with age, dedicated her looking-glass to Venus;[o] and captives, who had recovered their liberty, suspended their chains from the trees which surrounded the temples.[p]

[d] Schol. Aristophan. in Σφηξί.
[e] Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.
[f] Athen. lib. i. cap. 4.
[g] Plato Lyside.
[h] Athenæ. lib. i. cap. 14. Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 332. Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. i. v. 517.
[i] Apuleius Metam. lib. ult
[k] Hor. Carm. lib. i. od. 5. Virg. Æn. lib. ix. v. 407.
[l] Tibull. lib. i. eleg. 3.
[m] Anthol. lib. vi. cap. 3. epigr. 6.
[n] Tibullus lib. ii. eleg. 5.
[o] Anthol. lib. vi. cap. 8. epigr. 1.
[p] Pausan. Corinthiac. cap. xiii.

By a very ancient and universal prescription, the tenth of many things was claimed by the gods. Hence the Greeks, having expelled the Persians from Greece, presented a golden tripod to the Delphian Apollo from the tenth part of the spoils taken in the war. After the capture of Tanagra, a golden buckler was dedicated to Jupiter, with an inscription denoting that it was the gift of the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians.[r] The tenth of the spoils was sometimes dedicated to Mars.[s] The tenth part of the produce of a certain field consecrated to Diana was sacrificed every year.[t] A golden chariot and horses were dedicated to Pallas by the Athenians.[u] The Siphnians always presented a tenth part of their gold and silver mines to Apollo at Delphi.[v]

CHAP. V.

Grecian Prayers and Imprecations.

The piety of the ancient Greeks is sufficiently manifest from their constant prayers and supplications; for in all the concerns of life they would undertake nothing, whether trifling or important, till they had first asked the advice and assistance of the gods.[w] Every morning and evening they recommended themselves to their deities by prayer and supplication.[x] The Lacedæmonians had a peculiar form of prayer, and, in their public and private devotions, requested only that the gods would grant them what was good and proper for them,[y] and that they might be able to bear injuries.[z] The Athenians in their public prayers requested prosperity for themselves and the Chians;[a] and at the Panathenæa, a solemnity celebrated once in five years, the *κήρυξ*, public crier, implored the blessing of the gods on the Athenians and Platæans. A form of prayer used by a Grecian poet, and highly commended, was to the following effect: "Give us, O father Jupiter, such things as are best for us, whether we ask for them or not; and withhold from us those things which may be injurious to us, even if we request them."[b] To the same purpose was that of Apollonius of Tyane, that the gods would bestow such things as were suitable.[c]

Prayers were denominated *εὐχαὶ* or *προσευχαὶ*, *εὐγματα*, *δεήσεις*, *ἱκεσίαι*, *ἱκετεῖαι*, *αἰτήματα*, *λιταὶ*, *πρόσοδοι*, *ἀραὶ*; and thanksgiving was called *εὐχαριστία*. They who prayed either to the gods or men held in their hands green boughs, and wore crowns upon their heads, or garlands upon their necks, with the design of procuring the respect of those to whom they made their supplications.[d] These boughs were

[q] Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. lib. xi.
[r] Pausan. Eliac. pr. cap. x.
[s] Lucian. Dialog. de Saltatione.
[t] Xenoph. Anab. lib. v.
[u] Herodot. lib. v. cap. 77.
[v] Pausan. Phocic. cap. xi. Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 157.
[w] Plato Timæo.
[x] Plato de Leg. lib. x. Horat. lib. iv. od. 5. v. 37.
[y] Plato Alcibiade ii.
[z] Plutarch. Inst. Lacon.
[a] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. v. cap. 27.
[b] Plato Alcibiade ii.
[c] Philostrat. in Vit. Apollon. lib. iv. cap. 40.
[d] Triclin. in Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 3.

called by different names, as θαλλοὶ, or κλάδοι ἱκτήριοι, φυλλάδες ἱκτῆρες, and ἱκτηρίαι; and they were commonly of laurel or olive,[e] because those trees were always green and flourishing;[f] or because the laurel was a token of victory and success, and the olive of peace and good will. In the boughs they put wool, which was not tied, but wrapt round them, and which for that reason they called δεσμὸν ἄδεσμον φυλλάδος, the tye without a knot.[g] Hence they were denominated στέμματα.[h]

With these boughs, and sometimes with their hands, if doubtful of success, they touched the knees of the statue or man whom they addressed, the knees being the most flexible parts.[i] If they had hopes of success, they touched the right hand, but never the left, which was considered unpropitious; and the hand was touched as being the instrument of action.[k] If they were confident of success, they touched the chin or cheeks. It was customary to touch the head, because that was deemed the principal and most honorable member of the body,[l] or because they desired that the god would assent to their requests by a nod.[m] Sometimes they touched the knees with one hand, and the head or hands with the other:

——λάβε γούνων
Σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ἑλοῦσα.[n]
——One hand she placed
Beneath his beard, and one his knee embraced. POPE.

Sometimes they kissed the hands and knees;[o] and sometimes they kissed their own hands,[p] and then stretched them towards the god whom they worshipped. They also paid homage to the gods by putting the fore-finger over the thumb, and turning to the right hand.[q] Sometimes they prostrated themselves at the entrance of the temple, and kissed the threshold;[r] and so generally was the custom of kissing practised by supplicants, that the word προσκυνεῖν, to adore or worship, signifies properly to kiss.[s] Another manner of supplication was by pulling the hairs from their heads, and offering them to the god to whom they prayed.[t] To excite the pity and compassion of the gods, they frequently clothed themselves in rags, or put on the habit of mourners.

The postures which they used were different. They prayed sometimes standing, and sometimes sitting, but generally kneeling, which exhibits the greatest humiliation; and hence γουνάζεσθαι, γονυπετεῖν, &c. signify to pray. Prostration was almost as frequent as kneeling.[u] Some say that when the Greeks prayed to the gods, they turned their faces ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, towards the east, or the right parts of the world;[v] and

[e] Stati. Theb. lib. xii.
[f] Eurip. Ion. v. 1436.
[g] Eurip. Ἱκέτιδ. v. 31.
[h] Hom. Il. α'. v. 14. Schol. in Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 3.
[i] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 45.
[k] Eustath. in Il. α'.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Hom. Il. α'. v. 524.
[n] Idem ibid. α'. v. 500.
[o] Idem ibid. ω'. v. 478. Odys. ξ'. v. 279.
[p] Lucian. de Saltat.
[q] Plaut. Curcul. act. i. scen. 1.
[r] Tibull. lib. i. eleg. 5.
[s] Schultz. Dissert. de verb. προσκυνεῖν.
[t] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 15.
[u] Ovid. Metam. lib. i. v. 375.
[v] Plut. in Camill.

when to the heroes or demigods, towards the west:[w] but others inform us that they always turned their faces towards the sun; and that in the morning they looked towards the east, at noon to the south, and in the evening to the west.[x]

Next to the temples and altars, the safest place for those who offered up petitions either to gods or men, was the hearth or fire-place, to which, as being the altar of Vesta and of the household gods, strangers and exiles usually betook themselves.[y] After seating themselves there in the ashes in a mourning posture, and with a dejected countenance, they kept silence; for the action sufficiently declared the calamity and the wishes of the suppliant.[z] The Molossians had a peculiar manner of supplicating, which was different from that used in any other country, and which was adopted by Themistocles when pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and obliged to seek the protection of Admetus, king of that country. With the young prince, then a child, in his arms, he prostrated himself before the king's household gods.[a]

They who fled to the gods for refuge or assistance first crowned the altars with garlands, and then made their requests to the deity.[b] It was also usual to take hold of the altars.[c] In praying, it was likewise customary to lift up the hands towards heaven,[d] which was supposed to be the habitation of the gods; and hence, they who prayed were said χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν, to lift up their hands:[e]

Ἐσθλὸν γὰρ Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχέμεν, αἴκε ἐλεήσῃ
'Tis just (said Priam) to the sire above
To raise our hands; for who so good as Jove? Pope.

On the contrary, because the infernal deities were thought to inhabit beneath the earth, the Greeks prayed to them with their hands pointed downwards; and sometimes, in order to excite more effectually the attention of these gods, they stamped the ground with their feet;[g] and when they prostrated themselves, they beat the earth with their hands.[h] Lastly, when they prayed to the marine deities, they stretched their hands towards the sea.[i] Prayer being ended, they lifted up one of their hands to their mouths, and kissed it. On this occasion the right hand, rather than the left, was kissed;[k] and only τὸ ὀπισθέναρ, the back part of the hand, was thus honored.[l]

It was a common opinion of the Greeks that their prayers were more efficacious and successful when offered in a barbarous and unknown language.[m] If they obtained their request, and this request related to matters of importance, they presented to the god some splendid gift, or offered a sacrifice in gratitude for the benefit which

[w] Schol. in Pindar.
[x] Cœl. Rhod. lib. xii. cap. 2.
[y] Hom. Odys. η'. v. 153.
[z] Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. iv.
[a] Plutarch. Themistocle.
[b] Eurip. Alcestide.
[c] Virg. Æn. lib. iv. v. 219.
[d] Aristot. de Mundo; Eurip. Helena v. 1101.
[e] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 318. Lucian. Philopatr.
[f] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 301.
[g] Cicer. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. ii. Eurip. Hecuba v. 79.
[h] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 564.
[i] Idem ibid. α'. v. 350. Virg. Æn. lib. v. v. 233.
[k] Lucian. de Sacrif.
[l] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 45.
[m] Clem. Alexan. Strom. i.

they had received; and sometimes they gave an account of it to the priest, who caused it to be registered in the temple, as a testimony of the goodness of the gods, and of their readiness to hear and assist those who make known to them their requests.

From the Grecian prayers we pass to their imprecations, which were very terrible, and considered so powerful as to occasion the destruction not only of individuals, but of whole families and cities.[n] But the most dreadful imprecations were those pronounced by parents, priests, kings, prophets, or other sacred persons. Phœnix relates that the gods would not permit him to have children on account of his father's imprecations;[o] and he afterwards says that Meleager was destroyed by the curses of his mother, who had invoked Pluto and Proserpine

> Παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐριννὺς
> Ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβευσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.[p]
>
> On her own son to wreak her brother's death:
> Hell heard her curses from the realms profound,
> And the red fiends that walk the nightly round. POPE.

Hence men condemned for any notorious crime were publicly cursed by the priests.[q] The Greeks called imprecations ἀρὰς and καταράς.

CHAP. VI.

Grecian Oaths.

Ὅρκος, the god of oaths, is fabled to have been the son of Ἔρις, Contention.[r] We are told that in the golden age, when men strictly observed the laws of truth and justice, there was no occasion for oaths; but when they degenerated from their primitive simplicity, it was necessary for mankind to devise some expedient which might secure them from the fraud and falsehood of each other. Hence oaths originated. We are also told that Chiron first invented oaths.[s] However that be, it is probable that at first oaths were used only on important occasions, though in time they were employed in trivial matters, and in common discourse. This occasioned the distinction of oaths into that called ὁ μέγας, which was used only in matters of importance, and that denominated ὁ μικρὸς, which was taken in things of no moment. Some inform us that the μέγας ὅρκος was the oath by which the gods, and the μικρὸς that by which the creatures, were called on to witness; but the futility of this distinction is evident. The Arcadians swore by the waters of a fountain called Styx in Arcadia.[t] The great oath of the gods was by the Stygian lake:

> Αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἐμμέναι ὅρκον.[u]
>
> For Jove ordained this lake a solemn oath
> To all the gods should be.

[n] Lycophron. Cassandra v. 164. Sophocl. Electra; Eurip. Orestes.
[o] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 455.
[p] Id. ibid. v. 567.
[q] Plutarch. Alcibiade.
[r] Hesiod. Theogon. v. 231.
[s] Clemens Alexan. Strom. i.
[t] Herodot. Erato.
[u] Hesiod. Theogonia.

If any god swore falsely by these waters, he was prohibited the use of nectar, and deprived of his divinity, for one hundred, or as some say for nine, and others for nine thousand years.

The god that was thought more especially to preside over oaths was Jupiter, though all the gods seem to have been concerned in them, for it was usual to swear by all or any of the gods; but oaths were thought chiefly and more peculiarly to belong to Jupiter:

—— Ζῆνά θ', ὃς ὅρκων
Θνατοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται.[v]
And Jove, who over human oaths presides.

The gods by whom Solon commanded the Athenians chiefly to swear in public causes, were Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεστήριος, which are supposed to be only three names of Jupiter Ὅρκιος. The Greeks, however, swore by other deities, as Apollo, Neptune, Minerva, and Themis. The Athenians in particular also swore very often by other gods; sometimes by all the gods in general, and sometimes *μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς*, by the twelve great gods. The Spartans usually swore *μὰ τὼ Σιώ*, by Castor and Pollux. The oaths of the Grecian women were commonly by Juno, Diana, or Venus, or *νὴ τὼ θεώ*, by Ceres and Proserpine; and the oaths by these goddesses were appropriated exclusively to females, and were never used by men except in imitation of women.[w] Women, however, often swore by other goddesses, and sometimes by the gods.[x]

Men commonly swore by the god to whom the business in which they were engaged, or the place in which they were, belonged: in the market they usually swore by Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος, Mercury; ploughmen, by Ceres; they who delighted in horses, by Neptune. The Athenians alone of all the Greeks swore by Isis; and the Thebans commonly by Osiris.[y]

Sometimes they swore indefinitely by any of the gods, as Ὄμνυμι *μέν τινα τῶν θεῶν*.[z] Others, thinking it unlawful to use the name of god on every trivial occasion, omitted the name, and said only Ναὶ *μὰ τόν*.[a] Some considered oaths as altogether unlawful; others as lawful on certain occasions.[b] Sometimes they swore by the creatures, as *νὴ τὸν κύνα*, *χῆνα*, or *πλάτανον*, by a dog, goose, or plane-tree; sometimes *νὴ τὴν κάππαριν*, by a shrub that bears capers; and sometimes by colewort,[c] which was an oath particularly used by the Ionians. Sometimes they were forbidden all kinds of oaths.[d]

Sometimes they swore by the ground on which they stood:

—— *καὶ πέδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.*[e]
And by the solid ground I swear.

Sometimes they swore by rivers, fountains, floods, the sun, the moon, and the stars, all of which were accounted very sacred oaths;[f] some-

[v] Eurip. Medea v. 170.
[w] Phavorinus in v. Νή.
[x] Aristophanes.
[y] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. v. cap. 10.
[z] Plato Phædro; Aristæn. Epis. Euxith. ad Pyth.
[a] Phavorin. in v. Ναὶ; Suidas in v. Ναὶ *μὰ τόν*.
[b] Isocrat. Orat. ad Demonic. Hierocl. in Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 2.
[c] Cœli. Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 28.
[d] Menander.
[e] Eurip. Hippolyt. v. 1025.
[f] Alex. ab Alex. lib. v. cap. 10.

times by any thing which they used, as a fisherman swore by his nets, a soldier by his spear, which last was considered as a very great oath, because a spear was anciently an object of worship, and placed in the statues of the gods;[g] and kings and princes usually swore by their sceptres,[h] which, as the sceptre is a badge of regal and judicial power, was likewise deemed a solemn oath.

Sometimes also they swore by the dead, as is evident from Demosthenes, who, in an oration to the Athenians, swore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those who lost their lives in the battle of Marathon: sometimes by the living, as by their σωτηρία, safety, by their ἄλγεα, misfortunes, by their names, or by some member of their body;[i] and sometimes by those who were dearest to them, as by their parents, their children, or their friends.

The manner of swearing was sometimes by lifting up their hands to heaven. Sometimes in the μέγας ὅρκος, great and solemn oath, they laid their hands on the altar:[k]

> Tango aras, mediosque ignes et numina testor:
> Nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec fœdera rumpet.[l]
>
> I touch the sacred altars, touch the flames,
> And all those powers attest, and all their names:
> Whatever chance befal on either side,
> No term of time this union shall divide. DRYDEN.

Sometimes, instead of the altar, they swore by the λίθος, the tribunal of Pnyx, a place in which the Athenian assemblies were convened.[m] In private contracts, the person swearing, instead of the altar, placed his hand on the hand of him to whom he swore.[n] In all agreements it was common to take each other by the hand, which was the manner of plighting their faith; and the right hand was generally used for that purpose, as being the more honorable, and that by which superiors command those under them.

In all solemn leagues and covenants the Greeks sacrificed to the gods to whom they swore, and commonly offered either a boar, a ram, or a goat; sometimes all three; and sometimes bulls or lambs instead of either of them. Sometimes they cut out the testicles of the victim, and swore while standing upon them; and the ram or boar thus used was properly called τομίας. The ceremonies were thus performed:—they first cut some of the hair from the head of the victim, and distributed part of it to all those who were present, that all might participate in the oath.[o] After this they invoked the gods to be witnesses of the agreement, and to punish the person that should violate his oath. They then killed the victims by cutting their throats; and hence came the phrase ὅρκια τέμνειν, to make a covenant. After this they repeated the words, which both parties were to confirm by mutual oaths.[p] They then made a libation of wine, which at this time was mixed to denote the concord of the parties; and praying again

[g] Justin. lib. xiii. Eustath. in Il. α'.
[h] Homer. passim.
[i] Homer.
[k] Plutarch. Pericle; Diog. Laertius in Xenocrat.
Virg. Æn. lib. xii. v. 201.
[m] Demosth. adv. Conon. Schol. Aristophan. in Acharnens.
[n] Eurip. Helena v. 834.
[o] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 273. Sophocl. Ajac. Flagellif. v. 1196.
[p] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 298.

to the gods, they poured it out, beseeching that whoever should violate his oath, might have his blood or brains poured out in the same manner.[q]

It was common to add a solemn imprecation to their oaths, for the satisfaction of the person by whom the oath was required, as, Εἰ μὲν ἐνορκῶ, πολλά μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ ἐπιορκῶ, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην: If what I swear be true, may I enjoy much happiness; if I forswear myself, may I utterly perish.[r] The flesh at these sacrifices was forbidden to be eaten; and therefore, if the person concerned was at home, it was buried;[s] and if the party was a stranger, it was thrown into the sea or otherwise disposed of. If any unlucky or ominous accident happened at the time of sacrificing, they commonly deferred the rite, or refused to swear.[t]

Another manner of swearing was as follows:—they took hold of their garments, and pointing a sword towards their throats, invoked the heavens, earth, sun, and furies, to be witnesses of what they were about to perform. They then sacrificed a boar-pig, which they cast into the sea, and afterwards took the oath.[u]

The solemn manner of taking an oath among the Molossians, was by cutting an ox into small pieces, and then swearing; and hence whatever was divided into small parts was proverbially called βοῦς ὁ Μολοττῶν.[v]

Another manner of swearing was, when, after taking the oath and pronouncing maledictions against him who should violate it, wedges of red-hot iron were thrown into the sea; which intimated that the oath should be inviolable so long as the iron remained in the sea without swimming.[w] This mode of swearing was used by the Phocensians, who obliged themselves by an oath, which was followed by dreadful imprecations, that they would never return to Phocæa; and hence the proverb Φωκέων ἀρὰ, the curse of the Phocensians, was applied to men who were under the obligations of a strict oath.[x]

Another manner was, when the swearer went into the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, or, as some say, into that of Ceres Thesmophorus, where, after performing certain ceremonies, he was clothed in the purple vestment of the goddess, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, as being in the presence of the deity, took the oath by all the gods in the world. This was considered by the Syracusans as the most solemn and sacred oath that could be taken.[y]

Another method of swearing was generally used at Palice, a city of Sicily, where was a fountain named Acadinus, to which the swearers repaired, and having written the oath on a tablet, threw it into the water, in which if it swam, the person accused was deemed honest; but if it sank, he was immediately to be cast into the flames which issued from the fountain.[z]

[q] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 300.
[r] Demosthenes.
[s] Eustath. in Il. γ'.
[t] Plutarch. Pyrrho.
[u] Alex. ab Alex. lib. v. cap. 10.
[v] Suidas in βοῦς; Zenodot. in Prov. βοῦς.
[w] Plutarch. Aristide; Schol. Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 270.
[x] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 165.
[y] Plutarch. in Vita Dionis.
[z] Aristot. Libro de Mirabil. Stephan. Byzant. in Παλίκη.

There were also other methods of clearing themselves from the imputation of crimes; as when a person accused creeped on his hands through the fire, or held in his hands a red-hot iron, which was called in Greek *μύδρος*.[a] When a woman was accused of incontinence, she was to exculpate herself by oath, which was written on a tablet and hung round her neck. She then waded into the water to the middle of her leg, and if she was innocent, the water remained as before; but if she was guilty, it increased so as to cover the tablet, lest so detestable a sight as a false oath should be exposed to the view of the sun and the world.[b]

The reverence which the Greeks paid to oaths appears from their using the word *εὔορκος*, one who kept his oaths, to signify *εὐσεβής*, a pious person.[c] On the contrary, when they would designate a wicked wretch, they called him *ἐπίορκον*, perjured.[d] Common swearers were called by the Athenians *ἄρδηττοι*, from the name of the place in which oaths were required of persons before they were admitted to public offices.[e]

In some places false swearers suffered death; in some, the same punishment that was due to the crime with which they charged an innocent person; and in others, a pecuniary fine only. But though they might escape human punishment, it was believed that the divine vengeance would not fail to overtake them;[f] and though the other gods sometimes took upon them to punish this crime, this was considered the peculiar province of Jupiter, who was surnamed *Ὅρκιος*.[g] Perjured persons were also thought to be haunted by the Furies, who, every fifth day of the month, visited them for that purpose:

> Ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ φασιν Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
> Ὅρκον τινυμένας, τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκοις.[h]
>
> The fifths of every month your care require,
> Days full of trouble and afflictions dire:
> For then the Furies take their round, 'tis said,
> And heap their vengeance on the perjured head. COOKE.

In some places even insensible creatures were supposed to take revenge for this crime: the Arcadians believed that whoever swore falsely by the river Styx would suffer some severe and remarkable punishment; and it was said that no perjured person could enter the subterranean cavern, sacred to Palemon, at Corinth, without becoming a memorable example of divine justice. In Sicily, at the temple of the Palici, in the city Palice, were certain fountains or lakes called Delli, from which constantly issued flames and balls of fire, with boiling water, and to which the people resorted from all parts for the decision of controversies. If any one swore falsely near these fountains, he was immediately struck with lameness, blindness, or some other calamity.[i]

[a] Sophocl. Antigone v. 270.
[b] Achilles Tatius.
[c] Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. v. 190; Aristoph. Pluto v. 61.
[d] Aristoph. Nub. v. 398.
[e] Hesych. et Phavorin. in v. *ἄρδητ.*
[f] Herodot. Erato.
[g] Pausanias.
[h] Hesiod. *Ἡμέραις* v. 40.
[i] Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. v. cap. 19.

This crime, however, was so much practised by the Greeks, that they could never avoid the imputation of perfidy; and *Græca fides* was a proverbial expression applied to men who were inconstant, wavering, and not to be trusted:[k]

Πιστὸν Ἑλλὰς οἶδεν οὐδέν.[l]
Nothing of honesty Greece ever knew.

The Thessalians in particular were infamous for this vice; and hence by Θεσσαλῶν νόμισμα is meant fraud and deceit;[m] and by Θετταλῶν σόφισμα, the treacherous conduct of the Thessalians towards their confederates in the Peloponnesian war. The Locrians also were notorious for this crime; and hence the opprobrious proverbs, Λοκροὶ τὰς συνθήκας, and Λοκρῶν σύνθημα, which denoted fraudulent persons and practices.[n] The Lacedæmonians, who were remarkable for their valor and temperance, and who appeared the most just in private concerns, were stigmatised for their treachery and contempt of oaths in public matters.[o] Hence they were called αἰμύλοι, which is interpreted by ψεῦσται καὶ δόλιοι, liars and deceivers;[p] and hence they are said to have regarded neither altars, promises, nor oaths:

Οἷσιν οὔτε βωμοὶ, οὔτε πίστις, οὐθ' ὅρκος μένει.[q]
Who neither altars, oaths, nor trust revere.

That this was no calumny appears from the saying of Lysander, one of their greatest generals, that "boys are to be deceived with dice, but men (of another nation) with oaths."[r] We are told, indeed, that to serve their country was the principle and spring of all their actions, and that whatever was just or unjust was regarded by no other criterion.[s] The Athenians seem to have had a greater regard for honesty; for when Themistocles formed a design which would be advantageous to the commonwealth, and which he was to communicate to Aristides in private, the latter reported to the people that the contrivance was beneficial but very unjust, and Themistocles was commanded to desist from his intention.[t] Ἀττικὸς μάρτυς denoted a sincere and incorrupt witness; and Ἀττικὴ πίστις, an honest faith.[u] However, the honesty of the Athenians was not always proof against the specious and alluring temptation of the public good.[v]

CHAP. VII.

Grecian Divination, and Oracles in general.

It has been a universally received opinion, that the gods conversed familiarly with some men, whom they endowed with extraordinary powers, and whom they admitted to a knowledge of their counsels

[k] Plaut. Asinaria; Cic. pro Flacco; Polyb. lib. vi.
[l] Euripides.
[m] Zenodotus.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Eurip. Andromach. v. 446.
[p] Lycophron. Cassandra v. 1124. et Schol. in loc.
[q] Aristoph. Acharnensibus v. 307.
[r] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.
[s] Plutarch. Agesilao.
[t] Idem Themistocle.
[u] Vell. Paterc. Hist. lib. i.
[v] Plutarch. Aristide.

and designs. These men were by the Greeks called *μάντεις*; and *μαντικὴ* signified all kinds of divination, or a knowledge of obscure and future events, which cannot be attained by any ordinary or natural means. Divination was of two sorts;[w] one of which was denominated *ἄτεχνος* and *ἀδίδακτος*, unartificial or natural, as not being obtained by any rules or observations, but received by divine inspiration without any care or exertion of him to whom it was imparted. With this kind were the Sibyls and others endued, who delivered oracles and foretold future events by inspiration, without observing external signs. Another sort of divination was called *τεχνικὴ*, artificial, because it was not obtained by immediate inspiration, but was the effect of experience and observation, though not altogether destitute of divine direction and concurrence.

Oracles were denominated by the Greeks *χρησμοὶ*, *χρησμῳδίαι*, *χρησμῳδήματα*, *χρησμολογίαι*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ χρᾷν*, from giving answers,[x] *λόγια*,[y] *φήμαι ἐκ θεοῦ*,[z] *μαντεύματα*,[a] *θεοπρόπια*,[b] *θεσπίσματα*, *θέσφατα*, *φροντιστήρια*;[c] the interpreters or revealers of oracles, *χρησμολόγοι*;[d] the persons who consulted the oracles, *θεοπρόποι*, *θεωροὶ*,[e] *χρησμοφόροι*;[f] and the places in which they were delivered, *χρηστήρια*, *μαντεῖα*,[g] and *ἀνάκτορα*. Some of these names were also applied to other kinds of divination.

Of all sorts of divination, oracles were in the greatest repute, as they were thought to proceed immediately from the gods; whilst others were delivered by men who, through ignorance or mistake, or for some unlawful purpose, might conceal or betray the truth. Hence oracles obtained such credit and esteem among the Greeks, that they were consulted in all disputes and controversies;[h] and their determinations were held sacred and inviolable.[i] Nothing of moment was undertaken without first knowing the will of the gods: if a new form of government was to be instituted,[k] if war was to be proclaimed[l] or peace concluded, if laws were to be enacted,[m] the oracles were first consulted. No one was allowed to consult the gods till he had offered them presents and sacrifices, which probably contributed to raise the esteem of oracles among the common people, who commonly admire what they cannot attain. Hence few besides princes and men of opulence used to consult the oracles;[n] and to preserve the reverence with which oracles were regarded, even persons of the greatest rank and wealth were not allowed to consult them at all times, but only on certain stated days.[o]

As to the causes of oracles, it has been disputed whether they were the revelations of dæmons, or only the delusions of crafty and de-

[w] Plat. Phædo.
[x] Aristoph. Vesp. v. 159. Pluto v. 51.
[y] Aristoph. Equ. v. 120.
[z] Xenoph. Memor. lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 3.
[a] Aristoph. Vesp. v. 161.
[b] Hom. Il. α'. v. 85.
[c] Philostratus.
[d] Aristoph. Av. v. 961.
[e] Pollux lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 18.
[f] Pausan. Messen. cap. ix.
[g] Hesych. Plutarch. de Pyth. Orac.
[h] Xenoph. Ἀπομν. lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 9.
[i] Cic. de Divinat. lib. i. cap. 19.
[k] Plutarch. Agesilao; Cic. de Divin. lib. i. cap. 1.
[l] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 46. Pausan. Bœot. et Messen.
[m] Xenoph. de Laced. Rep. Strabo lib. xvi. Cic. ibid. lib. i. cap. 43.
[n] Plutarch. de Orac. Defect. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 50.
[o] Plutarch. Quæst. Gr.

signing men. That oracles were the invention of crafty persons, and that all the proceedings were deceitful, is scarcely credible; but it is very certain that they were frequently supported by the fraud and craft of men. Some have thought that they were produced by the exhalations of the earth, and by natural causes;[p] some, that they proceeded from human souls separated from their bodies;[q] and others have ascribed them to the power of the devil.[r]

But in what manner soever the question respecting the causes of oracles be decided, it was the common opinion that Jupiter was the first cause of all sorts of divination, and that he revealed what he thought fit to inferior dæmons out of the books of fate which he was supposed to possess. Hence he was surnamed *πανομφαῖος*, the author and dispenser of all divination;[s] and to him is ascribed the invention of oracles.[t] Of the other gods Apollo was reputed to have the greatest skill in predictions, and to preside over oracles and divinations; but this was only in subordination to Jupiter, and by participation with him:[u]

—— ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ
Ζεὺς ἐγκαθιεῖ Λοξίᾳ θεσπίσματα.[v]

On Phœbus Jove these oracles bestows.

Some say that Apollo received the art of divination from Pan;[w] some, that he was instructed by Themis;[x] and others, by Glaucus.[y] Lastly, some are of opinion that the heavenly Venus was the mother of the universe, and the inventor of all sorts of divination and foreknowledge.

The manner of delivering oracles varied in different places and at different times: in some places they were revealed by interpreters, as at Delphi;[z] and in others the gods themselves were supposed to answer *viva voce*,[a] by dreams,[b] by lots,[c] or in some other way. The oracles which the gods themselves pronounced, were denominated *χρησμοὶ αὐτόφωνοι*; those which were delivered by interpreters, *χρησμοὶ ὑποφητικοί*. In some places several modes were used. The persons who consulted Trophonius first received an answer to their questions in a dream; and if the dream was obscure and difficult to be understood, it was interpreted by men who were instructed in that art by the deity. Several other ways in giving answers to enquirers were also used.

[p] Cic. de Divin. lib. i. cap. 50. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 93.
[q] Plutarch. de Oracul. Defect.
[r] Tertullian. de Præscript. adv. Hæret. Lactant. lib. ii. cap. 14.
[s] Hom. Il. θ'. v. 250.
[t] Æsch. Prometh. Vinct. v. 476.
[u] Æschyl. Eumenid. v. 19.
[v] Idem in Fragm. Sacerdot.
[w] Apollon. Argon. lib. iii.
[x] Orphei Hymn. in Themid. v. 6.
[y] Athenæ. lib. ii.
[z] Pausan. Phocic. cap. ix.
[a] Pausan. ibid.
[b] Idem Atticis cap. xxxiv.
[c] Id. Achaic. cap. xxv. Cic. de Divin. lib. i. cap. 50.

CHAP. VIII.

The Oracles of Jupiter.

By some, Dodona is thought to have been a city of Thessaly; but others, with greater probability, place it in one of the northern districts of Epirus. It anciently belonged to the Thesprotians, but afterwards fell into the hands of the Molossians.[d] It was built by Deucalion, who peopled it with those who escaped from the universal deluge, in which the greatest part of Greece perished. He called the city Dodona, from Dodonim, the son of Javan, who led a colony into these parts of Epirus from the river Dodon or Don which flowed near it, or from a Phœnician man or woman of that name. At the same time also Deucalion founded a temple, which he consecrated to Jupiter, who was thence called Dodonæus.

This was the first temple in Greece; but the oracle seems to have been more ancient, as it is said to have been the most ancient of all the Grecian oracles.[e] The fable says that on a certain time two black pigeons flew from the city of Thebes in Egypt, and that one of them alighted in Libya, and the other at Dodona. The latter, sitting upon an oak, distinctly pronounced these words, "Institute on this spot an oracle in honor of Jupiter." The other pigeon enjoined the same thing to the inhabitants of Libya; and both were considered as interpreters of the will of the gods.[f] However absurd this story may seem, it appears to have had some foundation in fact. The Egyptian priests maintained that in ancient times two priestesses carried their sacred rites to Libya and Dodona; and in the language of the ancient people of Epirus, πέλειαι signified both pigeons and old women.[g] Prophetesses were also sometimes denominated πέλειαι, doves, because they predicted from the observation of those birds,[h] or because of their grey hairs.[i]

Some say that this oracle was founded by the Pelasgians, who were the most ancient people in Greece.[k] Others relate that the oracle of Dodona was transferred into Epirus from Pelasgia, a city of Thessaly, and that it was accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the prophetesses in succeeding ages were descended, and from whom Jupiter received the name of Pelasgicus.[l]

Dodona was situated at the foot of mount Tomarus, in which rose a great number of inexhaustible springs.[m] It was indebted for its wealth and fame to the strangers who consulted the oracle. The temple of Jupiter and the porticoes around it were decorated with innumerable statues, and with offerings from almost every nation on

[d] Strabo lib. x.
[e] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 52.
[f] Herodot. ibid. cap. 55.
[g] Strabo in Supplement. lib. vii. Serv. in Virg. Eclog. ix. v. 13. Lycophron. Cassandr. v. 357.
[h] Eustath. in Odys. ξ'.
[i] Schol. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 176.
[k] Strab. lib. vii. Hom. Il. π'. v. 235. Hesiod.
[l] Strabo.
[m] Strab. lib. vii. Theop. ap. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 1.

earth.[n] Not far from the temple was a spring which ebbed and flowed every day, and which, though its water was cold and extinguished lighted torches plunged into it, lighted torches that were extinguished when they were brought within a certain distance.[o]

Close to the temple, and sacred to Jupiter, was a forest of oaks,[p] or, as some say, of beeches,[q] which was supposed to be inhabited by Dryades, Fauni, and Satyri, who danced under the shade of the trees. The acorns of this wood were highly esteemed before the use of corn.[r] These oaks or beeches were said to be endued with a human voice, and with the spirit of prophecy; and hence they were called προσηγόροι and μαντικαὶ δρύες, speaking and prophesying oaks.[s] Argo, the ship of the Argonauts, being built with the trees of this wood, was also endued with the same power of speaking; and hence they called it λάληθρον κίσσαν, a chattering magpie.[t]

These, however, were mere fables; for who can now believe that trees were ever endued with the power of speaking, or that doves could prophesy?[u] The matter seems to have been thus:—the persons that delivered the oracles were, at the first, men who were called ὑποφῆται and Σελλοὶ,[v] the latter name being derived from Sellæ, a town in Epirus, or from the river Selleis.[w] They were also called Ἕλλοι, either because Jupiter's temple at Dodona was denominated Ἑλλὰ,[x] or for some other reason; and some think it not improbable that the words σ' Ἕλλοι[y] might be confounded into Σελλοὶ, either by a continuation of the words, or by changing the aspiration into the letter σ; and if so, these men were first denominated Ἕλλοι and not Σελλοί. They were designated by the epithets ἀνιπτόποδες, because as they never went out of the temple they had no occasion to wash their feet;[z] and χαμαιεῦναι, because they slept on the ground in skins, or because they lay on the ground and not in beds.[a] They were also called Τομάροι or Τομοῦροι, from the mountain Tomarus or Tomurus in Thesprotia, at the foot of which stood the temple.[b] These diviners, when they were consulted, placed themselves in one of the oaks (for some allow the faculty of speech only to one tree), from which they gave answers; and thus the oak was thought to utter the oracle, which was pronounced only out of the hollow stock, or from its branches.[c] Afterwards, the decisions of the oracle were delivered to three old women,[d] except to the Bœotians, who, on a certain occasion, having suspected the prophetess of favoring the enemy, threw her into the fire, and were adjudged to receive answers from men only.[e] As in the language of the Thessalians, these pro-

[n] Polyb. lib. iv. Id. lib. v.
[o] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 103. Lucret. lib. vi. Pompon. Mela lib. ii. cap. 3.
[p] Serv. in Virg. Georg. lib. i. v. 149. Hom. Odys. lib. xiv. v. 328.
[q] Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. v. 526. iv. v. 583. Herodot. lib. ii. Lucian. in Amor.
[r] Virg. Georg. lib. i. v. 7 et 149.
[s] Æschyl. Prometh. v. 817. Hom. Odys. lib. xiv. v. 328. lib. xix. v. 297.
[t] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 1319.
[u] Herodot. lib. ii.
[v] Strab. lib. vii. Hom. Il. π'. v. 235.
[w] Eustath. in Hom. Il. o'. v. 531.
[x] Hesych.
[y] Hom. Il. π'. v. 234.
[z] Euripid. Erecth. v. 123.
[a] Eustath. in Hom. Il. π'.
[b] Callim. Hymn. in Del. v. 284 et 942.
[c] Strabo lib. vii.
[d] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 55. Strabo ibid.
[e] Strabo lib. vii.

phetesses were denominated πελειάδες,[f] which also signifies doves,[g] the oracles were said to be delivered by doves.

The gods revealed their secrets to the priestesses of this temple in various modes. Sometimes these women entered the sacred forest, and placing themselves near the prophetic tree,[h] attentively observed the murmur of the leaves agitated by the zephyrs, or the groaning of the branches beaten by the storm. At other times, stopping at the side of a spring which gushes from the foot of this tree,[i] they listened to the noise produced by the bubbling of its fleeting waters: they carefully remarked the different gradations of sound, and from them presaged future events. They observed the same method in explaining the noise produced by the clashing of several copper basins, which were suspended round the temple,[k] and which were so placed that, if one was struck, all of them were put in motion.

Near the temple also were two columns,[l] on one of which was a brazen vessel or kettle, and on the other the figure of a boy holding a whip with three little brass thongs or flexible chains, having a knob at the end of each. These thongs or chains, carried by the wind, struck against the vessel or kettle, and produced a sound of considerable duration.[m] The priestess was accustomed to calculate the continuance of this sound, which she made subservient to her purposes, and which gave rise to the proverb Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, as applied to talkative persons.[n] Κερκυραίων μάστιξ was another proverb not much different from the last, and was taken from the whip, which, with the kettle and boy, was dedicated to the Corcyreans.[o]

This oracle was also sometimes consulted by lot, which was done by putting scrolls or dice into an urn, whence they were fortuitously drawn.[p]

Dione, the daughter of Uranos, is said to have participated with Jupiter the incense burnt at the temple of Dodona.[q] This oracle is said to have ceased about the time of Augustus Cæsar.[r]

At Elis was an oracle of Olympian Jupiter, which was once famous, but did not long continue in repute. The temple, however, preserved its ancient splendor, was adorned with magnificent structures, and enriched with presents from every part of Greece.[s]

An altar was dedicated to Jupiter at Pisa, where answers were given by the posterity of Janus.[t]

In Crete was a very ancient oracle of Jupiter, from which Minos is said to have received the laws which he afterwards enacted.[u] This oracle was delivered in a cave under the earth, where the divine will was revealed by dreams, in which the gods conversed familiarly with the inquirers.[v] In the same island was a temple dedicated to Jupi-

[f] Pausan. Phocic. Hesych.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 15.
[h] Hom. Odys. lib. xiv. v. 328. Sophocl. Trachin. v. 174.
[i] Serv. in Virg. Æn. lib. iii. v. 466.
[k] Eustath. in Hom. Odyss. lib. xiv.
[l] Aristot. ap. Suid. in Δωδὼν, et ap. Eustath. ibid. Strab. Supplem. lib. vii.
[m] Strab. Supplem. ibid. Philostr. Icon. lib. ii. cap. 34.
[n] Menand. Ἀρρηφόροι.
[o] Epitom. Strab. lib. vii.
[p] Cic. de Divin. lib. i. cap. 54. lib. ii. cap. 32.
[q] Strabo lib. vii.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. lib. viii.
[t] Pind. Olymp. Od. vi.
[u] Hom. Odys. lib. xix. v. 179. Strabo.
[v] Maxim. Tyr. Diss. xxvii.

ter,[w] which stood upon Mount Ida,[x] and which was sometimes called Ἀρκέσιον, from ἀρκέσαι, to help or defend, because the sons of Titan, when vanquished by Saturn, fled into this cave and escaped his fury.[y]

CHAP. IX.

The Oracles of Apollo.

Apollo was thought more peculiarly to preside over prophets, and to inspire them with the knowledge of future events; and hence he was designated by the epithet κερδῶος, gainful, on account of the profits which mankind received from his predictions.[z]

The oracles of Apollo were not only the most numerous, but also of the greatest repute. Among them the oracle at Delphi claimed the first place on account of its antiquity, in which it vied with that of Dodona, the truth and perspicuity of its answers, the magnificence of its structures, the number and value of the ἀναθήματα, presents, dedicated to the god, and the multitudes that resorted thither for counsel; for in these respects it surpassed not only all the oracles of other gods, but even those sacred to Apollo himself.

The place in which the oracles were delivered, was called Pythium;[a] the priestess who pronounced them, Pythia;[b] the sports instituted in honor of Apollo, were denominated Pythian;[c] and Apollo himself was called Pythius. These denominations are said to have had their origin from Python, a serpent, or a man so called from his cruelty, who possessed this place, and whom Apollo overcame;[d] ἀπὸ τοῦ πύθεσθαι, from putrifying, because the carcase of Python was suffered to lie there and putrify;[e] ἀπὸ τοῦ πυθέσθαι, from inquiring, because the oracle was there consulted:[f] but the true origin seems to have been Πύθω, which was another name of the city of Delphi,[g] and was so called from Pythis, the son of Delphus and grandson of Apollo.

The city of Delphi was thought to be situated in the middle of the earth.[h] The poets feign that to discover this, Jupiter sent forth two eagles, or crows, or swans, one from the east, the other from the west, and that they met together precisely at this place.[i] It is said, however, to have been situated in the middle of Greece,[k] and was thence commonly called Ὀμφαλὸς, which signifies a navel; and the oracle was sometimes denominated μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον.[l] In allu-

[w] Plato de Leg. lib. i.
[x] Maxim. Tyr. Diss. xxii.
[y] Etymolog. Auctor.
[z] Schol. in Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 208.
[a] Aristoph. Equ. v. 220.
[b] Pausan. Corinth. cap. 26.
[c] Pausan. ibid. cap. xxxii. Id. Phocic. cap. xxxvii. Ovid. Met. lib. i. v. 446.
[d] Macrob. Sat. i. v. 17.
[e] Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 372.
[f] Strab. lib. ix. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 39.
[g] Callim. Hym. in Del. v. 90. Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 80. Hesiod. θ'. v. 499.
[h] Æschyl. Choeph. v. 1036. Euripid. Orest. v. 330. Id. Phœniss. v. 244. Id. Ion. v. 233. Plato de Rep. lib. iv.
[i] Pausan. lib. x. Pind. Pyth. Od. iv. v. 6. Strab. lib. ix. Plut. de Orac. Def.
[k] Strabo.
[l] Sophocles.

sion to that name, there was in the temple the figure of a navel made of white stone, with a riband hanging from it, and upon it were placed two eagles, in memory of those dispatched by Jupiter.[m] Some, however, are of opinion that this name was derived from the divine answers which were given there, and which were called *ὀμφαί*.[n]

The origin of this oracle is variously related. Some say that it first belonged to Earth, by whom Daphne, a mountain nymph, was constituted priestess.[o] Some report that it was sacred both to Earth and Neptune; that Earth gave answers herself, but that Neptune had an interpreter named Pyrco; and that afterwards Neptune resigned his share to Earth.[p] This goddess was succeeded by Themis, who delivered oracles at the time of Deucalion's deluge.[q] Some say that Themis possessed this oracle from the beginning;[r] and we know that Themis and the Earth were commonly reputed the same goddess under different names, *πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία*.[s] Hence Themis is called *θεῶν πρεσβυτάτη*, the oldest of the gods.[t] Some say that this oracle was first possessed by Earth; then by Themis, daughter of Earth, who resigned it to her sister Phœbe, by whom it was at length given to Apollo.[u] Some relate that Apollo having seized this oracle by force, Earth endeavoured to precipitate him into the infernal regions;[v] and some, that Apollo having expelled Themis was himself expelled by Earth, but recovered the oracle by the assistance of Jupiter.[w] Agreeably to this it is said that Apollo, having learned the art of divination from Pan, came to Delphi, where oracles were then given by Themis, and killing Python, the serpent which guarded the mouth of the sacred cavern, he seized the oracle.[x] When this oracle was possessed by Earth, she returned answers by dreams.[y] Others say that the Delphian oracle belonged to Saturn.[z] At length, however, it was possessed by Apollo, who did not long enjoy it alone; for in the war against the sons of Titan, Bacchus being much wounded was afterwards restored to his brother Apollo, who received him into his temple, and ordered divine honors to be paid him.[a] Hence some are of opinion that the city was called Delphi, from *ἀδελφοὶ*, brethren, because Apollo and Bacchus were both sons of Jupiter.

This oracle is said to have been first discovered by goats; in memory of which the Delphians, when they asked counsel of the god, generally offered a goat. The manner of the discovery is thus related. Some goats straying among the rocks of Mount Parnassus, and approaching a fissure in the earth that emitted unwholesome exhalations, were suddenly affected with extraordinary and convulsive motions, and uttered strange sounds.[b] The goatherd observing this,

[m] Strabo; Pausanias.
[n] Lactantius; Varro.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. cap. 16. Pausan. Phocic.
[p] Diod. Sic.
[q] Ovid. Met.
[r] Pausan. Phocic.
[s] Æschyl. Prometh. Vinct. v. 210.
[t] Aristid. Orat. de Concord. ad Rhod.
[u] Æschyl. Eumenid. initio.
[v] Pind. Schol. in Æschyl.
[w] Eurip. Iphigen. v. 1259.
[x] Apollodorus.
[y] Eurip. ibid.
[z] Cœl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. lib. xvi.
[a] Tetzes in Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 209.
[b] Plut. de Orac. Defec. Pausan. lib. x. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi.

and wondering at the cause, went to view the cavern, and was seized with a similar frenzy, in which he leaped and danced, and uttered strange and foreboding expressions. This being noised abroad, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood flocked to the place, and breathing the same vapor, experienced the same effects, and in their delirium pronounced broken and unconnected phrases. These words were immediately considered as predictions; and the vapor of the cavern was supposed to be a divine breath, which unveiled the secrets of futurity.[c] At length, after many possessed with this frenzy had thrown themselves into the cavern, an edict was issued which commanded that no one should approach it; and over the mouth of the cavern was placed a tripod, upon which a virgin was ordered to sit, and there deliver the answers of the god. This oracle was very ancient, and flourished more than one hundred years before the Trojan war; and from it the Greeks are said to have received the celebrated answer, that Troy should be taken by them in the tenth year.[d]

Some say that the tripod placed upon the mouth of the cavern was a pot filled with dust, through which the *afflatus* passed into the belly of the virgin, and thence proceeded through the mouth; some, that it was a wide brass pot, filled with ψῆφοι, pebbles, by the motion of which the prophetess formed her conjectures;[e] some, that it was a large vessel with three feet, into which the prophetess plunged when she expected to be inspired; but the general opinion is, that it was not a vessel, but a table or seat, on which the Pythia leaned or sat.[f] The tripod was denominated χρηστήριος[g] and προφητικὸς;[h] and the cover of the tripod, or, as some say, the tripod itself, ὅλμος,[i] which properly denotes a mortar or round stone.[k] Hence the prophetess was called Ἐνολμις, and Apollo himself Ἔνολμος;[l] and hence also originated the proverb ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω, which was applied to those who spoke prophetically; which some, however, derive from a diviner named Holmus, and which others think to refer to the superstitious custom of sleeping in the ὅλμος when a prophetical dream was desired.[m] The tripod was sacred to Apollo, either from the perfection of the number three, or in allusion to the three celestial circles, two of which the sun touches, and in his annual course passes over the third.[n] The three legs of the tripod are supposed to signify the knowledge of the god, as distinguished by the present, past, and future time:[o]

Ὃς ἤδη τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα.[p]

Whose comprehensive view
The past, the present, and the future knew. Pope.

The same tripod was not always used: the first was placed there by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country; the second, which was wrought by Vulcan and made of brass, and seems to have been that

[c] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 93.
[d] Schol. in Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 202.
[e] Schol. in Aristophan. Lysistr.
[f] Cœli. Lect. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 15.
[g] Eurip. Ion. v. 1320.
[h] Schol. Pindar. in ὑποθέσει Πυθίων.
[i] Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 9.
[k] Hesychius.
[l] Sophocles.
[m] Aristophan. in Zenodot.
[n] Phurnut. de Nat. Deor.
[o] Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. initio.
[p] Hom. Il. α'. v. 70.

which was so famed by the poets, was presented to Apollo by Pelops, at his marriage with Hippodamia, the daughter of Œnomaus, king of the Eleans; the third, which was of gold, was dedicated to Apollo by certain fishermen of Miletus, who in fishing drew it from the water, and presented it to the god.[q] The tripod was called in Latin *cortina*, which was also the name given to the cover, from its being made of the skin of the Python. Others, however, are of opinion that *cortina* signified the tent in which the tripod was kept, and which was round like that of a cauldron; and hence the celestial hemisphere is called *cœli cortina*,[r] and the tholus, or round compass at the top of a theatre, *cortina theatri*.

The person that delivered the oracles of the god was a woman, whom the Greeks called Pythia, Pythonissa, and Phœbas. The most celebrated of these was Phœmonoë, who was remarkable as well from being the first priestess, as from her clothing the oracles in heroic verse.[s] Some say that prophets delivered this oracle;[t] and others, that Apollo chose the men of Crete to publish his answers;[u] but it is probable that these were priests and ὑποφῆται, who publicly made known the answers which were received from the Pythia.[v]

At first there was only one Pythia at Delphi; but after the oracle became more frequented, two were appointed, and to them was afterwards added a third.[w] These women were virgins, till one of them was violated by a Thessalian; after which it was decreed that they should be above fifty years of age, in order that they might be secured from the attempts of lust, or that the loss of their chastity might not bring the oracles or religion into contempt. They wore, however, the habit of virgins, by which to signify their purity and modesty.[x] They officiated by turns, and were chosen from among the lowest classes of the inhabitants of Delphi.[y] In general they were poor girls destitute of education and experience, of unexceptionable morals, and a very limited understanding.[z] They were obliged to observe the strictest rules of temperance and chastity, to dress simply, and to avoid the use of perfumes and purple garments.[a]

Before the Pythia ascended the tripod, she washed her whole body, and especially her hair, in the fountain of Castalis, which was at the foot of Mount Parnassus, and of which poets, who were inspired by the same deity, used to drink. Sometimes also she drank of this water which flowed in the sanctuary, and which, as it was said, possessed the virtue of disclosing futurity.[b] When she first sat down upon the tripod, she shook the laurel tree that grew near it, and sometimes ate the leaves.[c] Both herself and the tripod were covered with chaplets and branches of laurel,[d] which, as it was thought to conduce to inspiration, was called *μαντικὸν φυτὸν*, the prophetic plant.

[q] Schol. in Aristophan. Plut.
[r] Ennius.
[s] Pausan. Phocic. cap. 5. Strabo. l. ix.
[t] Ælian. de Animal. lib. x. cap. 26. Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 37.
[u] Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 393.
[v] Strabo lib. ix. Plutarch. de Python. Orac.
[w] Plut. de Orac. Defect.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. xvi.
[y] Eurip. Ion. v. 92.
[z] Plut. de Python. Orac.
[a] Plut. ibid.
[b] Pausan. lib. x. Lucian. in Bis Accus.
[c] Lucian. ibid.
[d] Aristophan. Plut. v. 39.

The Pythia being placed upon the tripod received the divine *afflatus* into her belly; and hence she was called ἐγγαστρίμυθος or στερνόμαντις. As soon as she became inspired, she began to swell and foam at the mouth, tore her hair, mangled her flesh, and appeared like one distracted. Sometimes the paroxysm was such as to deprive her of life.[e] It is said that under the tripod sometimes appeared a dragon, which returned answers, and which once killed the Pythia.

For some time, the oracle was consulted during only one month of the year, which was called Βύσιος, or Φύσιος, from φύειν, to spring up, because it was in the beginning of spring; or Πύσιος, which was so denominated διὰ τὴν πύσιν, because in that month they were allowed to inquire of the oracle. The seventh day of this month was called Apollo's birth-day, by the name of Πολύφθοος, because on that day Apollo returned many answers. When, however, it became inconvenient to those who wished to consult the god, to wait till the month returned, one day in every month was appointed for that purpose.[f]

They who consulted the oracle were required to make large and valuable presents to the god; by which means this temple excelled all others in riches, splendor, and magnificence.[g] Hence originated the proverb χρήματα Ἀφήτορος, the wealth of Apollo, which signified an abundance of riches.[h] Besides, they who wished to consult the oracle were obliged to sacrifice animals to the god. If a bull was offered, it was necessary that the animal should readily eat the flour presented to it; and if a goat, that its limbs should palpitate for some moments after cold water was thrown on them. These tokens were required to indicate that the sacrifice was acceptable to the god;[i] for unless the omens were favorable, the priestess would not give any answer. Those, however, who rendered the god only a simple homage, deposited cakes and other offerings.[k] At the sacrifices, five priests, named ὅσιοι, holy, assisted the prophets, and performed several offices with them. This priesthood was perpetual in the family, which pretended to deduce its origin from Deucalion. Over the priests presided the high priest, who was denominated ὁσιωτὴρ, purifier.[l] The prophets who attended on the Pythia were three in number, and were chosen by lot from the chief persons at Delphi. Their office was to sit near the tripod, to reduce into order the words uttered by the Pythia, and deliver the answers of the god to those who consulted the oracle.[m] There were also persons who were called περιηγηταὶ, conductors, who were guides to those that approached the temple, and who pointed out to them whatever was worthy of notice, and especially the gifts which had been presented to the god.[n] There was likewise another priest who assisted the prophetess in managing the oracle, and who, as well as Apollo, was called ἀφήτωρ. Women of an advanced age were employed to take care that the sa-

[e] Plut. de Orac. Defec.

[f] Plut. Quæst. Græc. c. 9.

[g] Cic. de Divin. lib. i. Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6. Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. v. 1275. Strabo lib. ix.

[h] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 404. Strabo ibid. Plut. de Orac. Defec.

[k] Eurip. Ion. v. 226.

[l] Plut. Quæst. Græc.

[m] Eurip. Ion. v. 414. Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 39. Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. vi. cap. 10.

[n] Plut. de Pyth. Orac.

cred fire was not extinguished,[o] and to keep it burning with the wood of the fir-tree.[p]

After offering to the god sacrifices in which the omens were favorable, they who consulted the oracle returned into the temple with their heads crowned with laurel, and bearing in their hands a branch encircled with a narrow fillet of white wool.[q] With this symbol the suppliants approached the altars. It was, however, required previously to this that they should deliver their questions in writing,[r] and as briefly as possible,[s] and wait till their turn of approaching the Pythia should be decided by lot.[t]

The answers of the god were always returned in the Greek language.[u] The ancient Greeks delivered their laws in verse; and hence *νόμος*, which signifies a law, is frequently used to denote verses or songs.[v] The answers of the Pythia were commonly given in rude and unpolished verses,[w] which were generally in hexameter,[x] and sometimes in iambic measure,[y] according to the ability of the person to whom this office was committed; for some are of opinion that poets were maintained in the temple, to collect and arrange the words pronounced by the Pythia, and clothe them in verse.[z] The custom, however, of giving answers in verse was not universally prevalent, as it is certain that they were sometimes delivered in prose; and it appears that in later ages verse was less used on these occasions than prose, which seems to have been generally adopted in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who reigned about three hundred years before the Christian æra.[a]

The Delphian oracles, if compared with others, might justly be considered as plain and perspicuous; and it was usual for those, who had received an obscure answer at Dodona, to request Apollo at Delphi to explain its meaning. They were, however, in general so very obscure and ambiguous, that Apollo was called Λοξίας, because his answers were λοξὰ, crooked, or difficult to be understood;[b] and the god is said not to speak plainly, nor wholly conceal the matter, but only to hint what was to happen;[c] and, therefore, if the event proved contrary to what was expected, the interpretation of the oracles, rather than the knowledge or veracity of Apollo, was called in question. The reason of this affected obscurity was said to be that impure persons ought not to be admitted to sacred things;[d] by which it appears that it was deemed a profanation of religion to communicate mysteries in plain terms to the ignorant.

As the answers received at Delphi were commonly such that they

[o] Æschyl. Choeph, v. 1037. Plutarch. Numa.

[p] Plutarch. de Ei.

[q] Æschyl. Choeph. v. 1035. Id. Eumenid. v. 40. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 11. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 21.

[r] Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 39.

[s] Philostrat. lib. vi. cap. 5.

[t] Eurip. Ion. v. 419. Æschyl. Eumenid. v. 32.

[u] Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 135. Plut. Aristid. Cic. de Divin. lib. ii.

[v] Aristotel.

[w] Plut. de Pyth. Orac.

[x] Schol. in Eurip. Orest. v. 1094. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 144. Pausan. Phocic.

[y] Pausan. Messen. Schol. Aristoph. ib.

[z] Plut. de Pyth. Orac.

[a] Cic. de Divin. lib. ii.

[b] Cic. ibid. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 8.

[c] Plut. de Pyth. Orac.

[d] Clem. Alex. Strom. v.

appeared to suit any event which happened, it is not to be wondered that they were considered as most true by the ignorant and credulous;[e] and the veracity of this oracle was so famous, that τὰ ἐκ τρίποδος was a proverbial expression for certain and infallible truths.[f] It is, indeed, impossible that the Delphian oracle should have been held in such estimation, or have received such great and valuable presents from kings and nations, if the truth of its predictions had not been sufficiently attested.[g] To the more sagacious, however, the answers of the oracle were suspected, especially as they knew that the Pythia was sometimes corrupted by presents; and Demosthenes complained that the priestess was bribed φιλιππίζειν, or speak as Philip, king of Macedon, wished.[h] Perialla, the Pythia, was deprived of her office, because she had suffered herself to be bribed by Cleomenes to say that Demaratus, the colleague of Cleomenes, was not the true son of Aristo, king of Sparta, for the purpose of procuring the dethronement of Demaratus.[i] It is to be observed, however, in justice to the oracle, that these irregularities are said to have taken place only in later ages.[k]

At what time, or on what account, this oracle ceased, is uncertain. In the time of Cicero it had fallen into contempt;[l] but it was not entirely silent during the reign of Nero;[m] and it gave answers in the time of Julian the Apostate.[n] When Apollo forsook Delphi, it is said that he betook himself to the Hyperborean Scythians.[o]

There was another oracle of Apollo at Cirrha, a sea-port belonging to Delphi, from which it was distant about sixty stadia.[p] At this place prosperous oracles only were pronounced; and if any calamity was to befal those who went thither for advice, the god declared it by his silence. There was a cavern at Cirrha, as well as at Delphi.[q] Some speak of this oracle in such a manner as renders it probable that it was the same as the oracle at Delphi.[r] A prophetess delivered oracles at Cirrha, as well as at Delphi.[s]

Next to this oracle may justly be reckoned that which was at Delos, the most celebrated of the Cyclades, which are a cluster of islands in the Ægean sea, and which derived their name from their being situated around Delos in the form of a κύκλος, circle.[t] This island was famous among the poets for having been the birth-place of Apollo and Diana,[u] the former of whom was frequently called Delius Apollo,[v] and the latter Delia.[w] It was accounted so sacred and inviolable, that the Persians, when they pillaged and destroyed most of the other Grecian temples, dared to attempt nothing against the tem-

[e] Euripid. Electr. v. 399. Æschyl. Choeph. v. 557 et 901. Cic. de Divin. lib. i. cap. 19.
[f] Cic. ad Brut. Epist. 2.
[g] Idem.
[h] Idem de Divin. lib. ii.
[i] Pausan. Lacon. cap. iv.
[k] Cic. de Divin. lib. ii.
[l] Idem ibid. cap. 57.
[m] Sueton. in Neron. cap. 40. Themist. Orat. xix.
[n] Theodoret. Hist. Eccles.
[o] Claud. Suid. in v. Ἄβαρις; Diod. Sic.
[p] Stat. Theb. lib. vii. v. 411.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. iii. v. 474.
[r] Senec. Hercul. Œt. v. 92.
[s] Id. Œdip. v. 269.
[t] Strab. lib. x. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.
[u] Hor. Od. lib. i. Od. xxi. v. 10.
[v] Id. ibid. lib. iii. Od. iv. v. 64. Virg. Æn. lib. iii. v. 162.
[w] Virg. Eclog. iii. v. 67. vii. v. 29.

ple in this island. The temple of Apollo at Delos was situated about one hundred paces from the sea shore, which looked towards Eubœa. In this place an image of the god, in the shape of a dragon, was erected; and here he gave answers which in plainness and perspicuity exceeded those at Delphi.[x] The answers of the god, however, were not to be expected during the whole year; for Apollo resided here only in summer, and in winter retired to Patara, a city of Cilicia.[y] One of the altars was reckoned by some among the wonders of the world.[z] It was not gold nor marble which was admired in it; horns of animals, forcibly bent and artfully interwoven, formed a whole equally solid and regular. This altar was said to be the work of the god himself in his childhood, and was composed of the horns of the wild goats which fed on mount Cynthus, and which fell beneath the shafts of Diana.[a] To sacrifice any living creature on this altar was considered unlawful, and a profanation of the place which Apollo wished to preserve free from blood and from all pollution.

The temple, which was built of Parian marble, and covered with festoons and garlands, was first founded by Eresichthon, the son of Cecrops.[b] New embellishments were continually added by the different states of Greece. In this edifice was a statue of Apollo, less celebrated for the delicacy of the workmanship than for its antiquity.[c] The god was represented holding his bow in one hand; and to signify that music owed to him its origin and charms, with his left he supported the three graces, of whom one had a lyre, another a flute, and a third a pipe. Here also was the palm tree which was sacred to Latona, and which supported her when she brought forth Apollo and Diana.[d]

No dogs were allowed to be brought up in Delos,[e] because they tore in pieces Thasus, the son of Anius, and priest of Apollo.[f] It was also unlawful for any person to die or be born in this island;[g] and therefore, when the Athenians were commanded by the oracle to purify Delos, they dug the dead bodies out of their graves, and conveyed them over the sea to be buried in one of the adjacent islands. After this, they issued an edict commanding all pregnant women, and persons sick of any dangerous disease, to depart to the isle of Rhena.

The Athenians made an annual procession to Delos. The author of this custom was Theseus, who, with other Athenian youths, being sent into Crete to be devoured by the Minotaur, vowed to Apollo that if he would grant them a safe return, they would make a solemn voyage to his temple at Delos every year. This deputation was called *θεωρία*; the persons employed in it were denominated *θεωροὶ*, and *δηλιασταὶ* from the name of the island; the principal of them was called *ἀρχιθέωρος*; and the ship in which they went *θεωρὶς* or *δηλιάς*. The voyage was always made in the same ship which carried

[x] Alexand. ab Alex.
[y] Serv. in Virg. Æn. lib. iv. v. 143.
[z] Plut. de Solert. Animal. Diog. Laert. lib. viii. seg. 13.
[a] Callim. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 60.
[b] Euseb. Chronic. lib. ii.
[c] Plutarch. de Mus.
[d] Hom. Odys. v. 162. Callim. in Del. v. 208. Cic. de Leg. lib. i. Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 44. Pausan. lib. viii. cap. 23.
[e] Thucyd. lib. iv. Strab. lib. x.
[f] Hygin. 247. Ovid. in Ibin 479.
[g] Æschyl. Epist. ad Philocr. Plut. Apoph. Lacon.

Theseus and his companions to Crete.[h] This ship was preserved till the time of Demetrius Phalereus, the Athenians continually changing the old and rotten planks for those which were new and entire.[i] Hence the materials of the vessel were denominated ἀειζώοντα, ever-living.[k] Hence, however, it furnished matter of dispute to the philosophers, whether, after undergoing so many repairs and alterations, it might still be considered the same ship; and it served as an instance of illustrating the opinion of those who held that the body remained the same, notwithstanding the continual decay of its parts, and the acquisition of new matter, in the several stages of life. The commencement of the voyage was computed from the time that the priest of Apollo adorned the stern of the ship with garlands;[l] and from that time they began to cleanse and purify the city. It was unlawful to put any malefactor to death till the return of the sacred ship; for which reason Socrates was reprieved during thirty days after his condemnation.[m] The θεωροὶ wore garlands of laurel upon their heads, and were accompanied by two of the family of the κήρυκες, who were appointed to be παράσιτοι at Delos for that year; by two chorusses of boys and maidens,[n] who were to sing hymns and perform dances; and by ten inspectors, chosen by lot, who presided at the sacrifices.[o] Before them went men with axes in their hands, as if they designed to clear the roads of robbers, in memory of Theseus, who in his journey from Trœzen to Athens freed the country from the robbers that infested those parts.[p] When the deputation came before the god, an offering was made to him of a crown of gold, and soon after was heard the bellowing of a hundred oxen,[q] that fell beneath the sacred steel. This sacrifice was followed by a dance, in which the young Athenians represented the motion and wanderings of the island of Delos, whilst driven over the sea at the pleasure of the winds.[r] Scarcely was this ended, when the Delian youth joined them, to figure the windings of the labyrinth of Crete, in imitation of Theseus, who after his victory over the Minotaur had performed this dance near the altar.[s] Those who most distinguished themselves in these dances were rewarded with tripods of the value of a thousand drachmas, which they consecrated to the god; and their names were proclaimed by the two heralds[t] who accompanied the theoria. When the deputation went to Delos, it was said ἀναβαίνειν, to ascend; when it returned, καταβαίνειν, to descend. At its return the people ran to meet the deputation, opened their doors, and paid homage as it passed.[u]

There was another oracle called Apollo Didymæus, which was so named from the double light imparted by the god to mankind; the one being directly from his own body, the other by reflection from the moon.

[h] Plut. Thes. Callim. Hymn. in Bellum.
[i] Plutarch. Theseo.
[k] Callim. Hym. in Bell.
[l] Plat. Phædon. Plut. Theseo.
[m] Plat. ibid. Xenoph. Memor. lib. iv.
[n] Plat. ibid. Xenoph. ibid. lib. iii.
[o] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 107.
[p] Æschyl. Eumenid. initio.
[q] Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 57.
[r] Lucian. de Salt.
[s] Callim. in Del. v. 312. Plut. Thes.
[t] Pollux lib. ix. cap. 6. seg. 61. Athenæ. lib. vi. cap. 6.
[u] Eurip. Hippolyt.

The place was also called Didyma, and belonged to the Milesians; and hence Apollo was sometimes called Milesius. It was also denominated the oracle of the Branchidæ; and Apollo himself was called Branchides, from Branchus, who was the reputed son of Macareus, but begotten by Apollo.[v] Some derive the name from Branchus, a Thessalian youth, beloved by Apollo, who received him into his temple, and commanded that divine honors should be paid him after death. Others tell us that this oracle was sacred to Jupiter and Apollo;[w] and, perhaps, it belonged to all the three. We are, however, assured that it was a very ancient oracle, and frequented by all the Ionians and Æolians;[x] and it is said to have been the best of all the Grecian oracles, that at Delphi alone excepted.[y] The answers of this oracle were delivered by a woman, who held in her hand a divine rod, or sitting on a wheel foretold things to happen: sometimes she dipped her feet or garment in the water, or drew her prophecies from the vapor that proceeded from the fountain.[z] In the Persian war this temple was plundered and burnt, being delivered into the hands of the barbarians by the Branchidæ or priests, who, conscious of the wickedness of the action, and fearing to suffer the punishment which they so justly deserved, requested Xerxes to grant them a retreat in some remote part of Asia, whence they might never return into Greece.[a] After the Persians had been vanquished, and peace restored, it was rebuilt by the Milesians with such magnificence that it surpassed nearly all the other Grecian temples in size. It was so large, that it equalled a village in extent, and contained four or five stadia; and it, therefore, remained uncovered.[b]

At Abæ, a city of Phocis, was an oracle of Apollo,[c] which was more ancient than that at Delphi.[d] The temple of this oracle was burnt by Xerxes.[e]

At Claros, a city of Ionia, and not far distant from Colophon, was an oracle of Apollo, which was first instituted by Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, who fled to that place in the second Theban war, when the Epigoni invaded Thebes under the conduct of Alcmæon, and sought to revenge their father's death. From the name of the city this temple was denominated Clarius.[f] The person who delivered answers was generally chosen from some particular families, and for the most part was a native of Miletus.[g] Though commonly unlettered and very ignorant, yet he returned the oracles in verses, which were satisfactory, and adapted to the wish of the inquirers. The prophecies were made by virtue of a well, which was feigned to have sprung from the tears of Manto, when she bewailed the desolation of her country. When any one came to consult the oracle, the person who delivered the answers descended into the well; and the

[v] Varro.
[w] Stephan. Byzant. v. Δίδυμα.
[x] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 157.
[y] Conon. Narrat. xxxiii.
[z] Iamblich. de Myster. Sect. iii. cap. 2.
[a] Strab. lib. xiv. Suidas v. Βραγχίδαι.
[b] Idem ibid. et lib. xvii.
[c] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 46.
[d] Stephan. v. Ἄβαι; Hesych. Phavorin. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 908.
[e] Pausan. Phocic.
[f] Virg. Æn. lib. iii. v. 360.
[g] Cœl. Rhod. Ant. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 5.

water being prejudicial to his health, he shortened his life by the practice of this unwholesome ceremony.[h] By this oracle the untimely death of Germanicus was foretold.[i]

At Larissa, a fort of the Argives, was an oracle of Apollo, surnamed Δειραδιώτης, from Diras, a region belonging to Argos. The answers in this place were delivered by a woman, who was forbidden any intercourse with men. Every month she sacrificed a lamb in the night; and having tasted the blood of the victim, she was immediately seized with a divine frenzy.[k]

Apollo had another famous oracle at Eutresis, a village in Bœotia, which was situated on the road between Thespis and Platæa.[l]

Oropæan Apollo delivered oracles at Orope, a city of Eubœa.[m]

At Orobiæ in Eubœa, was an oracle of Apollo Selinuntius, which was said to be ἀψευδέστατον μαντεῖον, a most infallible oracle.[n]

At Corype in Thessaly, was an oracle of Corypæan Apollo.[o]

At Hybla was an oracle of Apollo.[p]

At Ichnæa in Macedonia, was an oracle of Apollo Ichnæus.[q]

Tegyræ, a city of Bœotia, was famous for the oracle sacred to Tegyræan Apollo, which was frequented till the time of the Persian war, after which it became silent.[r]

Ptous, a mountain in Bœotia, was famous for the oracles delivered by Apollo, surnamed Ptous from the mountain, where was a temple dedicated to him. This oracle ceased when Thebes was demolished by Alexander.[s]

Apollo, surnamed Δαφναῖος, from Daphne his beloved mistress, or from the laurel into which she was transformed, had an oracle near the Castalian fountain, the waters of which were also endued with a prophetic virtue.[t] This fountain took its rise from between two ridges of rocks, which overtopped the city of Delphi.[u]

Apollo was called Ismenius from Ismenus, a river and mountain in Bœotia, where he had a temple in which he delivered oracles.

At another place in Bœotia was a stone called σωφρονιστὴρ, upon which Apollo had an altar erected to him out of the ashes of victims offered to him; and hence he was called Σπόδιος, from σποδὸς, ashes. He did not here, as in other places, signify his will by inspired prophets, but by κληδόνες, ominous sounds, which were observed by persons instructed and appointed for that purpose.[v]

CHAP. X.

The Oracle of Trophonius.

Trophonius, the son of Eresinus, and brother of Agamedes,

[h] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 103.
[i] Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 54.
[k] Pausan. Corinth.
[l] Stephan. v. Εὔτρησις.
[m] Idem.
[n] Strab. lib. x.
[o] Nicand. Theriac.
[p] Athenæ. lib. xv. cap. 4.
[q] Hesych. v. Ἰχναίην.
[r] Plutarch. Pelopid.
[s] Pausan. Bœotic.
[t] Clem. Protrept.
[u] Pausan. lib. x. cap. 8.
[v] Idem Bœot. Suid. Diod. Sicul. ib. xvi. cap. 16.

being desirous of glory, built himself a mansion, under ground, at Lebadea, a city of Bœotia. When he entered into this subterranean abode, he pretended to be inspired with an extraordinary knowledge of future events; but at length, either from a design of exciting an opinion among men that he was translated into the number of the gods, or from some other cause, he perished in the cave.[w] Some say that Trophonius and Agamedes, having built the temple of Delphi, contrived a secret passage, in order to steal during the night the treasure deposited in the temple; and that Agamedes being caught in a snare, Trophonius, to avoid suspicion, cut off his head, and was himself, some time after, swallowed up by the earth which opened beneath his feet.[x] Others affirm that the two brothers having completed the temple, supplicated Apollo, that as a recompense for labor he would bestow on them the best thing that could happen to man. The god promised that they should receive it the third day after; and on that day they were recompensed with death in a peaceful slumber.[y] Several other fables respecting Trophonius, and the manner of his death, are related.[z]

Certain, however, it is, that he had divine honors paid him after death, and that he was worshipped by the name of Jupiter Trophonius;[a] for it was not unusual for men deified to be honored with the name of a god, as Agamemnon was worshipped at Sparta by the name of Jupiter Agamemnon.[b]

This oracle came first into repute on the following:—when there had been no rain in Bœotia during the space of two years, the several cities of that country appointed certain persons to pay their devotions to Apollo at Delphi, and to request his advice and assistance. The god commended their piety, but returned no other answer than that they should return home and consult Trophonius at Lebadea. The ambassadors immediately obeyed the injunction, and repaired to Lebadea, where they could observe no sign of an oracle. At length, when they had searched in vain for a long time, one Saon, an Acrephian, espied a swarm of bees which he determined to follow; and by this means he entered the cave, where he soon perceived that in that place was the oracle which Apollo had commanded them to consult. He, therefore, paid his devotions to Trophonius, who gave him a satisfactory answer, and informed him in what manner, and with what rites and ceremonies, he would be approached by those who should come for his advice.[c]

The place of this oracle was under the surface of the earth; and it was, therefore, commonly called *καταβάσιον*; and the persons who consulted it were denominated *καταβαίνοντες*, because the way to it was by a descent. The cave of Trophonius, excavated a little above the sacred wood, first presented a sort of vestibule surrounded with a sort of balustrade of white marble, on which were placed obelisks of brass.[d] Then appeared a grotto, which had been hewn out with a

[w] Suid. v. *Τροφώνιος*; Phavorin.
[x] Pausan. lib. ix. cap. 37.
[y] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. et de Consolat.
[z] Schol. in Aristophan. Nub. v. 508.
[a] Strab. lib. ix.
[b] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 1133.
[c] Pausan. Bœoticis.
[d] Pausan. lib. ix. Philostrat. Vit. Apollo. lib. viii. cap. 19.

chisel, and which was eight cubits high, and four wide. In this was the entrance of the cavern, which was descended into by means of a ladder. When the person who descended had arrived at a certain depth, he found a very narrow aperture through which he passed his feet; and when with much difficulty he had introduced the rest of his body, he felt himself hurried along, with the rapidity of a torrent, to the very bottom of the cavern. When he returned, he was thrown back, with his head downwards, with the same force and velocity.[e] Cakes made with honey, which he was obliged to hold, prevented him from putting his hands on the springs employed to accelerate his descent or return; but to remove all suspicions of a trick, the priests told him that the cave was full of serpents, from the bites of which he could secure himself only by throwing to them the cakes of honey.[f]

It was permitted to enter the cavern only in the night, after long preparations and a strict examination. These preparations were designed to give an air of importance to the matter, to afford gain to the priests, to excite confidence in those who consulted the oracle, and to render them insensible to the frauds which were practised. He who had determined to descend into the cave of Trophonius, was to pass a certain number of days in a chapel dedicated to Good Fortune and Good Genius. During his stay in this place, he was to use different purifications, and bathe in the river Hercyne, to abstain from wine and every thing prohibited by the ritual, and to feed on victims which he himself offered. He sacrificed to Trophonius and his sons, to Apollo, Saturn, Jupiter (intituled the king), Juno Heniocha, and Ceres Europa, said to be the nurse of Trophonius. A priest consulted the entrails of the sacrifices, and foretold whether the god would give a satisfactory answer or not. All this, however, availed nothing, unless a ram, which was offered in a ditch on the night in which the descent was made, presented the same omens as the former sacrifices had done, and showed that Trophonius accepted the worship, and would answer the questions. If this sacrifice was also favorably received, the person who came to consult the god, prepared himself for his descent with good hopes. Immediately he was conducted to the banks of the river Hercyne, where two youths about thirteen years old, who were called Ἑρμαῖ, Mercuries, rubbed him with oil, and made different ablutions over him. He was thence led to two adjacent springs of which he drank, and of which one was called the Fountain of Lethe or Oblivion; the other, of Mnemosyne or Remembrance: the first effaced the memory of things past; the second imprinted on the mind what he was to see or hear in the cavern. He was next introduced alone into a chapel containing an ancient statue of Trophonius, which was said to have been the workmanship of Dædalus, and which was never shewn except to those who consulted the oracle; and after addressing prayers to this statue, he advanced towards the cavern, clad in a linen habit adorned with ribands, and carrying in his hands cakes made with honey.[g]

In this cave some saw nothing, but the oracle gave its answer by

[e] Pausan. Bœot. cap. 39.
[f] Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 508.
[g] Pausan. Bœot. cap. 39.

an audible voice; others heard nothing, but saw appearances which were proper to resolve their doubts.[h] Some remained in this cavern a longer, and some a shorter time;[i] some slept in it during two nights and a day;[k] and one person, whose intentions the priests suspected, never returned alive, but his body was thrown out of the cave by an outlet different from that by which it was commonly entered.[l]

After the return of a person who had been consulting the oracle, he was compelled by the priests to place himself on a seat, called the seat of Mnemosyne, where he related what he had seen and heard in the cave. He was then reconducted by his attendants into the chapel of Good Fortune and Good Genius, where he gradually recovered his spirits.[m] But a dreadful impression of the terrors which he had felt was very visible after his return from the cave; for though the inquirer recovered his former cheerfulness in the temple of Good Fortune and Good Genius, the pensive countenance and melancholy air with which he returned occasioned the proverbial expression, that was applied to a person very dejected and gloomy, Εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται, He has been consulting the oracle of Trophonius.[n]

CHAP. XI.

Other Grecian Oracles.

AMPHIARAUS was the son of Oïcleus, and married Eriphyle, the sister of Adrastus, king of Argos. He was a skilful soothsayer, and by his knowledge foresaw that, if he engaged in the Theban war, it would prove fatal to him. In order, therefore, to avoid destruction, he hid himself, but was discovered by his wife, whom Polynices had corrupted with the present of a golden chain. He was then compelled by Adrastus to accompany the army to Thebes, where, as he had foretold, he was swallowed up by the earth, together with his chariot and horses.[o] Some say that this accident happened in the road between Thebes and Chalcis, and that for this reason the place was afterwards called Ἅρμα, a Chariot.[p]

After the death of Amphiaraus, the Oropians first, and afterwards all Greece, paid him divine honors. A stately temple, with a statue of white marble, was erected to him on the spot in which he was swallowed up, and which was also embellished with springs of limpid water.[q] This spot was distant about twelve stadia from Oropus, a city on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, near to the Euripus, and not far from the mouth of the river Asopus. In the same place was also a remarkable altar dedicated to him. This altar was divided into five parts: the first of which was sacred to Hercules, Jupiter,

[h] Pausan. Bœot. cap. 39. Plut. de Genio Socrat.
[i] Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 508.
[k] Plut. de Genio Socrat.
[l] Pausan. lib. ix. cap. 39.
[m] Idem ibid.
[n] Idem ibid. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 508.
[o] Ovid. Horat. Od. lib. iii. Od. xvi. v. 11.
[p] Pausan. Atticis.
[q] Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 27.

and Pæonian Apollo; the second, to the heroes and their wives; the third, to Vesta, Mercury, Amphiaraus, and the sons of Amphilochus, (for Alcmæon, the son of Amphiaraus, was not allowed to partake of these honors, because he slew his mother Eriphyle;) the fourth, to Venus, Panacea, Jason, Hygia, and Pæonian Minerva; and the fifth, to the nymphs, Pan, and the rivers Achelous and Cephisus.

Answers were delivered in dreams, in the interpretation of which Amphiaraus had been very skilful. Some say that answers were returned in verse; but this is denied by others, who state that only those who were inspired by Apollo gave answers in that manner, and that the rest predicted either by dreams, the flight of birds, or the entrails of beasts.

They who came to consult this oracle were first to be purified by offering sacrifices to Amphiaraus, and to the other gods, whose names were inscribed on the altar. They were also to abstain from wine for three days, and from all sorts of food for twenty-four hours, in order that the mind might be in a proper state to receive the answers of the god.[r] They then immolated a ram near the statue of Amphiaraus, stretched out the skin before the porch of the temple, and slept on it; in which state it was affirmed that the god appeared to them, and answered their questions in a dream, which the ministers of the temple interpreted.[s] A great number of miracles were said to have been wrought in this temple; but the Bœotians were very credulous respecting oracles.[t]

All persons were admitted to this oracle except the Thebans, who were to enjoy no benefit from Amphiaraus in this way; for having been offered by him either his counsel or advice to direct them in necessity, or his protection and assistance in time of danger, the Thebans chose the latter, and were, therefore, excluded from the oracle.[u] It was held in great esteem, and was reckoned not inferior to the oracle of Delphi, of Dodona, or of Jupiter Hammon.[v]

Near the temple was the fountain out of which Amphiaraus ascended into heaven, when he was received into the number of the gods, and which for that reason was called by his name. This fountain was deemed so sacred, that it was a capital crime to employ its waters to any common use, or even to offer sacrifices before it. They who through the advice of the oracle had recovered from any disease, were to cast into it a piece of coined silver or gold; and this was the use to which the fountain was chiefly applied.[w]

At Pharæ, a city of Achaia, oracles were delivered by Ἀγοραῖος, Mercury, who was so denominated from ἀγορὰ, the forum or market-place, where the people had erected to him a statue of stone, which had a beard, and which stood opposite to a statue of Vesta. Before this statue of Mercury was placed a low stone altar upon which stood brazen basins soldered with lead. They who came for advice first offered frankincense upon the altar, and lighted the lamps into which

[r] Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. ii. cap. 37.
[s] Pausan. Atticis cap. 34.
[t] Plut. de Defect. Orac.
[u] Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 134.
[v] Idem lib. i. cap. 46. Valer. Max. lib. viii. cap. 15.
[w] Pausan. Atticis.

they poured oil. They then offered upon the right side of the altar a piece of money, which was stamped with the impression of their own country, and which was called χαλκοῦς; and proposing their questions in a whisper, they placed their ear close to the statue. After this they departed, stopping both their ears with their hands till they had passed through the market-place; when they took away their hands, and received the first voice that presented itself, as a divine oracle.[x]

At Bura, a city of Achaia, was an oracle of Hercules, who from that city was called Buraicus. The place of the oracle was a cave, where was a statue of Hercules, and in which predictions were made by throwing dice. They who consulted the god first addressed prayers to him; and then taking four dice from a large heap that were there prepared, they threw them upon the table. All the dice bore some peculiar marks, which were interpreted in a book kept for that purpose. As soon as they had cast the four dice, they went to the book and read their destiny.[y]

At Patræ, a city on the sea-coast of Achaia, not far from the sacred grove of Apollo, was a temple dedicated to Ceres, in which were erected three statues; two to Ceres and Proserpine in an upright posture, and the third to Earth sitting upon a throne. Before the temple was a fountain, in which were delivered oracles, which were famous for the truth of their predictions, and which were not given on every account, but concerned the events of diseases only. The manner of consulting the oracle was as follows:—they let down a looking-glass by a small cord into the fountain, so that the bottom of it only might touch the surface of the water, and not be covered by it. They then offered incense and prayers to the goddess; and looking on the glass, from the various figures and images represented on it they made conjectures respecting the patient.[z]

At Trœzen, a city of Peloponnesus, was an ancient altar dedicated to the Muses by Ardalus, one of the sons of Vulcan, who was the inventor of the flute, and from whom, as their favorite, the Muses were called Ardalides. They who consulted this oracle were obliged to abstain from wine during certain days. They afterwards reclined near the altar and fell asleep, when, by the secret inspiration of the Muses, proper remedies for their disorders were revealed to them.[a]

At Epidaurus, a city of Peloponnesus, was a temple of Æsculapius, celebrated for the cure of diseases; the remedies of which were revealed in dreams.[b] This temple was surrounded by a wood, in which no person was permitted to die, nor any child to be brought into the world; for to banish from these places the terrifying image of death, sick persons on the point of expiring, and women about to be delivered, were removed from them.[c] Near the temple was a spacious hall, in which they who went to consult Æsculapius, after having deposited on the holy table some cakes, fruits, and other offerings,

[x] Pausan. Achaic.
[y] Idem ibid.
[z] Idem ibid.
[a] Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 31.
[b] Pausan. Corinthiac.
[c] Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 27.

passed the night on little beds.[d] One of the priests ordered them to keep a profound silence, and, whatever noise they heard, to resign themselves to sleep, and be attentive to the dreams which the gods sent them.[e] He afterwards extinguished the light, and took care to collect the offerings with which the table was covered.[f] Some time after the patients imagined that they heard the voice of Æsculapius, who prescribed to them remedies proper to effect their cure, and enjoined them to perform certain religious ceremonies as necessary to ensure their success. When a cure had been perfected, the name of the person, and the means by which he recovered his health, were registered in the temple, or inscribed on columns in the environs.[g] The patient was also publicly to declare his cure in the presence of a great number of spectators; and sometimes he was directed to go and make known the same at some distant place.[h] At other times the sick received the visit of the god disguised in the form of a serpent, whose caresses re-animated them with new hope.[i]

At Amphiclea was a temple sacred to Bacchus, to whom the people ascribed both the cure of their diseases, and the foretelling of future events: the former he was said to effect by revealing proper remedies in dreams; the latter, by inspiring his priests with divine knowledge.[k]

Juno had an oracle on the road between Lechæum and Pagæ, in the Corinthian territories.[l]

In Laconia was a pool sacred to Juno, by which predictions were made in the following manner:—they cast into the pool cakes made of bread-corn; and if these sunk, the answer was considered favorable; but if not, something dreadful was portended.

The head of Orpheus at Lesbos gave answers to all inquirers, and especially to the Greeks, whom it told that Troy could not be taken without the arrows of Hercules. The kings of Persia and Babylon, and particularly Cyrus, frequently sent ambassadors to consult this oracle, which informed Cyrus of the manner of his death. There were also persons initiated into the mysteries of Orpheus, who were called ὀρφεοτελεσταὶ, and who assured all those admitted into their society of certain happiness after death. At their initiation little more was required of them than an oath of secrecy.

It is said that there was an oracle of the Earth in the country of Elis.[m]

An oracle of Pan was consulted by the inhabitants of Pisa.[n]

There was an oracle at Mycenæ.[o]

There was an oracle of the Night.[p]

In Laconia, on the road between Œblius and Thalamiæ, were a

[d] Aristoph. Plut. v. 662. Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 27. Aristid. Orat. Philostrat. Vit. Sophist. lib. i. Plaut. Curcul. act. i. scen. i.
[e] Cic. de Divin. lib. ii. cap. 59.
[f] Aristoph. Plut. v. 676.
[g] Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 27. Strab. l. viii.
[h] Aristid. Orat.
[i] Aristoph. Plut. v. 688.
[k] Pausan. Phocicis.
[l] Strabo.
[m] Pausan. Eliac. α'.
[n] Stat. Theb. lib. iii. v. 476.
[o] Senec. Thyest. v. 677.
[p] Pausan. Atticis.

temple and oracle of Ino, who gave answers by dreams to those who inquired of her.[q]

At the city of Thalamiæ, in Laconia, was another famous oracle, which was sacred to Pasiphaë,[r] who, as some say, was one of the daughters of Atlas; some think that Cassandra, the daughter of king Priam, was called Pasiphaë, *παρὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα*, from revealing oracles to all men; and others are of opinion that this was Daphne, the daughter of Amyclas, who fleeing from Apollo was transformed into a laurel, and honored by that god with the gift of prophecy. When Agis, king of Sparta, undertook to reduce the Spartans to their ancient manner of living, and to enforce the laws of Lycurgus, he was encouraged and assisted by this oracle, which ordered that people to return to their former state of equality; and when Cleomenes made a similar attempt, it gave the same advice, and showed it was best for Sparta that the ephori should be removed.[s]

Upon the top of Cithæron, a mountain of Bœotia, was a cave called Sphragidium, in which many of the inhabitants of that country were inspired by the nymphs denominated Sphragitides; and hence they obtained the name of *νυμφόληπτοι*, inspired by the nymphs.[t]

Ulysses had an oracle among the Eurytanes, a people of Ætolia.[u]

There were also the oracles of Tiresias, Ægeus, and others, which being of less repute we shall forbear to notice.

CHAP. XII.

Theomancy, or Divination.

NEXT to oracles, which constituted the first sort of natural divination, was *θεομαντεία*, theomancy, which formed the second, and which was also called *μαντικὴ* and *προαγορευτική*.[v] The word *θεομαντεία* is derived from *θεὸς* and *μαντεία*; and though *μαντεία* sometimes signifies any sort of divination, it generally denotes those predictions which were made by men, and in this acceptation is opposed to *χρησμοὶ*, oracles.[w] Theomancy is distinguished from oracular divination, which was commonly limited to a fixed and stated time, and always to a certain place; for the Pythia at Delphi could foretel only in the temple of Apollo, and upon the sacred tripod; whilst the *θεομάντεις* were free and unconfined, and, after offering sacrifices and performing other usual rites, able to prophesy at any time and in any place.

The manner of receiving the divine inspiration, however, was not always different; for the Sibyls and many others, as well as the Pythia, were possessed with a divine fury, swelled with rage, and appeared like persons distracted:

[q] Pausan. Laconicis.
[r] Plut. Agide.
[s] Plutarch. Cleomene.
[t] Pausan. Bœotic.
[u] Aristot. Ithacor. Politeia; Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 799.
[v] Pollux lib. i. cap. 1. seg. 6 et 19.
[w] Schol. Sophocl. in Œd. Tyran.

Cui talia fanti
Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comtæ mansere comæ; sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans; afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore dei.[x]

Thus while she said,
(And shiv'ring at the sacred entry staid)
Her color changed; her face was not the same;
And hollow groans from her deep spirit came;
Her hair stood up; convulsive rage possess'd
Her trembling limbs, and heaved her lab'ring breast.
Greater than human kind she seem'd to look,
And with an accent more than mortal spoke;
Her staring eyes with sparkling fury roll,
When all the god came rushing on her soul. Dryden.

There were few that pretended to inspiration, who did not rage in a similar manner, and seem to be actuated by frenzy; and hence some think that *μάντις*, a prophet, is derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ μαίνεσθαι*, from being mad.

There were also other customs common to diviners and the Pythia. The laurel was sacred to Apollo, the god of divination, and was thought to conduce very much to inspiration, and was therefore called *μαντικὸν φυτὸν*, the prophetic plant.[y] The prophets crowned their heads with laurel, which they also carried as a staff or sceptre in their hands:

Καὶ σκῆπτρα, καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφη.[z]

A laurel sceptre in her hand is borne,
Her neck the same prophetic plants adorn.

Though the word *σκῆπτρον*, in this passage, denotes a staff of laurel which the prophets carried in their hands, yet the same was called *ἰθυντήριον*.[a] It was also usual to chew the leaves of the laurel in their mouths;[b] and the Sibyl speaks of this as one of her greatest privileges.[c]

It was customary for diviners to feed on *κυριώτατα μόρια ζώων μαντικῶν*, the principal parts of the prophetic beasts, and such were the hearts of crows, vultures, and moles. They supposed that by this means they became partakers of the souls of those animals which naturally followed their bodies, and consequently that they received the influence of the god, who accompanied them.[d] At Athens all diviners were maintained at the public charge, and were allowed their diet in the *Πρυτανεῖον*, common hall.[e]

Among the Greeks were three sorts of *θεομάντεις*, who were distinguished by three different ways of receiving the divine afflatus. The first were those who were gifted with prophesying demons, which lodged within them and dictated the answers to such as made inquiries, or spoke out of the bellies or breasts of the persons possessed, whilst they themselves remained utterly speechless. These were

[x] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 46.
[y] Claudian. Eurip. Andromach.
[z] Æschyl. Agamem. v. 1274.
[a] Hesychius.
[b] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 6.
[c] Tibullus.
[d] Porphyr. de Abstin. Animal. lib. ii.
[e] Schol. Aristophan.

called δαιμονόληπτοι, possessed with demons; and because the spirits either lodged or spoke within their bodies, they were denominated ἐγγαστρίμυθοι (a name likewise given to the demons), ἐγγαστριμάντεις, στερνομάντεις, ἐγγαστρῖται, &c. They were also called εὐρυκλεῖς and εὐρυκλεῖται, from Eurycles, who first practised this art at Athens;[f] and πύθωνες and πυθωνικοὶ, from πύθων, a prophesying demon,[g] which was probably derived from Apollo Pythius, who presided over all kinds of divination.

The second sort of θεομάντεις were called ἐνθουσιασταὶ, ἐνθεαστικοὶ, and θεοπνευσταὶ, and were such as pretended to enthusiasm. They differed from the former, who contained within them the deity himself; whilst these were only governed and inspired by him, and instructed in the knowledge of future events. Of this kind were Orpheus, Amphion, Musæus, and several of the Sibyls.

The third sort were the ἐκστατικοὶ, who were cast into trances or ecstacies, in which they became as dead men, and were deprived of all sense and motion, during some days, months, or even years. When they recovered themselves, they related strange accounts of what they had heard and seen.[h]

It was also commonly believed that the souls of dying men, when about to separate from the body, could foresee future events. Hector predicted the death of Achilles;[i] and Orodes, that of Mezentius.[k]

CHAP. XIII.

Divination by Dreams.

DIVINATION by dreams was of three sorts: the first was χρηματισμὸς, the oracle, when the gods or spirits in their own, or under an assumed form, conversed with men in their sleep. Of this sort was Agamemnon's dream, in which the god of dreams, in the form of Nestor, advised him to give battle to the Trojans, and encouraged him with the promise of victory.[l] Such also was the dream of Pindar, to whom Proserpine appeared, and, complaining that he had composed hymns in honor of all the other gods, but had neglected her, observed that he should also celebrate her praises when he came into her dominions. Soon after the poet died, and in a short time appeared to an old woman whom he had used to employ in reading and singing his verses, and to whom he repeated a hymn composed by him in honor of Proserpine.[m]

The second sort was ὄραμα, the vision, in which the images of things which are to happen were plainly represented in their own shape; and this by some was called θεωρηματικός. Such was the dream of Alexander the Great, who dreamed that he should be mur-

[f] Aristoph. Vesp.
[g] Hesychius; Suidas.
[h] Plat. Polit. lib. x. Plut. de Socrat. Dem.
[i] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 355.
[k] Virg. Æn. lib. x. v. 739.
[l] Hom. Il. β'.
[m] Pausan. Bœot.

dered by Cassander;[n] and that of Crœsus, king of Lydia, who dreamed that his son Atys, whom he intended to succeed him in the empire, should be slain by an iron spear.[o]

The third was called ὄνειρος, the dream, in which future events were represented by types and figures; and hence it was denominated ἀλληγορικὸς, an allegory, a figure by which one thing was expressed and another signified.[p] Such was the dream of Hecuba, who dreamed that she had conceived a firebrand; and that of Cæsar, who dreamed that he lay with his mother, which signified that he should enjoy the empire of the earth, the common mother of all. From this species they who interpreted dreams assumed their names, and were called ὀνειροκρίται;[q] ὀνειράτων ὑποκριταὶ, from judging of dreams; ὀνειροσκόποι, from examining or looking into them; and ὀνειροπόλοι,[r] from being conversant about them.

The author of all dreams, as well as of other divinations, was Jupiter:

—— καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.[s]

For dreams descend from Jove. Pope.

This, however, is not to be understood as if dreams were thought to proceed immediately from Jupiter, whose dignity required that he should not be employed in so mean an office, which was more suitable to the inferior deities. The Earth was supposed to be the cause of dreams:

—— ὦ πότνια Χθὼν,
Μελανοπτερύγων μᾶτερ ὀνείρων.[t]

Hail! hail! from thee, O venerable Earth,
The sable-winged dreams derive their birth.

Some were ascribed to infernal manes;[u] and others were imputed to Hecate and the Moon, who were goddesses of the night, and sometimes used for the same person, and who were supposed to influence and preside over whatever happened during the night. The chief cause, however, was the god of sleep, whose habitation was among the Cimmerii, in a dark den in the way to hell.[v] Around him was a great number of dreams, which he sent forth at what time and in what manner he thought proper; but to false and delusive dreams some assign an elm at the entrance into hell.[w] The god of sleep had three principal attendants: Morpheus, who counterfeited the forms of men; Phobetor or Icelos, who imitated the likeness of brutes; and Phantasus, who assumed the shape of inanimate creatures.[x] It would seem that he was supposed to rove through the air to disperse his dreams among men.[y]

There was also another deity to whom the care of dreams was committed, and who was called Brizo, from the ancient Greek word βρίζειν, to sleep. This goddess was worshipped in the island of

[n] Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 7.
[o] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 34.
[p] Heraclid. de Allegor. Hom.
[q] Theocrit. Idyl. xxi. v. 33.
[r] Hom. Il. α'. v. 63. Pausan. Attic.
[s] Hom. ibid.
[t] Eurip. Hecub. v. 70.
[u] Virg. Æn. lib. vi.
[v] Ovid. Met. lib. xi. fab. 10.
[w] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 283.
[x] Ovid. ibid.
[y] Virg. Æn. lib. v. v. 838.

Delos, and boats laden with goods of all kinds, except fish, were offered to her;[z] but she was thought to assist at the interpretation of dreams rather than to be the efficient cause of them, and was therefore sometimes called Βριζόμαντις.[a] The Greeks prayed to her for the public safety and prosperity, and in particular for the protection and preservation of their ships.[b]

Lastly, it was believed that hawks or vultures, ἱέρακες, when dead, being divested of their bodies and become γυμναὶ ψυχαὶ, naked souls, prophesied and sent dreams.[c]

There were two ways by which dreams were supposed commonly to pass: one, for delusive dreams, was through a gate of ivory; another, for the true, through a gate of horn.

Τῶν οἱ μέν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,
Οἱ δ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·
Οἱ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
Οἵ β' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδηται.[d]

Immured within the silent bower of sleep,
Two portals firm the various phantoms keep:
Of ivory one; whence fit to mock the brain,
Of winged lies a light fantastic train:
The gate opposed pellucid valves adorn,
And columns fair incased with polish'd horn:
Where images of truth for passage wait,
With visions manifest of future fate. POPE.

Sunt geminæ Somni portæ: quorum altera fertur
Cornea; qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia Manes.[e]

Two gates the silent house of sleep adorn;
Of polish'd ivory this, that of transparent horn:
True visions through transparent horn arise;
Through polish'd ivory pass deluding lies. DRYDEN.

In allusion to these gates it was customary to represent any dream in a white garment, wrapped over a black one, with a horn in the hand.[f]

The time in which true dreams were expected was νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸς,[g] which some derive from the privative article ἀ and μολέω, to walk, or from μογέω, to labor, as though it signified the dead of the night, when people neither labored nor walked abroad. Some also think that it denoted the middle of the night, because ἀμολγὸς was the same as πυκνὸς, thick or closely compacted; some, because it signified the same as ἀκμὴ, height; and others are of opinion that the word is derived from ἀμέλγω, to milk, and that ἀμολγὸς νυκτὸς denoted the time of milking in the morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγὸς, that of milking in the evening.[h] It is evident that the early part of the morning was the time in which dreams were thought to deserve most regard;[i] and the reason of this was, that before that

[z] Cœl. Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 10.
[a] Hesychius.
[b] Athenæ. lib. viii.
[c] Ælian. de Animal. lib. xi. cap. 39.
[d] Hom. Odys. τ'. v. 562.
[e] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 893.
[f] Philostratus.
[g] Hom. Odys. δ'. fine.
[h] Hom. Il. χ'. v. 26.
[i] Theocrit. Horat. lib. i. sat. x. v. 31.

time dreams were supposed to proceed from the fumes of the supper, rather than from any divine or supernatural cause.[k]

They who desired a prophetic dream were careful of their diet, to eat nothing difficult of digestion, as, in particular, beans and raw fruit. Some fasted during one day, and abstained from wine during three. Fish being difficult of digestion obstructed true dreams; and the head of the polypus was very prejudicial to them.[l] To sleep in a white garment was supposed to conduce to the clearness of dreams.[m] Before they went to bed, it was also usual to sacrifice to Mercury, who was thought to be ὕπνου δοτὴρ, the giver of sleep, and whose image was therefore commonly carved on the feet of the bed, which for that reason were called ἑρμῖνες.[m] It was one of Mercury's employments to preside over sleep and dreams.[n]

After this preparation they went to sleep, and expected to discover before morning whatever they desired to know. If the dreams were obscure or of doubtful meaning, an interpreter was consulted. The first of this kind was Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion;[o] some say that Amphiaraus, to whom divine honors were paid, was the inventor of that art;[p] and others ascribe the origin of interpreting dreams to the inhabitants of Telmissus.[q] However, the number of false and delusive dreams caused the people to suspect all of them; and in latter times this species of divination was little regarded.[r]

When dreams were frightful or obscure, they disclosed their fears to some of the gods, to whom they offered incense, and whose favor and protection they entreated. The revealing of dreams was not appropriated to any particular deity: some discovered them to Hercules; some to Jupiter;[s] some to Vesta, and the household gods, who had a particular care and concern for the family in which they were worshipped;[t] some to Apollo, who was denominated Ἐξακεστήριος, Ἀποτρόπαιος, or Averruncus, from averting evils, and Προστατήριος, from presiding over and protecting houses, and who had, therefore, images erected to him in the porches;[u] some to the sun;[v] and others to the heavens.[w] This revealing of dreams was called ἀποπέμπεσθαι, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀποτρέπεσθαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν, or ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ, &c.

Before, however, they were permitted to approach the divine altars, they were obliged to purify themselves from the pollutions of the night by washing their hands,[x] or their whole body,[y] in the river; and it appears that the Romans dipped their heads five times in water before morning prayer.[z]

[k] Plin.
[l] Plut. de Audiend. Poet.
[m] Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 278. ψ'. v. 198.
[n] Hom. Hymn. in Mercur. v. 14.
[o] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 5.
[p] Pausanias.
[q] Clem. Alex. Strom. i.
[r] Propert. lib. ii. ep. 4.
[s] Plautus.
[t] Propert. lib. i. ep. 29.
[u] Sophocl. Electr. v. 635.
[v] Idem ibid. v. 427.
[w] Euripid. Taur. v. 43.
[x] Æschyl. Persis; Virg. Æn. lib. viii. v. 69.
[y] Silius Ital. lib. viii.
[z] Pers. Sat. ii. v. 16.

CHAP. XIV.

Divination by Sacrifices.

DIVINATION by sacrifices, which was called *ἱερομαντεία, ἱεροσκοπία,* or *μαντικὴ ἐκ τῆς θυτικῆς,*[a] was divided into different kinds, according to the different sacrifices offered to the gods. Conjectures were formed first from the external parts and motions of the victim; and afterwards from its entrails, from the flame which consumed it, from the cakes and flour, from the wine and water, and from several other things.

The art of making observations in killing and cutting up the victim was called *θυτικὴ*; and upon the entrails, whilst roasting on the spit, *ἀμφώβολα.*[b] It was considered an unlucky omen when the beast was dragged by force to the altar; when it made its escape; when it avoided the fatal blow; when it did not fall down quietly; when it kicked, or bellowed, or did not bleed freely; when it was long in dying; when it expired in agonies; when it died suddenly before the knife touched it; or when any thing uncommon happened.[c] On the contrary, the gods were deemed propitious and ready to receive the devotions paid to them, when the victim went voluntarily and without compulsion to the altar; when it submitted patiently to the blow; when it fell down quietly, bled freely, and expired without a groan.[d] Hence it was customary to pour water into its ear, that it might by a nod consent to be sacrificed.[e] The wagging of the tail was also observed; and on this account it was usual to draw a knife from the head to the tail of the victim. Other predictions were made from the tail after it was cast into the fire: if it was curled by the flame, it portended misfortunes; if it hung downwards, or was extended in length, it foretold an overthrow; but if it was erect, it denoted victory.[f]

After this, the victim being cut open, observations were made from its entrails, which were termed *ἔμπυρα,* from the fire in which they were burned. The omens were called *τὰ ἔμπυρα σήματα*; and the divination was denominated *ἡ δι' ἐμπύρων μαντεία.*[g] By some the divination was feigned to have been first occasioned, or very much improved, by the death of the Delphian Sibyl, whose body being reduced to earth imparted to the herbs, and through them to the beasts that fed on them, a power of divining; and the other parts of her, which mixed with the air, are said to have occasioned the divination by ominous words.[h] If the entrails were whole and sound, and had their proper place, color, and proportion, the omen was good; but if they were decayed or deficient, or if they were irregular

[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. i. cap. 53.
[b] Sophocl.
[c] Plutarch. Pyrrho; Euripid. Electr. v. 1603.
[d] Senec. Hercul. Furent. Eurip. Electr.
[e] Myrt. lib. i. Lesbic.
[f] Schol. Eurip. in Phœniss.
[g] Plato.
[h] Clem. Alex. Strom. i.

and not according to nature, evil was portended.[i] If the entrails palpitated, the omen was considered as very unfavorable.[k]

The first and principal thing to be observed was the liver. If this was corrupted, the whole body was thought to be affected, and on that account the examination was immediately discontinued, whatever the other parts might promise: these signs were called *ἀκέλευθα*, because they prevented them from proceeding any farther.[l] This observation of the liver was denominated *ἡπατοσκοπία*; which, as the liver formed the chief part of the entrails, became a general name for divination by entrails. If the liver had a natural redness, if it was sound and without spot or blemish, if its head was large, if it had two heads or there were two livers, or if its lappets were turned inwards, prosperity and success were expected. On the other hand, dangers, disappointments, and misfortunes were predicted, if there was *διψὰς*, too much dryness, or *δεσμὸς*, a tie between the parts, and especially if it was *ἄλοβος*, without a lappet, or the liver itself was wanting.[m] If there appeared upon it any blisters or ulcers; if it was parched, thin, hard, or discolored; if it had any corrupt or vitiated humors, or was any way displaced; or if in boiling it did not conspicuously appear among the rest of the entrails, or was polluted with corrupt matter and became soft, ill omens were foreboded. The concave part of the liver was called *ἑστιὰς*, belonging to the same family, because the signs observed in this particular part concerned themselves and their friends; the gibbous side, *ἐπίβολις* or *ἀντιστάτις*, because the tokens in it concerned their enemies: if either of these parts was shrivelled, corrupted, or any way changed for the worse, it foretold misfortunes to the person concerned; but if it was large and sound, it was a prosperous omen.[n] The place or seat of the liver was called *δέξις* and *δοχή*. The place between the parts in the middle was termed by some *πυλαία* and *εὐρυχωρία*;[o] by some *ὁδοὶ*, or *ἐκτροπαὶ*;[p] and by others *πύλαι*.[q] When this was compressed or closed, the omen was considered unfortunate; and hence the soothsayers warned Caracalla to take care of himself, because the gates of the liver were closed.[r]

The next thing to be noticed was the heart, to handle which was called *καρδιοῦσθαι*, or *καρδιουλκεῖν*.[s] If it was very little, palpitated much, was wrinkled or lean, it portended bad fortune; but if no heart could be found, it was a most dreadful omen.

Next to the heart were observed the gall, the spleen, the lungs, and the membranes in which the bowels were enclosed. If there were two galls, or if the gall was large and ready to burst, fierce and bloody, but prosperous, battles were expected. If the spleen lay in its proper place, was clear and sound, and of a natural color, it foreboded success; but the contrary signs presaged misfortune. If the entrails slipped out of the hands of him who offered the sacrifice; if

[i] Senec. Œdip. v. 367.
[k] Idem ibid. v. 353.
[l] Hesychius.
[m] Arrian. Expedit. Alexand. lib. vii.
[n] Senec. Œdip. v. 360. Lucan. Pharsal.
[o] Demosth. Interpret. in Orat. de Corona.
[p] Hesychius.
[q] Euripides.
[r] Dio Caracalla.
[s] Lucian. de Sacrif.

they were besmeared with blood, of a livid color, or spotted; if they were full of blisters, broken or torn in pieces, or smelt like putrifying carcases; or if crawling serpents, or other dreadful things were found in them, misfortune was foreboded. If the lungs were cloven, the business in hand was to be deferred; if whole and entire, expedition and vigor were to be used. Other parts of the victim sometimes presaged future events, especially if there happened any thing extraordinary, and contrary to the common course of nature.[t]

In this place also may be noticed some other ways of divination by means of sacrifices. Πυρομαντεία was a divination by the fire of the sacrifice. To encourage the flame it was usual to prepare τὰ φρύγανα, dry sticks, which would easily take fire. If the flames immediately consumed the victim, seizing all parts of it at once; if they were bright and pure, and without noise or smoke; if the sparks ascended in the form of a pyramid; if the fire continued till all was reduced to ashes; all these were considered as favorable omens. On the contrary, when the fire was kindled with difficulty; when the flame was divided; when it did not immediately spread itself to all parts of the victim, but crept along and consumed them by degrees; when it did not ascend perpendicularly, but was carried in a circle, or driven to the right or left or towards the earth, or was extinguished by winds, showers, or some unfortunate accident; when it crackled more than ordinary, was black, cast forth smoke or sparks, or went out before the whole of the victim was consumed; all these and such like omens were thought unfavorable, and portended the displeasure of the gods.[u]

Sometimes, when the priest could predict nothing certain from the entrails which he had dissected, he made observations from them in the fire; and for that purpose he took the bladder, the neck of which he bound with wool; and hence bladders were called μαλλόδετοι κύστεις.[v] He then threw the bladder into the fire, to observe in what part it would burst, and which way it would discharge the urine.[w] Sometimes pitch was taken from the torches, and thrown into the fire; and if there arose only one entire flame, it was considered a good omen. In matters of war or enmity, it was usual to notice the ἄκρα λαμπὰς, uppermost part of the flames, and the gall; πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, for enemies were said to be as bitter as gall.

Καπνομαντεία was a divination by the smoke of sacrifices, in which were observed in what manner and to what height the smoke ascended; whether it winded or took a direct course, or in wreaths; and of what it smelt, whether of the flesh that was burnt, or of any thing else.

Λιβανομαντεία was a divination by frankincense, which, if it presently caught fire and emitted a grateful odor, was esteemed a good omen; but if the fire did not catch it, or if it produced an offensive smell, contrary to the nature of frankincense, it foreboded ill.

Οἰνομαντεία and ὑδρομαντεία were divinations by wine and by

[t] Plin. lib. xi. cap. 37.
[u] Sophocl. Antigon. v. 1122. Senec. Œdip. v. 309.
[v] Sophocl.
[w] Schol. Eurip. in Phœniss.

water, when conjectures were made from the color, motion, or noise of the wine in libations; or of the water in which the victims were washed, and some parts of them boiled.[x] The latter of these divinations was generally performed from the water of a fountain, and was therefore sometimes called *πηγομαντεία*.

Κριθομαντεία and *ἀλευρομαντεία* were divinations by which predictions were made from the flour with which the victim was sprinkled.

Hither also may be referred *ἰχθυομαντεία*, a divination by the entrails of fishes; *ὠοσκοπία*, a divination by eggs;[y] and many others.

It is uncertain who was the inventor of divination by sacrifices. By some the invention is attributed to Prometheus, the father of most of the arts; by some it is ascribed to the Hetrurians;[z] and Tages, one of that nation, is said to have been the first that communicated it to mankind.[a] It was, however, very ancient, and obtained much credit among the Greeks, who would desist from the greatest and apparently most advantageous undertakings, and attempt things very hazardous and unlikely to be attained, if the entrails of victims dissuaded them from the former, and encouraged them to try the latter.[b]

CHAP. XV.

Divination by Birds, by Insects and Reptiles, and by Signs in the Heavens.

The invention of divination by birds is by some ascribed to Prometheus, or Melampus, the son of Amythaon and Dorippe; by some to Car, who gave name to Caria;[c] by some to Parnassus, from whom mount Parnassus was denominated;[d] and by others to the Phrygians.[e] This art was greatly improved by Calchas, who was *οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος*, the best of all the augurs;[f] and at length it arrived at such perfection, and gained so much credit in the world, that no honors were conferred, no magistrates created, and nothing of importance was undertaken either in peace or war, without the approbation of birds; and if not confirmed by them, other divinations were sometimes disregarded. At Lacedæmon the kings and senate were always attended by an augur, who gave them advice; and it is said that the kings themselves studied the art.[g] Birds, because they continually flew about, were supposed to observe and know the most secret actions of men, and to be acquainted with all events.[h] Hence arose the proverb, *Οὐδεὶς οἶδε, πλὴν εἴ τις ὄρνις*: No one knows, except perhaps some bird.[i]

The omens given by birds were called by the Greeks *ὄρνεις, ὀρνεο-*

[x] Virg. Æn. lib. iv. v. 453.
[y] Suidas.
[z] Clem. Alex. Strom. i.
[a] Cic. de Divin. lib. ii. Lucan. lib. i.
[b] Plut. Aristide.
[c] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 55.
[d] Pausan. Phocicis.
[e] Clem. Alex. Strom. i.
[f] Hom. Il.
[g] Cœl. Antiq. Lect. lib. viii. cap. 1.
[h] Aristoph. Avibus.
[i] Aristoph. ibid.

σκοπικὰ, αἴσιμα, οἰωνοὶ, οἰωνίσματα, &c. ; and the observers of them, ὀρνεοσκόποι, ὀρνιθομάντεις, ὀρνιθοσκόποι, οἰωνισταὶ, οἰωνοθέται, οἰωνοπόλοι, &c. ; but afterwards these names were promiscuously used in all kinds of artificial divination.[k]

When the Grecian augurs made observations, they were clothed in white, and had a crown of gold upon their heads.[l] They had also οἰωνιστήριον, a place or seat appointed for that purpose, which was sometimes called by the general names of θᾶκος and θῶκος.[m] They likewise carried with them writing tables, on which they wrote the names and flights of the birds, and other circumstances which they deemed worthy of notice.[n]

The omens that appeared towards the east were accounted fortunate, because the great principle of light and heat, of motion and life, diffuses its first influence from that part of the world. On the contrary, the omens in the west were deemed unfortunate, because the sun declines in that part. When the Grecian augurs made observations, they looked towards the north, having the east on their right hand, and the west on their left :

Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ἴωσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.[o]

Ye vagrants of the sky ! your wings extend,
Or where the suns arise, or where descend ;
To right, to left, unheeded take your way,
While I the dictates of high heaven obey. POPE.

The reason of this was, that ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the beginning of the celestial motions, was in the east, which was therefore accounted δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου, the right side of the world ; and the west, where the motions terminate, ἀριστερὰ, the left.[p] Hence signs on the right hand were deemed fortunate, and those on the left unfortunate; and hence also the right hand signified prudence, and the left hand folly.[q] On the contrary, the Romans, when they made observations, looked towards the south, having the east on the left hand, and the west on the right; and hence whatever was fortunate the Greeks called δεξιὸν, and the Romans *sinistrum*, on what hand soever it appeared ; though the Roman poets sometimes call unlucky things *sinistra*, after the Grecian custom.[r]

Birds were fortunate or unfortunate, either from their own nature, or from the place and manner of their appearance. The unlucky birds were called ἐξώλαιμοι, pernicious ; ἀποθύμιοι, hated or ungrateful ; ἀεικέλιοι, troublesome ; and κωλυτικαὶ and εἰρκτικαὶ, because they restrained men from proceeding with what they had intended. Those which appeared in an unusual or unlucky place, were called δίεδροι and ἔξεδροι. On the contrary, lucky birds were called αἴσιοι, αἴσιμοι, ἐναίσιμοι, ὄδιοι, and σύνεδροι. There were two sorts of ominous birds : the τανυπτέρυγες, whose flight was observed by the augurs; and ᾠδικαὶ, which gave omens by their voices and singing.

[k] Schol. Aristoph. in Avibus ; Plat.
[l] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. xv. c. 10.
[m] Sophocl. Antig. v. 1115.
[n] Schol. in Euripid.
[o] Hom. Il. μ'. v. 239.
[p] Plat. Aristot.
[q] Schol. in Sophocl. Ajac. v. 184.
[r] Virg. Eclog. i. v. 18.

If a flock of various kinds of birds flew about any person, it was supposed to be an excellent omen, and to portend some extraordinary good fortune or unexpected success.[s] If the eagle appeared brisk, clapped her wings, and sported in the air, flying from the right hand to the left, it was reckoned one of the best omens that the gods could give.[t] Observations were also made from the manner in which the eagle seized her prey; for when Hector attempted to burn the Grecian fleet, an eagle appeared towards the left hand, carrying in her talons a serpent, which she could not convey to her nest, and the failure of the enterprize was immediately foretold.[u]

The flight of vultures was much observed, because, as some say, they seldom appear, and their nests are scarcely ever found; and therefore so unusual a sight was thought to portend something extraordinary; or, as others say, because vultures feed only on carcases, and do not touch living creatures, and therefore were considered by Hercules as the most just of all birds of prey.[v] Some, however, reckon them among the unlucky birds, and observe that they were usually seen two or three days before any great slaughter;[w] and it was a common opinion that vultures, eagles, kites, and other birds of prey, if they followed an army, or continued for a considerable time in any place, were certain signs of death and bloodshed.

The hawk was an unlucky bird, and portended death if she was seen in the act of seizing her prey; but if the prey escaped, it denoted deliverance from dangers.[x] The buzzard, which was called *τρίορχος* from its having three stones, was reckoned a very ominous bird. The falcon hawk, denominated *κίρκος*, was esteemed lucky to persons employed in affairs of marriage and of money:[y] this bird was sacred to Apollo:

> Κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος.[z]
>
> The hawk, Apollo's swift-wing'd messenger. Pope.

Swallows flying about, or resting upon any place, were an unlucky omen. Owls were generally accounted unlucky birds. At Athens, however, they were reckoned omens of victory and success, from their being sacred to Minerva, the protectress of that city; and therefore the proverb γλαὺξ ἵπταται was commonly applied to persons whose undertakings were crowned with success.[a] But in other places owls were reckoned unlucky omens, when they appeared to men engaged in any serious business.[b] Ἐρωδιὸς, a hern, was deemed an auspicious omen, and a token of success to those who lay in ambush, and who were employed in any secret design.[c]

The dove was reckoned a lucky bird; and also the swan, especially to mariners, as being deemed an omen of fair weather.[d] Ravens were much observed, and were thought to receive a power of portending future events from Apollo, to whom they were ἱεροὶ καὶ

[s] Diod. Sic.
[t] Niph. de Augur. lib. i. cap. 9.
[u] Hom. Il. μ'.
[v] Plutarch. Romulo.
[w] Plin. Aristot.
[x] Niph. de Auguriis.
[y] Plin. lib. x. cap. 13.
[z] Hom. Odys. ο'. v. 525.
[a] Plutarch. Themistocle; Justin. l. iii.
[b] Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. xv. cap. 59.
[c] Eustath. in Hom. Il. κ'.
[d] Æmil. in Niph. de Augur.

ἀκόλουθοι, sacred and companions:[e] when these birds appeared about an army, they were dangerous omens; if they croaked on the right hand, it was a good omen; if on the left, it was a bad one; and they were thought to understand their own predictions, because when they made a harsh noise, and rattled in their throats as if they were choked, the worst omens were portended.[f] The chattering of magpies was reckoned an ill omen.

Cocks were accounted prophetical, especially in what related to war. They were sacred to Mars, and therefore called Ἄρεος νεοττοὶ;[g] and they were usually offered in sacrifice to that god, and represented with him. The crowing of cocks was an auspicious omen, and presaged the victory of Themistocles over the Persians; in commemoration of which he instituted an annual festival, called ἀλεκτρυόνων ἀγὼν, which was observed by fighting cocks in the theatre. On the contrary, if a hen was heard to crow, the Greeks thought that some dreadful misfortune would befal them. Bats were accounted ill omens.

When any unlucky night-birds, as owls, swallows, bats, &c. got into a house, the Greeks endeavoured to avert the omen by catching the birds and hanging them before their doors, that the birds themselves might atone for the evils with which they had threatened the family. Some persons pretended to understand the language of birds, and by that means to be privy to the most secret transactions.[h]

Ants were used in divination, and sometimes foretold good, and sometimes evil. Bees were esteemed an omen of future eloquence: for a swarm of bees having fixed themselves on the lips of Plato whilst he slept in his cradle, the augurs foretold that he would be famous for his language and eloquence; and Pindar, the Theban bard, is said to have been nourished by bees with honey, instead of milk.

There was a locust called μάντις, which was green, and slow in motion, and which was observed in soothsaying.[i] Toads were accounted lucky omens. Snakes and serpents were also ominous, as appears from the serpent which devoured eight young sparrows, with their dam; a circumstance interpreted to signify that the siege of Troy should continue nine whole years.[k] Boars were always deemed unlucky omens. As the hare is a timorous animal, if it appeared in time of war it signified defeat and flight.

Comets were always thought to portend something dreadful. Eclipses of the sun or moon have so terrified whole armies, that they durst not engage their enemies; for the true cause of them being unknown, they were imputed to the immediate operation of the gods, who were thought to give notice by them of some signal and imminent calamity.[l] Lightning also was observed: if it appeared on the right hand, it was accounted a good omen; if on the left, unlucky.[m] The ignis lambens was an excellent omen, and presaged future pros-

[e] Ælian. de Animal. lib. i. cap. 48.
[f] Plin. lib. x. cap. 12.
[g] Aristophanes.
[h] Plin. lib. ix. cap. 49.
[i] Suidas.
[k] Hom. Il. β'.
[l] Plutarch. de Superstit.
[m] Eustath. in Il. β'.

perity.[n] If the two flames, called Castor and Pollux from the names of those two heroes, appeared together, they were accounted a favorable omen, and predicted fair weather;[o] but if one flame only appeared, it was called Helena, and reckoned a very dangerous omen, portending storms and shipwrecks, especially if it followed Castor and Pollux, and seemed to drive them away; though by some they were all considered as prosperous and desirable signs.[p]

Earthquakes were deemed unfortunate omens.[q] They were commonly supposed to be caused by Neptune, who was thence termed Ἐννοσίγαιος and Ἐνοσίχθων; and it was therefore usual to sing pæans, and offer sacrifices on such occasions, to avert his anger.[r] The winds also were thought to be prophetical, and were noticed in soothsaying.[s] Thunder, however, was accounted the greatest of all the heavenly omens, and for that reason was principally observed. Like other signs, it was a good or a bad omen according to its position: if it was heard on the right hand, it was esteemed lucky; if on the left, unfortunate. Thunder in a clear and serene sky was accounted an auspicious omen, and was given by Jupiter in Homer as a confirmation that he granted the petitions which were addressed to him.[t] To have any thing thunderstruck was an unfortunate omen.[u]

To avert unlucky omens from thunder, it was usual to make libations of wine, which was poured forth in cups. The Greeks were so much afraid of lightning that they worshipped it.[v] They endeavoured to avert its malignant influence by hissing and whistling at it, which they called ποππύζειν.[w] In places which had suffered by thunder, altars were erected, and oblations made, to avert the anger of the gods; after which, no one dared to touch or approach them.[x]

CHAP. XVI.

Divination by Lots.

Of prophetical lots there were different kinds, two of which were chiefly in use, στιχομαντεία and κληρομαντεία.

Στιχομαντεία was a sort of divination by verses, in which it was usual to take fatidical verses, and having written them on little pieces of paper, to put them into a vessel, out of which they drew them, expecting to read their fate in the first draught. This was frequently practised upon the Sibylline oracles, which were dispersed in different parts of Greece and other countries; and hence the frequent mention in authors of the *sortes Sibyllinæ*. Sometimes they took up the writings of a poet, and opening in one place, or in more than one, read the first verse that occurred for a prediction. This was

[n] Apollon. Rhod. in Argonaut.
[o] Theocrit. Horat. Carm. lib. i.
[p] Eurip. Orest.
[q] Senec. Thyest. v. 693.
[r] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iv.
[s] Stati. Thebaid. lib. iii.
[t] Hom. Odys. ν'. v. 102.
[u] Virg. Eclog. i. v. 16. Ovid. Epist. ad Liviam.
[v] Plin. lib. xxviii. cap. 2.
[w] Aristoph. Vesp.
[x] Artemid. Oneirocrit. lib. ii.

also called ῥαψῳδομαντεία, from the rhapsodies of Homer, and proceeded at first, as some think, from the esteem in which poets were held by the ancients, who considered them as divine and inspired persons. As of all the poets, however, Homer was in the highest repute, the *sortes Homericæ* were in most credit, though the works of Euripides and others were not entirely neglected.

Κληρομαντεία was a sort of divination, in which conjectures were made by throwing τοὺς κλήρους, lots. It is observable that lots were called in the plural number κλῆροι, to distinguish them from κλῆρος, which in the singular usually signified the hint or occasion given to diviners, by which they formed their conjectures.[y] These κλῆροι were commonly black and white beans, little clods of earth, pebbles, dice, and such things as were distinguished by certain characters. Hence this divination was called by several names, as ψηφομαντεία, ἀστραγαλομαντεία, κυβομαντεία, πεσσομαντεία, &c. They cast the lots into a vessel, and having made supplications to the gods to direct them, drew them out, and according to the characters conjectured future events. All lots were sacred to Mercury, who was supposed to preside over this divination; and hence the ancient Greeks, εὐερμίας ἕνεκα, for the sake of good luck, and that Mercury might be propitious to them, used to put in, with the rest of the lots, one which they called Ἑρμοῦ κλῆρον, Mercury's lot, which was an olive leaf, and was drawn out before the rest. Sometimes the lots were not cast into vessels, but upon tables consecrated for that purpose.[z] This divination was either invented or so much practised by the Thriæ, who were three nymphs that nursed Apollo, that at length the word θρίαι became synonimous with κλῆροι; and hence originated the proverb, Πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι, παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες, Crowds of diviners by lot, but few true prophets.

To this species of divination belonged ῥαβδομαντεία, prophesying by rods.[a] The manner of performing this divination was as follows:—having erected two sticks, they muttered a certain charm, and then according as the sticks fell, whether backwards or forwards, towards the right or left, they gave advice in any matter. Not much different was βελομαντεία, in which divination was made by arrows shaken together in a quiver. Others are of opinion that the arrows were cast into the air, and that the man was to pursue his course the same way to which the arrow inclined in its descent.

Another method of divination by lots, used in Greece, was as follows:—the person desirous of learning his fortune, carried with him a certain number of lots, distinguished by several characters or inscriptions, and walking in the public road, requested the first boy that met him to draw; and if that which was drawn agreed with what he had conceived in his own mind, it was considered an infallible prophecy.[b] It was also usual for a boy or man, whom the Greeks called ἀγύρτης, to stand in the market, highways, or other places of concourse, with a small tablet denominated πίναξ ἀγυρτικὸς, or ἀγυρτικὴ σανὶς, on which were written certain fatidical verses, which, ac-

[y] Schol. in Euripid.
[z] Pindar. Schol. in Pyth. Od. iv. v. 338.
[a] Cyril. Theophyl.
[b] Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir.

cording as the dice fell upon them, told those who consulted what fortune they were to expect. Sometimes, instead of tablets they used pots or urns, into which the lots or fatidical verses were thrown, and thence drawn by the boys.[c]

CHAP. XVII.

Divination by Ominous Words and Things.

Another sort of divination foretold future events by the internal feelings or affections, by external appearances which made no impression, and by ominous words. These omens were called *σύμβολα*.

The internal omens, which men received from themselves, were distinguished into four kinds: 1. marks on the body, as *ἔλαια*, spots like oil; 2. sudden emotions and perturbations of the mind, which seized on men without any visible cause, which were therefore imputed to the operation of demons, especially of Pan,[d] and which were considered as evil omens;[e] 3. the *παλμοὶ*, or *παλμικὰ οἰωνίσματα*, as the palpitations of the heart, the eye, or of any of the muscles, and *βόμβος*, a ringing in the ears, which in the right ear was a lucky omen,[f] as was also the palpitation of the right eye;[g] 4. the *πταρμοὶ*, sneezings, which were so superstitiously observed that divine worship was thought due to them, though some say that this adoration was only an expiation of the omen. Others were of opinion that sneezing was a disease, or at least a symptom of some infirmity; and therefore, when any one sneezed, it was usual to say, *Ζῆθι*, May you live, or *Ζεῦ σῶσον*, God bless you.[h] It is certain that sneezing was held sacred,[i] and was even accounted a deity,[k] and often worshipped;[l] but this may be explained by supposing that there was a god of sneezing called *Πταρμὸς*, who was worshipped.

If any one sneezed at certain times, or on a particular side, it was sufficient either to persuade him to undertake, or to discourage him from, any business of the greatest importance.[m] Sneezing was not always a lucky omen, but varied according to the alteration of circumstances.[n] If any one sneezed between midnight and the following noontide, it was fortunate; but if between noontide and midnight, it was unfortunate.[o] If a man sneezed at the table whilst they were removing the things, it was an ill omen: if another happened to sneeze on the left hand, it was unlucky; but if on the right, fortunate. If, in the undertaking of any business, two or four sneezes happened, the omen was favorable, and encouraged them to proceed; if more than four, the omen was neither good nor bad; but if one or three, it was unlucky, and admonished them to desist from the at-

[c] Tibull. lib. i. eleg. 3.
[d] Simonid. Epigram.
[e] Hom. Odys. *υ'*. v. 345.
[f] Niph. de Augur. lib. i. cap. 9.
[g] Theocrit. Idyll.
[h] Casaub. in Athenæ. lib. ii. cap. 25.
[i] Athenæ. lib. ii. cap. 25.
[k] Aristot. Probl. seg. xxxiii. quæst. 7.
[l] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri lib. iii.
[m] Plutarch. Themistocle.
[n] Schol. Theocrit. in Idyll. vii. v. 96.
[o] Aristot. Problem. seg. xxxiii. quæst. 11.

tempt. If two men were deliberating on any business, and both of them sneezed together, it was accounted a favorable omen.[p]

Of the omens which appeared to men there were several kinds. The commencement of any business was supposed to contain something ominous.[q] A sudden and unusual splendor in any house or other place, was a fortunate presage, and, on the contrary, darkness was an unfortunate omen; the former being supposed to accompany the celestial gods, and the latter to intimate the presence of some of the infernal deities.[r] It was thought a dreadful presage when any unusual accident befel the temples, altars, or statues of the gods.[s] Before the defeat of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, the two golden stars, consecrated by them at Delphi to Castor and Pollux, fell down, and could never be found.[t] The sweating and falling down of images, the doors of temples opening of themselves, and other accidents for which no reason could be assigned, were also reckoned unfortunate omens.

All monstrous and frightful births, sudden and unusual inundations, the unexpected decay and withering of trees or fruits, the noise of beasts, or any accidents that happened to men, or other creatures, contrary to the common course of nature, were thought to be certain signs of the displeasure of the gods.[u] To this place also belong *ἐνόδια σύμβολα*, omens which offered themselves on the road. These were the meeting of a eunuch, a negro, an ape, a bitch with whelps, a snake lying in the way, a hare crossing the road. A woman working at her spindle, or carrying it uncovered, was thought to be prejudicial to any design, and to destroy the hopes entertained, especially concerning the fruits of the earth. A weazel crossing the road was a sufficient reason for deferring a public assembly for that day. All these were *δυσάντητα*, *δυσοιώνιστα*, and *ἀποτρόπαια θεάματα*, unlucky and hateful sights.

Another sort of external omens were those which happened at home, and the divination of which was called *τὸ οἰκοσκοπικόν*. Of this kind were a black dog entering the house; a mouse eating a bag of salt; the appearing of a snake, or a weazel, upon the top of the house; the throwing down of salt; the spilling of water, wine, or honey; the taking away of wine, whilst any person was drinking; a sudden silence; and various other accidents. In putting on the clothes, the right side was served first; and therefore if a servant gave his master the left shoe first, it was an ill omen.[v] When the crown fell from any one's head, it was a dreadful presage.[w] At feasts it was accounted lucky to crown the cup with a garland.[x] It was usual to carry home the fragments left at sacrifices, for the sake of good luck; and these were called *ὑγίειαι*, from their contributing to the preservation of health.[y]

[p] Niph. de Augur. cap. viii.
[q] Ovid. Fast. lib. i. v. 178.
[r] Hom. Odys. τ. v. 36.
[s] Pausan. Messeniac.
[t] Cic. de Divin. lib. i.
[u] Virg. Georg. lib. i. v. 469.
[v] Sueton. Augusto, cap. 92. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 7.
[w] Senec. Thyest.
[x] Virg. Æn. lib. iii. v. 525. lib. i. v. 728.
[y] Hesychius.

Ominous words, whether of a good or an evil tendency, were denominated ὄρται, or perhaps ὄσσαι, κληδόνες, or φῆμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ φάναι, from speaking, and may be interpreted voices. Hence the old Romans before the beginning of an action used this preface: Quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque sit, wishing that their enterprise might succeed well, happily, prosperously, and fortunately. In divine service proclamation was made, ut faverent linguis, that those present should govern their tongues; in inviting to festivals and holidays, the people were commanded litibus et jurgiis abstinere, to abstain from quarrels and contention; and at public lustrations the persons who brought the victims were required to have bona nomina, fortunate names; which was also observed by the consuls in the choice of the first soldier.[z] This sort of divination was chiefly in use at Smyrna, where was κληδόνων ἱερὸν, a temple in which answers were thus returned;[a] and Apollo Spodius delivered oracles at Thebes after the same manner. By some the invention of it is attributed to Ceres.[b] Others say that the Delphian Sibyl was endued with a power of divining after death, and that the gross parts of her body being converted into earth, and afterwards into herbs, communicated the same faculty to the entrails of beasts which fed on them; but that her more refined parts mixing with the air presaged future events by these κληδόνες, ominous voices.[c]

Words that boded ill were called κακαὶ ὄρται, or δυσφημίαι; and he who spoke them was said βλασφημεῖν, φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν.[d] Such words the Greeks were always careful to avoid; insomuch that instead of δεσμωτήριον, a prison, they frequently used οἴκημα, a house; μέλι, instead of ὄξος; γλυκεῖα, instead of χόλη; ὀχετὸς, instead of βόρβορος; καλλιὰς, instead of πίθηκας; φιλατὴς for κλέπτης; ἄγος for μῦσος; κοινὸς for δήμιος; Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, or Εὐμενίδες, instead of Ἐρινύες. This way of speaking chiefly prevailed at Athens.[e] During the time of divine worship, nothing was more strictly enjoined than that the people should εὐφημεῖν, avoid all ominous expressions; which, if spoken by a friend or near relation, were accounted so much the worse.

Some words and proper names imported success according to their natural signification.[f] Δέχεσθαι οἰωνὸν was used by the Greeks to signify the accepting of an omen, and applying it to the business in hand; for it was thought to be very much in the power of the hearer, whether he would accept the omen or not.[g] If the omen was immediately accepted by the hearer, or understood by him, it was efficacious; but if it was neglected or unnoticed, it was of no force.[h] Whenever the Greeks applied themselves to any serious business, they prefaced the undertaking, for the sake of good luck, Θεὸς, Θεὸς, May God be with us; or Εὖ πάθοιμεν, May it happen well to us; or Ἔσται μὲν εὖ, It shall be well; or Ἔσται μὲν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, If we be prospered, it shall

[z] Cic. de Divin. lib. i.
[a] Pausanias.
[b] Hesychius.
[c] Clem. Alex. Strom. i.
[d] Euripid. Ion. v. 1189.
[e] Plutarch. Solone.
[f] Herodot. Euterpe cap. 90.
[g] Plin. lib. xxviii. cap. 2.
[h] Virg. Æn. lib. vii. v. 116.

succeed. All their works and speeches were begun in the name of some god,[i] as being the most likely means of obtaining success.[k]

Certain times also were ominous, some days being accounted fortunate and the cause of success, others unfortunate and the occasion of misfortune.[l] Some days were proper for one kind of business, some for another, and others for none at all.[m] To observe ominous days was termed *αἰσιοῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας*.

The manner of averting an omen was either to throw a stone at the thing, or, if it was an animal, to kill it, that the evil which it portended might fall on its own head; if it was an unlucky speech, it was usual to retort it on the speaker, and say, *Εἰς κεφαλήν σοι*, May it fall on thy own head. This expression was probably borrowed from the *ἱεροσκόποι*, who, when they perceived any thing in the victim that portended misfortune to themselves or their country, prayed that *εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τρέπεσθαι*, it might be turned on the victim's head; and this is said to have been derived from an Egyptian custom.[n] Instead of this imprecation the Greeks sometimes said, *Εἰς ἀγαθόν μοι*, or *Μὴ γένοιτο*, God forbid. It was customary to spit three times into their bosoms at the sight of a madman, or an epileptic person:

——*τρὶς εἰς ἓὸν ἔπτυσε κόλπον.*[o]
Into his bosom thrice he spat.

This was done in defiance of the omen; for spitting was a sign of the greatest contempt and aversion; and hence *πτύειν*, to spit, was used for *καταφρονεῖν, ἐν οὐδενὶ λογίζειν*, to despise.[p]

Sometimes they prayed that the ominous thing might be cast into the sea, or carried to the farthest part of the world. The former was inflicted on certain monstrous births, which were accounted prodigies.[q] Sometimes the ominous thing was burned with ligna infelicia, wood sacred to the gods of hell, and with those which averted evil omens, as thorns, and such trees as were unfit for any other purpose than burning.[r] Sometimes the prodigy, after it had been burnt, was cast into the water, and particularly into the sea, if the latter was not too far distant.[s] Lastly, on meeting an unlucky omen the Greeks often desisted from their undertaking, and began again:

Οἰωνὸν ἔθετο, κἀκέλευσ' ἄλλον νέον
Κρητῆρα πληροῦν· τὰς δὲ πρὶν σπονδὰς Θεοῦ
Δίδωσι γαίᾳ, πᾶσι τ' ἐκσπένδειν λέγει.[t]
He
Deemed these of evil omen, and required
Another goblet to be filled afresh:
The former, a libation to the god,
He cast upon the ground, instructing all
To pour, like him, th' untasted liquor down. POTTER.

[i] Arat. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Virg. Eclog. iii.
[k] Xenoph. Lib. de Ratio. reddit.
[l] Hesiod. Op. et Di. v. 825.
[m] Idem ibid. vv. 766. 780.
[n] Herodot. Euterpe cap. 39.
[o] Theocrit. Idyll. xx. v. 11.
[p] Schol. Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 66.
[q] Tibullus.
[r] Macrob. Satur. lib. iii. cap. 20.
[s] Theocrit. Idyll. xxiv. v. 86.
[t] Euripid. Ion. v. 1191.

CHAP. XVIII.

Magic and Incantations.

Besides the methods of foretelling future events which have been already mentioned, and which are commonly denominated physical, from the predictions being made without any supernatural assistance, and by the mere knowledge of natural causes, there are several others which may be comprehended under the names of *μαγεῖαι* and *ἐπῳδαὶ*, magic and incantations.

Magical arts are said by the Greeks to have been invented in Persia, where at first they were greatly esteemed; for the *μάγοι* applied themselves to the study of philosophy, and of the various works and mysteries of nature. They were usually chosen to superintend divine worship, and all religious rites and ceremonies; they continually attended on the kings, whom they advised in all matters of importance; and they were generally preferred to places of honor and trust. But when they forsook the contemplation of nature, and betook themselves to the invocation of demons, and other mean arts, their credit was greatly diminished.

This art was introduced into Greece by Oethanes, who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition, and who diffused it wherever he had an opportunity.

Νεκρομαντεία was a divination in which answers were given by deceased persons. It was sometimes performed by the magical use of a bone, or vein of a dead body, especially by the Thessalians; or by pouring warm blood into a carcase, for the purpose, as it were, of renewing life;[u] or by some other enchantments of restoring the dead to life. Sometimes they attempted to raise the ghosts of deceased persons by various incantations and ceremonies.[v] If the dead appeared only in airy forms, like shades, this divination was called *σκιομαντεία* and *ψυχομαντεία*. It might be performed in any place; but some places were appropriated to this use, and called *νεκυομαντεία*. Of these, two were most remarkable; of which one was in Thesprotia, where Orpheus restored to life his wife Eurydice, and Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, was affrighted by the apparition of his wife Melissa, whom he had murdered;[w] the other was in Campania, at the lake Avernus, and is celebrated by Homer and Virgil in their stories of Ulysses and Æneas.

Ὑδρομαντεία, divination by water, and sometimes called *πηγομαντεία*, when performed by fountain water. In this divination they observed the various impressions, changes, fluxes, refluxes, colors, and images in the water. Sometimes, when they desired to know what would become of a sick person, they dipped into the water a looking-glass, from which, as he looked well or ill in the glass, they foretold his future condition. Sometimes they filled a bowl with water, and suspending in it a ring, which was equally poised on each side, and

[u] Lucan. lib. vi. v. 750. v. 547.
[v] Hom. Odys. lib. xi. Senec. Œdip.
[w] Herodot. Terpsichore.

tied by a thread to one of their fingers, they offered up a prayer, and requested the gods to declare or confirm the question in dispute; and if the thing proposed was true, the ring would of itself strike against the sides of the bowl a certain number of times. Sometimes they cast three stones into the water, and observed the turns which they made in sinking. Instead of water, they sometimes used oil or wine, which was called χύτλα, and instead of stones, they sometimes employed wedges of gold or silver.

This divination was sometimes performed in a basin, from which it was denominated λεκανομαντεία. In this they distinguished the stones or wedges with certain characters, and having invoked the demon in a certain form, proposed the question; to which an answer was returned in a small voice, like a hiss, that proceeded out of the water. This mode of divination is supposed to have been as ancient as the Trojan war, and to have given rise to the poetical fictions of the descent of Ulysses into the infernal regions for the purpose of consulting the ghost of Tiresias.[x]

Sometimes divination by water was performed with a looking-glass, and thence called κατοπτρομαντεία. Sometimes, also, glasses were used, and the images of what was to happen were represented without water.

Sometimes it was performed in a vessel of water, the middle part of which was called γάστρη, and then the divination was denominated γαστρομαντεία. The manner of performing it was as follows:—they filled certain round glasses with clear water, about which were placed lighted torches. They then invoked a demon, praying in a low murmuring voice, and proposed the question to be solved. A chaste boy, or a pregnant woman, was appointed to observe with the greatest care and exactness all the alterations in the glasses, at the same time desiring and commanding an answer, which the demon returned by images in the glasses, that by reflection from the water represented what should come to pass.

Κρυσταλλομαντεία was performed by polished and enchanted chrystals, in which future events were signified by certain marks and figures.

Δακτυλομαντεία was a divination by rings enchanted, or made according to some position of the celestial bodies. Gyges, king of Lydia, had a ring of this kind, which when he turned to the palm of his hand, he became invisible to others, but could see every one, and by means of which he slew his master Candaules, and afterwards succeeded him in the throne. Some ascribe the invention of this divination to Helen, the wife of Menelaus.[y]

Ὀνυχομαντεία was performed by the nails of a chaste boy, covered with oil and soot, which they turned to the sun, the reflection of whose rays was believed to represent by certain images the events that should happen.

Ἀερομαντεία was a divination which foretold future events from certain spectres or other appearances in the air. It was sometimes performed in the following manner:—they folded their heads in a nap-

[x] Schol. Lycophr. in Cassandr. v. 813. [y] Phot. Bibliothec.

kin, and having placed a bowl filled with water in the open air, proposed their question in a small whispering voice; at which time, if the water boiled or bubbled, they supposed that what they had spoken was approved of and confirmed.

Λιθομαντεία was sometimes performed by a precious stone called siderites, which they washed in spring water in the night by candlelight. The person who consulted it was to be purified from all pollution, and to have his face covered. He afterwards repeated some prayers, and placed certain characters in an appointed order. The stone then moved of itself, and in a gentle murmur, or, as some say, in a voice like that of a child, returned an answer. By a stone of this kind Helenus is reported to have foretold the destruction of Troy.

Κοσκινομαντεία was a divination by a sieve, which was generally practised to discover thieves, or others suspected of any crime, and was performed in the following manner:—they tied to the sieve a thread by which it was upheld, or else placed a pair of shears which they held up by two fingers. They then prayed to the gods to direct and assist them, and repeated the names of the persons whom they suspected; and he, at whose name the sieve turned round or moved, was thought to have committed the deed.[z] By some this was denominated κοσκίνῳ μαντεύεσθαι, to divine by the shears.[a]

On the same account they sometimes performed another sort of divination, which was called ἀξινομαντεία, from ἀξίνη, an axe or hatchet, which they fixed so exactly upon a round stake that it might be equally poised, and neither end overbalance the other. They then prayed, and repeated the names of those whom they suspected; and the person at whose name the hatchet moved was deemed guilty.

Κεφαλομαντεία was a divination by the head of an ass, which they broiled on coals; and after muttering a few prayers, they repeated the names of the persons as before, or the crime, if only one was suspected; at which, if the jaws moved and the teeth chattered against each other, they thought that the villain was sufficiently discovered.

Ἀλεκτρυομαντεία was a very mysterious divination, in which they made use of a cock to discover secret and unknown transactions, or future events. It was performed in the following manner:—having written in the dust the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, and laid a grain of wheat or barley on each of them, a cock magically prepared was let loose among them; and the letters, out of which he picked the corn, being joined together, were thought to declare whatever was wished to be known. Iamblichus, the famous magician, and master of Proclus, is said to have used this divination for the purpose of discovering the successor of Valens Cæsar in the empire.

Σιδηρομαντεία was a divination by red-hot iron, on which they laid an odd number of straws, and observed the figures, curves, and sparkles, which they made in burning.

Μολυβδομαντεία was by observing the motions and figures of melted lead.

[z] Theocrit. Idyll. iii. v. 31. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. viii. cap. 5.

[a] Lucian. in Pseudon.

The three following methods of divination are by some reckoned among the various sorts of incantations:

Τεφρομαντεία was a divination by ashes, and was performed in the following manner:—they wrote the question, which they wished to be answered, in ashes on a board, or any such thing. This board was exposed to the open air, where it continued for some time; and the letters which remained perfect, and were not defaced by the winds or other accidents, were thought to contain a solution of the question.

Βοτανομαντεία was a divination by herbs, especially ἐλελίσφακος, sage, or by fig-leaves, and hence called συκομαντεία. They who consulted wrote their own names and their questions on leaves, which they exposed to the wind; and as many of the letters as remained in their own places were taken up, and being joined together contained an answer to the question. Another method was by placing the herb telephilum, or some other herb, in the hand or upon the arm, and if it cracked in breaking when crushed or stricken, the omen was thought to be good; if not, it was deemed unfortunate.[b] Not much unlike this was the divination by laurel-leaves, which they threw into the fire, and observed in what manner they crackled whilst burning; from which noise some say that the laurel was called δάφνη as if δὰ φωνή.

Κηρομαντεία was a divination by wax, which they melted over a vessel of water, dropping it within three certain spaces, and observing the figure, situation, distance, and concretion of the drops.

Besides these there were many other sorts of divination; as χειρομαντεία, φυσιογνωμία, ὀνοματομαντεία, ἀριθμομαντεία, γεωμαντεία, λυχνομαντεία, &c.[c] One, however, is so remarkable that it must not be omitted. Φαρμακεία was a divination commonly performed by certain medicated and enchanted compositions of herbs, minerals, &c., which were called φάρμακα. By means of these, strange and wonderful effects were produced: some of them taken inwardly caused blindness, madness, love, &c., as the medicaments of Circe transformed the soldiers of Ulysses; some of them infected by a touch, as the garment which Medea sent to Creusa; others spread their poison afar off, and operated on persons at a great distance. There were also φάρμακα σωτήρια, which were amulets against the former, and of which were the herb moly that preserved Ulysses from the enchantments of Circe, the laurel, the sallow-tree, the rhamn, the flea-bane, the jasper-stone, certain rings which the Greeks called δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας,[d] &c. The ancients believed that enchantments had power to charm the moon from heaven;[e] and when the moon was eclipsed, they thought that this was effected by the power of magic; and hence they used drums, kettles, trumpets, and hautboys, for the purpose of drowning the voices of the magicians, that their charms might not reach her. The moon also was thought to preside over this art, and therefore was invoked, together with Hecate, to whom the invention of it was ascribed.[f] To this sort of divination may be re-

[b] Theocrit. Idyll. iii. v. 28.
[c] Arat. Plin. Nat. Hist.
[d] Aristophan. Plut.
[e] Virg. Eclog. viii. Ovid. Met. lib. vii. fab. 2.
[f] Eurip. Medea v. 395.

ferred charms against poison, diseases, or venom;[g] and it is probable that the use of these incantations gave rise to the fable by which Orpheus is said to have recovered his wife Eurydice from the dead; for we are told that Orpheus was skilled in the art of music,[h] and that he published a book on the remedies of distempers.[i] To it also belong enchanted girdles, and other things worn about the bodies of men, which were intended to excite love, or any other passion, in those with whom they conversed.

In this place, likewise, it may be proper to notice *βασκανία*, fascination, so denominated *παρὰ τὸ φάεσι καίνειν*, from killing with the eyes. It was believed that some malignant influence darted from the eyes of envious and angry persons, and infected the air, and by that means penetrated and corrupted the bodies of animals.[k] The younger animals being most tender were thought more easily to receive this impression.[l] The eyes of some men were destructive to infants and children, by reason of the weak constitution of their bodies, but had not an equal power over men, whose bodies were strengthened by age.[m] Women, who had double eye balls, had power to hurt others on whom they fixed their eyes.[n] These influences were thought to proceed chiefly from those whose spirits were moved by anger or envy.[o] They who were happy and successful were more liable to fascination.[p] For the same reason, they who had been much commended by others were in danger of having their prosperity destroyed.[q] Some crowned those whom they thought to be in danger with garlands of the herb baccharis, which was supposed to have a sovereign power over fascination.[r] For the same purpose some used bracelets or necklaces, composed of shells, corals, and precious stones; and others prepared certain herbs with incantations and magical rites. The figure of a man's privities, hung about the necks of children, was thought to prevent fascination.[s] It was sometimes hung upon the doors of houses and gardens;[t] and smiths commonly placed it before their forges.[u] It may be farther observed that this figure was the image of Priapus, who was believed to punish such persons as injured by fascination.[v] Some, chiefly old women, averted fascination by spitting thrice into their bosoms, three being a sacred number.[w] Another method of averting fascinations from infants was as follows:—they tied a thread of different colors about the neck of the infant, and, spitting on the ground, mixed the spittle with dirt, and put it upon the forehead and lips of the infant.[x]

[g] Suid. Hom. Odys. δ. v. 456. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2. Pindar. Pyth. Od. iii. v. 89.
[h] Pausan. Eliac. cap. ii.
[i] Euripid. Alcest. v. 965.
[k] Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. iii.
[l] Virg. Eclog. iii. v. 103.
[m] Plut. Sympos. lib. v. quæst. 7.
[n] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.
[o] Idem ibid.
[p] Hor. lib. i. ep. 14. v. 26.
[q] Plin. Nat. Hist.
[r] Virg. Eclog. vii. v. 27.
[s] Varro lib. vi. Plut. Sympos. lib. v. quæst. 7.
[t] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xix. cap. 4.
[u] Poll. Onomast. lib. vii. cap. 24.
[v] Diod. Sic. lib. iv.
[w] Theocrit. Idyll. vi. v. 39. et Schol.
[x] Pers. Sat. ii. v. 31.

CHAP. XIX.

Grecian Festivals.

THE early festivals of Greece were characterized by joy and gratitude. The people of the different nations, after gathering in the fruits of the earth, assembled to offer up sacrifices, and to indulge in that mirth which is the natural consequence of plenty.[y] It is, indeed, evident that festivals were instituted in honor of the gods, to whom, besides the worship daily paid to them, some more solemn times were set apart: to avert some evil and obtain some good, by rendering the gods propitious;[z] in memory of deceased friends, or of those who had performed some remarkable service to their country;[a] as seasons of ease and rest from labor; or as bonds of friendship and alliance, and for the establishment and preservation of society. In ancient times there were few or no festivals besides those after harvest or vintage;[b] but in latter ages the number of the festivals was increased, and the manner of observing them much altered.

As the Athenians exceeded all other people in the number of their gods, so they did also in the number of their festivals.[c] The Athenian calendar contained an abstract of the annals of Athens, and of events the most glorious to the city.[d] At one time were celebrated the union of the people of Attica by Theseus, the return of that prince into his states, and the abolition of debts which he procured; at another, the battles of Marathon and Salamis, those of Platæa, Naxos, &c. Most of the festivals were celebrated at the public expense, and some of them with extraordinary magnificence.[e]

Though the following is not a complete collection of the Grecian festivals, yet it contains the principal of them.

'ΑΓΗΤΟΡΕΙΟΝ and 'ΑΓΗΤΟΡΙΑ were festivals, the former of which was probably in honor of Venus, whose priest was called *ἀγήτωρ*, in Cyprus; and they might both belong to Apollo, and be, at least the latter of them, the same as the Lacedæmonian *καρνεῖα*.[f]

'ΑΓΡΑΝΙΑ was celebrated at Argos, in memory of one of the daughters of Prœtus.[g]

'ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΑ, probably the same, was observed at Argos in memory of a deceased person.[h] It was also celebrated at Thebes with solemn sports.

'ΑΓΡΑΥΛΙΑ was celebrated at Athens in honor of Agraulus, or Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops, and the nymph Aglauris, and priestess of Minerva, to whom she gave the surname of Aglaurus, and who was worshipped in a temple dedicated to her. The Cyprians also honored her with the celebration of an annual festival in the

[y] Aristot. de Mor. lib. viii. cap. 11.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 68. Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. cap. 14.
[a] Aristoph. Ran. v. 664.
[b] Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. viii. c. 9.
[c] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen.
[d] Plut. de Glor. Athen.
[e] Isocrat. Areop.
[f] Hesych. Athenæ. lib. iv. Eustath. in Hom. Il. ω'.
[g] Hesychius.
[h] Idem.

month Aphrodisius, at which they offered human victims; and this custom is said to have continued till the time of Diomedes.[i]

'ΑΓΡΙΩΝΙΑ was in honor of Bacchus, who was surnamed Ἀγριώνιος from his cruelty,[k] or from his being attended by lions, tigers, and other ferocious animals, which procured him the name of Ὠμηστὴς, an eater of raw flesh. This solemnity was observed in the night, in the following manner:—the women being assembled sought diligently for Bacchus, who, they pretended, had fled from them; but finding their labour ineffectual, they said that he had retired to the muses, and concealed himself among them. The ceremony being thus ended, they regaled themselves with an entertainment.[l] At this feast large quantities of ivy were used, because that plant was sacred to Bacchus.[m]

'ΑΓΡΟΤΕΡΑΣ ΘΥΣΙΑ was an annual sacrifice of five hundred goats, offered at Athens to Minerva, who was surnamed Ἀγροτέρα, from Agræ in Attica. This festival was instituted in commemoration of the defeat of the Persians, who had invaded Attica during the reign of Darius.[n]

'ΑΓΡΥΠΝΙΣ was a nocturnal festival,[o] celebrated in honor of Bacchus at Arbela in Sicily; and it was so called because the worshippers were accustomed ἀγρυπνεῖν, to watch all night.

'ΑΔΩΝΙΑ, or 'ΑΔΩΝΕΙΑ, was celebrated in most of the cities of Greece, in honor of Venus, and in memory of her beloved Adonis.[p] The solemnity continued two days. On the first certain images or pictures of Adonis and Venus were brought forth, with all the pomp and ceremonies used at funerals; the women tore their hair, beat their breasts, and counterfeited other actions usual in lamenting the dead.[q] This lamentation was called ἀδωνιασμὸς,[r] or ἀδωνία; and hence ἀδωνίαν ἄγειν signifies the same as Ἄδωνιν κλαίειν, to weep for Adonis;[s] and the songs on this occasion were denominated ἀδωνίδια.[t] With the images were also carried shells filled with earth, in which grew several sorts of herbs, particularly lettuces; in memory that Adonis was laid out by Venus on a bed of lettuces. These were called κῆποι, gardens; and hence Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι were proverbially applied to things unfruitful and fading, because those herbs were sown only so long before the festival as to be green at that time, and were presently cast out into the water. The flutes used on this day were called γιγγρίαι, from Γίγγρης, the Phœnician name of Adonis; and hence to play on this instrument was termed γιγγρᾶν, or γιγγραίνειν: the music, γιγγρασμὸς; and the songs were called γιγγραντά. The sacrifice was denominated καθέδρα, because the days of mourning were called by that name. The second day was spent in all possible demonstrations of joy and merriment;[u] in memory that, by the favor of Proserpine, Venus obtained that Adonis should return to life, and dwell with her one half of every year. This fable is applied to the sun, which pro-

[i] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. ii.
[k] Plut. Anton.
[l] Idem Sympos. lib. viii. quæst. 1.
[m] Id. Quæst. Roman.
[n] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri.
[o] Hesychius.
[p] Schol. Aristophan. in Pac. v. 419. Musæ. de Hero et Leandro v. 43.
[q] Plut. Nicia; Macrob. Sat. i.
[r] Etymolog. Auctor.
[s] Suidas.
[t] Proclus in Chrestomath.
[u] Lucian.

duces the vicissitude of summer and winter;[v] but the vain pomp and serious folly of this festival served only to expose the superstition of the heathens, and gave rise to the proverb, Οὐδὲν ἱερὸν, by which were meant things apparently great and sacred, but in reality ridiculous trifles.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ were two festivals observed at Athens in honor of Minerva; one of which was called Παναθήναια, and the other Χαλκεῖα.

ΑΙΑΚΕΙΑ were sports at Ægina in honor of Æacus, who had a temple in that island; in which, after the conclusion of the solemnity, the victors presented a garland of flowers.[w]

ΑΙΑΝΤΕΙΑ was in honor of Ajax, in the isle of Salamis;[x] and in Attica, where, in commemoration of his valor, a bier on appointed days was adorned with a complete suit of armor; and so careful were the Athenians of his memory, that his name was continued to posterity in one of their tribes, which from him was called Αἰαντίς.

ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΩΝ ΈΟΡΤΗ was a festival at Ægina, observed in honor of Neptune during sixteen days, all of which were spent in mirth and jollity, and in offering sacrifices to the gods. It was performed only by free denizens of that island, without the assistance of servants, who for that reason were called μονοφάγοι, eaters by themselves. The solemnity ended with offering a sacrifice to Venus.[y]

ΑΙΜΑΚΟΥΡΙΑ was a Peloponnesian festival, in which κοῦροι, boys, were whipt at the sepulchre of Pelops, till αἷμα, blood, was drawn; and hence this solemnity derived its name.

ΑΙΩΡΑ, ΈΩΡΑ, ΕΥΔΕΙΠΝΟΣ, or ΆΛΗΤΙΣ, was a festival and solemn sacrifice, celebrated by the Athenians with vocal music in honor of Erigone, sometimes called Aletis, the daughter of Icarius, who, through excessive grief for the misfortunes of her father, hanged herself; and hence the solemnity obtained the name of αἰώρα.[z] Some say that it was observed in honor of king Temaleus, or of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra.[a] Others are of opinion that it was first observed by command of an oracle, in memory of the daughter of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra; who, accompanied by her grandfather Tyndarus, undertook a journey to Athens, where she prosecuted Orestes in the court of Areopagus, and losing her cause hanged herself through grief.[b]

ΆΚΤΙΑ was a triennial festival, solemnized at Actium in Epirus, with wrestling, horse-racing, and a fight or race of ships, in honor of Apollo, who from that place was surnamed Actius.[c]

ΆΛΑΙΑ, or ΆΛΕΑΙΑ, was in honor of Minerva surnamed Alea, at Tegea in Arcadia, where that goddess had a temple of great antiquity.[d]

ΆΛΕΚΤΡΥΟΝΩΝ ΆΓΩΝ was an annual cock-fight at Athens, in

[v] Macrob. Sat. i. v. 21.
[w] Pindar. ejusque Scholiast. in Nem. Od. vi.
[x] Hesychius.
[y] Plut. Græc. Quæst.
[z] Hygin. Astronom. lib. ii.
[a] Hesychius.
[b] Etymolog. Auctor.
[c] Steph. Byzant. Clem. Protrept. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. xi. cap. 8.
[d] Pausan. Arcad.

memory of the cocks from whose crowing Themistocles received an omen of his success against the Persians.[e]

'ΑΛΙΑ were solemn games[f] celebrated at Rhodes on the twenty-fourth day of the month Γορπιαῖα, which corresponds with the Athenian Βοηδρομιὼν, in honor of the sun, who is called ἥλιος and ἅλιος, and who is said to have been born in the island of Rhodes; the inhabitants of which were reputed his posterity, and therefore denominated Heliades.[g] The combatants in these games were boys as well as men; and the victors were rewarded with a crown of poplar.

'ΑΛΚΑΘΟΙΑ was observed at Megara[h] in honor of Alcathous, the son of Pelops, who, being suspected of the murder of his brother Chrysippus, fled to Megara, where having slain a terrible lion that infested the country, and had killed the son of king Megareus, he received the daughter of the king in marriage, and was declared his successor.

'ΑΛΩΑ was observed at Athens in the month Ποσειδεὼν, in honor of Ceres and Bacchus, by whose blessing the husbandmen received the recompense of their labor; and therefore their oblations consisted only of the fruits of the earth.[i] Others say that this festival was instituted in commemoration of the primitive Greeks, who lived ἐν τοῖς ἅλωσι, in vineyards and corn-fields.[k] Hence Ceres was called Ἀλωὰς, Ἀλωὶς, and Εὐαλωσία.

'ΑΛΩΤΙΑ was celebrated in honor of Minerva by the Arcadians, in memory of a victory, in which they took many of the Lacedæmonians prisoners, whom the Greeks called ἁλωτούς.[l]

'ΑΜΑΡΥΝΘΙΑ, or 'ΑΜΑΡΥΣΙΑ, was a festival celebrated with games in honor of Diana, surnamed Amarynthia and Amarysia, from a town in Eubœa. It was observed by the Eubœans, Eretrians, Carystians, and Athmonians, who were inhabitants of a borough in Attica.

'ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΑ was celebrated in honor of Bacchus, the god of wine, in the month of Lenæon in most of the cities of Greece.[m]

'ΑΜΜΑΑΩ was a festival, of which nothing more is known than that it belonged to Jupiter.[n]

"ΑΜΜΩΝ was an Athenian festival.[o]

'ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΙΑ was observed at Oropus, in honor of Amphiaraus.[p]

'ΑΜΦΙΔΡΟΜΙΑ was a festival observed by private families in Athens, on the fifth day after the birth of every child. It was so called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφιδραμεῖν, from running round; because it was customary to run round the fire with the infants in their arms.

'ΑΝΑΓΩΓΙΑ were solemn sacrifices to Venus at Eryx in Sicily, where she had a magnificent temple.[q] The name of this solemnity was derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνάγεσθαι, from returning; because the goddess was said to leave Sicily and return to Africa at that time.

[e] Ælian. lib. ii. cap. 28.
[f] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. Od. viii.
[g] Strabo lib. xiv.
[h] Pindar. Schol. Nem. Od. v.
[i] Demosth. in Neæram.
[k] Harpocr. Eustath. Il. ω'.
[l] Pausan. Arcad.
[m] Hesiod. Schol. Op. et Di. lib. ii.
[n] Hesychius.
[o] Idem.
[p] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. Od. vii.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 15.

'ΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ was an Athenian festival in honor of the Dioscuri, who were called *ἄνακες*, and honored with a temple denominated *ἀνάκειον*. The sacrifices offered at that time were named *ξενισμοὶ*, because these deities were *ξένοι*, strangers,[r] and consisted of three offerings[s] called *τριττύαι*. Plays were also acted in honor of these deities.[t]

'ΑΝΑΚΛΗΤΗΡΙΑ were solemnities observed at the *ἀνάκλησις*, proclamation of kings and princes, when they became of age to assume the reins of government.[u]

'ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ was a festival[v] at Amphyssa, the capital of Locris, in honor either of the Dioscuri, Curetes, or Cabiri, for in this matter authors are not agreed.

'ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΕΙΑ was a festival observed by boys at Lampsacus in honor of Anaxagoras, who, dying in that city, requested that on the anniversary of his death boys should have leave to play.[w]

'ΑΝΔΡΟΓΕΩΝΙΑ, or *ἀγῶνες ὑπ' Εὐρυγύῃ*, were annual games[x] celebrated in the Ceramicus at Athens, by the command of Minos king of Crete, in memory of his son Androgeos, or Eurygyas, who had been barbarously murdered by some of the Athenians and Megarensians.[y]

'ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΑ were an Athenian festival, observed in honor of Bacchus on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month *Ἀνθεστηριών*, and were denominated from the crowns or garlands of flowers, with which boys of three years old were decorated at this festival.

The first day was named *Πιθοιγία, ἀπὸ τοῦ πίθους οἴγειν*, because they then tapped their barrels. By the Chæroneans the same day was called *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*, the day of good genius; because it was customary to be merry on that day.

The second day was denominated *Χόες* from the measure *χοὰ*, because every man drank out of his own vessel. On the first day they only opened their vessels, and tasted the wine; but on this it was customary to drink copiously; and the longest liver, in token of victory, was rewarded with a crown of leaves, or, as some say, with a crown of gold and a vessel of wine.[z] On this day the professors of sophistry feasted at home with their friends, and had presents sent them;[a] and from this day Bacchus was surnamed *Χοοπότης*.

The third day was called *Χύτροι* from *χύτρα*, a pot, that was brought forth full of all sorts of seeds, which they accounted sacred to Mercurius *χθόνιος*, the infernal, and from which they therefore abstained. On this day the comedians acted; and at Sparta Lycurgus ordered that such of them as obtained the victory should be enrolled among the free denizens.

During these days the slaves were allowed to drink and revel; and, therefore, at the end of the festival it was usual to issue a

[r] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. Od. iii.
[s] Pausanias.
[t] Athenæ. Deipnos. lib. ii.
[u] Polyb. Hist. lib. xviii.
[v] Pausan. Phocicis.
[w] Diog. Laertius.
[x] Hesychius.
[y] Plutarch. Theseo.
[z] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 41.
[a] Athenæ. lib. x.

proclamation in the following manner:—Θύραζε, Κᾶρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια, Begone, ye Carian slaves, the Anthesteria are ended.[b]

'ΑΝΘΕΣΦΟΡΙΑ was a Sicilian festival,[c] and derived its name ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν ἄνθεα, from carrying flowers; because it was instituted in honor of Proserpine, whom Pluto is said to have stolen whilst she was gathering flowers.

Another solemnity of the same name was observed at Argos in honor of Juno, to whom a temple was dedicated in that city, under the name of Ἀνθεία.[d]

'ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΑ were sacrifices in honor of Antigonus.[e]

'ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΑ were annual sacrifices and quinquennial games in honor of Antinous, the Bithynian: they were instituted by the command of Adrian, the Roman emperor, at Mantinæa in Arcadia, where Antinous was honored with a temple and divine worship.[f]

'ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑ was a festival[g] first observed by the Athenians, and afterwards by the rest of the Ionians, except those of Ephesus and Colophon. It is said to have received its name from ἀπάτη, deceit, because it was instituted in memory of a stratagem by which Melanthius, the Athenian king, overcame Xanthus king of Bœotia. In memory of this success Jupiter was surnamed Ἀπατήνωρ, the Deceiver. It being also pretended that a person habited in a black goat-skin had been seen before the engagement, Bacchus was surnamed Μελαναιγὶς, and was honored with a new temple, and the institution of this festival.[h] It is, however, more probable that Ἀπατούρια was so called as if Ἀπατόρια, that is Ὁμοπατόρια, because at this festival children accompanied their fathers that their names might be entered in the public register;[i] or because they were in a certain sense ἀπάτορες, without fathers, till they had been publicly registered as the children of their fathers. This festival commenced on the twenty-second day of the month Πανεψιὼν,[k] and continued three days.

The first day was called Δορπία from δόρπος, a supper; because in the evening of that day each tribe met, and had a sumptuous entertainment.

The second day was named Ἀναῤῥύσις, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω ἐρύειν, because on this day victims were offered to Jupiter Φράτριος and Ἀπατήνωρ, and to Minerva, in whose sacrifices (as in all offered to the celestial deities) it was customary ἄνω ἐρύειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, to turn the heads of the victims upwards towards heaven. At this sacrifice, the children enrolled among the citizens were placed close to the altar. It was usual also for persons richly attired to run about with lighted torches, and sing hymns in praise of Vulcan, who first taught men the use of that element.

The third day was named Κουρεῶτις from κοῦρος, a youth, or from κουρὰ, shaving, because the youths had their hair cut off before they were presented to be registered. At this time the fathers were obliged

[b] Hesychius.
[c] Pollux Onom. lib. i. cap. 1.
[d] Pausan. Corinth.
[e] Plut. Agid. et Cleom.
[f] Pausan. Arcadic.
[g] Aristoph. Schol. Acharn. Harpocrat. Hesychius; Suidas.
[h] Etymolog. Auctor. Proclus in Timæo.
[i] Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 146.
[k] Theophr. Charact. Ethic. cap. iv.

to swear that both themselves and the mothers of the young men were freeborn Athenians. It was also customary to offer two ewes and a she-goat in sacrifice to Diana, which they called *θύειν φρατρίαν*; the she-goat was termed *αἴξ φράτριος*, and the ewe, *ὄις φρατήρ*.[l] The victim was to be of a certain weight; and because it once happened that the spectators cried out in jest, Μεῖον, *μεῖον*, *Too little, too little*, it was afterwards called *μεῖον*, and the persons who offered it were denominated *μειαγωγοί*.

Some add a fourth day, which was called Ἐπίβδης;[m] but that name is not peculiar to this festival, it being commonly applied to any day celebrated after the end of another solemnity.

This festival was observed five days by the Protenthæ, who began it a day sooner than others. By a decree, the Athenian senate was forbidden to meet for five days during the time of this solemnity.[n]

ΑΠΑΥΛΙΑ was a festival on the second day after a marriage.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ was in honor of Apollo at Ægialea, where it was customary to appoint a select number of boys and virgins, who went in solemn procession, as if to bring back Apollo and Diana to that place, whence they had been driven after Apollo's victory over Python.[o]

ΑΠΟΠΟΜΠΑΙΑ were certain days[p] in which sacrifices were offered to the gods called *πομπαῖοι*, or rather *ἀποπομπαῖοι*, who were thought to avert evil.

ΑΡΑΤΕΙΑ was a festival at Sicyon[q] on the birth day of Aratus, whom they honored with a priest, who, for the sake of distinction, wore a riband spotted with white and purple. It was celebrated with music; and the choristers of Bacchus assisted at the solemnity with harps. There was also a solemn procession, in which the public schoolmaster and his scholars were followed by the senators and other citizens adorned with garlands.

ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ were several festivals at Argos, the names of which are unknown.[r]

ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕΙΑ were two festivals[s] at Naxos in honor of two women, who were both called Ariadne. The former of them was thought to have been of a gay and cheerful temper, and therefore her festival was observed with music, and with many other expressions of joy and mirth. The latter being exposed, when with child, on that coast by Theseus, was supposed to have been of a melancholy disposition; and therefore the solemnity dedicated to her exhibited a show of sorrow and mourning.

ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΙΑ was observed at Athens,[t] in the month Σκιῤῥοφοριών, in honor of Minerva, and of Ersa, one of the daughters of Cecrops; on which account it is sometimes called Ἐρσηφόρια, or Ἐῤῥηφόρια. Ἀῤῥηφόρια is derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄῤῥητα φέρειν*, because of certain mysteries which were carried by four noble virgins, who were not under seven, nor more than eleven years of age, and who were thence called

[l] Pollux.
[m] Hesychius.
[n] Athenæ. lib. iv.
[o] Pausan. Corinthiac.
[p] Hesychius.
[q] Plut. Arato.
[r] Parthen. Erotic. xiii. Plut. Græc. Quæst. Æn. Poliorcet. cap. xvii.
[s] Plut. Theseo.
[t] Harpocrat. Suidas; Hesychius.

ἀῤῥηφόροι. Their apparel was white, and decorated with ornaments of gold; and hence ἀῤῥηφορεῖν is interpreted χρυσῆν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, καὶ χρυσία.[u] They had a particular sort of bread, which was termed ναστὸς,[v] and cakes which were called ἀνάσταται.[w] There was a certain σφαιριστήριον, ball-court, appropriated to their use in the Acropolis, in which stood a brazen statue of Isocrates on horseback.[x] From these virgins were chosen two, to weave, as was customary, a πέπλος, garment, for Minerva, which work they began on the thirtieth of Πυανεψιών.

'ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ was a festival in honor of Ἄρτεμις, Diana. It was celebrated in several cities of Greece, particularly at Delphi, where they offered to the goddess a mullet, which was thought to bear some relation to her, because it is said to hunt and kill the sea-hare.[y] The bread offered to the goddess was termed λοχιὰ;[z] and the women who performed the sacred rites were called λόμβαι.[a]

Another solemnity of the same name was observed at Syracuse, and celebrated during three days with sports and banquets.[b]

'ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ was a festival in honor of Æsculapius, observed in several parts of Greece, but with the greatest solemnity by the Epidaurians,[c] whom this god honored with his more immediate presence, and to whom he gave answers in an oracular manner: it was therefore called Μεγαλασκλήπεια, the great festival of Æsculapius, and consisted chiefly of a musical entertainment, in which poets and musicians contended for victory, and which was therefore denominated ἱερὸς ἀγὼν, the sacred contention.

'ΑΣΚΩΛΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the Athenian husbandmen in honor of Bacchus,[d] to whom they sacrificed a he-goat; because that animal destroys vines, and was therefore supposed to be an enemy to Bacchus. Of the skin of the victim they made a bottle, which was filled with oil and wine, and upon which they endeavoured to leap with one foot; and he who first stood upon it was declared the victor, and received the bottle as a reward. This performance was called ἀσκωλιάζειν, παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν ἅλλεσθαι, from leaping upon a bottle, whence the festival obtained its name.

'ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ were festivals in honor of 'Αφροδίτη, Venus; several of which were observed in different parts of Greece. The most remarkable of them was that at Cyprus,[e] first instituted by Cinyras; out of whose family were elected certain priests of Venus, who for that reason were called κινυράδαι. At this solemnity several mysterious rites were performed; and they who were initiated into them offered money to Venus as an harlot, and received, in token of the favor of the goddess, a measure of salt and a φαλλὸς: the former, because salt is a concretion of sea-water, to which Venus was thought to owe her birth; the latter, because she was the goddess of wantonness.

[u] Etymolog. Auctor.
[v] Athenæ. lib. iii.
[w] Suidas.
[x] Plutarch. Isocrate.
[y] Athenæ. lib. vii.
[z] Hesychius.
[a] Idem.
[b] Liv. lib. xxiii. Hesych.
[c] Plat. Ione.
[d] Phurnut. de Bacch. Aristoph. Schol. Pluto; Hesychius.
[e] Clem. Protrept. Arnob. lib. v. Hesych. Pindar. Scholiast.

At Amathus, a city of Cyprus, they offered to Venus solemn sacrifices, which were called καρπώσεις,[f] from καρπὸς, fruit, perhaps because this goddess presided over generation.

The festival of Venus was celebrated at both the Paphi, not only by the inhabitants of those places, but by multitudes who resorted thither from other cities.[g]

At Corinth it was celebrated by harlots.[h]

'ΑΧΙΛΛΕΙΑ was an annual festival at Sparta in honor of Achilles.[i]

ΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ were festivals dedicated to Bacchus.[k] See Διονύσια.

ΒΑΛΛΗΤΥΣ was at Eleusis in Attica, in honor of Demophoon, the son of Celeus.[l]

ΒΑΡΑΤΡΟΝ were solemn games in Thesprotia, in which the strongest obtained the victory.[m]

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ was a festival at Lebadea in Bœotia.[n]

ΒΕΝΔΙΔΕΙΑ was a Thracian festival[o] in honor of Diana, who was called Βένδις by the Thracians. It was afterwards celebrated in the Piræus at Athens, on the nineteenth or twentieth of Θαργηλιών.

ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΑ was an Athenian festival,[p] which received its name ἀπὸ τοῦ βοηδρομεῖν, from coming to help; because it was instituted in memory of Ion, the son of Xuthus, who assisted the Athenians when invaded by Eumolpus, the son of Neptune. Others[q] say that it was observed in memory of a victory obtained by Theseus over the Amazons, in the month Βοηδρομιών.

ΒΟΡΕΑΣΜΟΙ was another Athenian festival[r] in honor of Boreas, who had an altar in Attica, and who having married Orithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, was thought to be related to the Athenians.[s]

Solemn sacrifices were also offered to Boreas at Megalopolis in Arcadia, where he had a temple in which divine honors were paid to him.[t]

ΒΟΤΤΙΑΙΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ was a festival of the Bottiæans, an Athenian colony, that in memory of their origin observed this solemnity, in which the virgins used to say, Ἴωμεν εἰς 'Αθήνας, Let us go to Athens.[u]

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΕΙΑ was an annual solemnity at Sparta in memory of Brasidas, a Lacedæmonian commander, who was famous for his achievements at Methone, Pylos, and Amphipolis. It was celebrated with sacrifices and games, in which only freeborn Spartans were allowed to contend;[v] and he who neglected to be present at the solemnity was fined.[w]

ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝΙΑ was in honor of Diana, who was surnamed Brauronia from Brauron, an Athenian borough, in which this festival was

[f] Hesychius.
[g] Strabo lib. xiv.
[h] Athenæ. lib. xiii.
[i] Pausan. Laconicis.
[k] Hesychius.
[l] Athen. lib. ix. Hesych.
[m] Hesychius.
[n] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. vii.
[o] Strab. lib. ix. Proclus in Timæo; Hesych.
[p] Harpocrat. Suidas.
[q] Plutarch. Theseo.
[r] Plato in Phædro; Hesych.
[s] Pausan. Atticis.
[t] Pausan. Arcadicis.
[u] Plut. Thes. et Græc. Quæst.
[v] Pausan. Laconicis; Thucyd. lib. v. Suidas.
[w] Interpres Græc. in Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicom. lib. v. cap. 7.

observed, and where was the famous statue of this goddess, brought from Scythia Taurica by Iphigenia.[x] This festival was celebrated once in five years, and was managed by ten men, who from their office were called ἱεροποιοί.[y] The victim offered in sacrifice was a goat; and it was customary for certain men to sing one of the rhapsodies from the Iliad of Homer.[z] The most remarkable persons at this solemnity were young virgins, habited in yellow gowns, and consecrated to Diana.[a] They were commonly about ten years of age, it being unlawful that any of them should be more than ten or under the age of five years; and therefore to consecrate them was called δεκατεύειν, from δέκα, ten.[b] The act of consecration was also denominated ἀρκτεύειν, and the virgins were called ἄρκτοι, bears,[c] on the following account: among the Phlavidæ, inhabitants of a borough in Attica, was a bear, which was so far divested of its natural ferocity as to eat and play with them; but a young girl becoming too familiar with it, the beast tore her to pieces, and was afterwards slain by the brothers of the virgin. On this ensued a dreadful pestilence, which proved fatal to many of the inhabitants of Attica, and as a remedy for which they were advised by an oracle to appease the anger of Diana for the bear, by consecrating virgins to her in memory of it. The Athenians punctually executed the divine command, and enacted a law that no virgin should be married till she had undergone this ceremony.

ΓΑΛΑΞΙΑ was a festival in which they boiled τὴν γαλαξίαν, a mixture of barley pulse and milk.[d] Others are of opinion that it belonged to Apollo, who was surnamed Galaxius, from a place in Bœotia.[e]

ΓΑΛΙΝΘΙΑΔΙΑ was a solemn sacrifice at Thebes, offered to Galinthias, one of the daughters of Prœtus, before the festival of Hercules, by whose order it was instituted.

ΓΑΜΗΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ, were three private solemnities; the first of which was observed at marriages; the second in memory of the birth, and the last of the death, of any person.

ΓΕΝΕΤΥΛΛΙΣ was a solemnity celebrated by women in honor of Genetyllis, the goddess of that sex,[f] to whom they offered dogs. This Genetyllis was Venus, ἡ ἔφορος τῆς γενέσεως, the president of generation.[g]

ΓΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΑ was in honor of Neptune, at Geræstus, a village of Eubœa, where he had a temple.[h]

ΓΕΡΟΝΘΡΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ was an annual festival in honor of Mars, at Geronthræ, where a temple was dedicated to him. In the same place also was a grove, into which it was unlawful for any women to enter during the time of this solemnity.[i]

[x] Pausan. Attic. et Arcad. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. Harpocrat. Suidas.
[y] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 31 et 97.
[z] Hesych. v. Βραυρώνια.
[a] Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 644.
[b] Hesych. v. δεκατεύειν; Suid. v. ἄρκτος.
[c] Harpocrat. v. ἀρκτεῦσαι; Aristoph. loc. cit.
[d] Hesychius.
[e] Proclus Chrestomath.
[f] Hesychius.
[g] Aristoph. Interp. ad Nubes.
[h] Stephan. Pindar. Schol. Olymp. xiii.
[i] Pausan. Laconicis.

ΓΗΣ ΈΟΡΤΗ was at Athens, in honor of mother Earth, to whom a temple was dedicated in the citadel of that place.[k] Solemn games were also celebrated to her.[l]

ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΙΑ, or ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, was a solemn dance performed by Spartan boys.[m]

ΔΑΙΔΙΣ was a solemnity that lasted three days, during which time δᾷδες, torches, were burned, and from them the festival was named.[n] On the first day they commemorated the labor of Latona and the birth of Apollo; on the second, the nativity of Glycon and of the god; and on the third, the marriage of Podalirius and the mother of Alexander.

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΑ were two festivals in Bœotia.[o] The first was observed by the Platæans at Alalcomenos, where was the largest grove in Bœotia, in which they assembled, and exposing to the open air pieces of sodden flesh, carefully observed whither the crows that came to feed on them directed their flight. They then hewed down all those trees upon which any of them alighted, and formed them into statues, which were called δαίδαλα, from the ingenious artificer Dædalus.

The other solemnity was much greater, and more remarkable: it was celebrated not only by the Platæans, but by all the cities of Bœotia, once in sixty years, in memory of the intermission of the lesser festival the same number of years, during which the Platæans had lived in exile. Against this solemnity there were always prepared at the other festivals fourteen δαίδαλα, which were to be distributed by lots among the Platæans, Coroneans, Thespians, Tanagræans, Chæroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeans, and Thebans; because these people had promoted a reconciliation with the Platæans, and procured their recal from banishment. Other cities of less note also joined in this solemnity, which was performed in the following manner:—a woman, in the habit of a bride-maid, was appointed to accompany a statue adorned in female apparel, on the banks of the Asopus, and was followed by a long train of Bœotians to the top of mount Cithæron, where was erected an altar of square pieces of timber fastened together like stones. Upon this altar a great quantity of combustible matter was laid, and each of the cities, and such persons as possessed large estates, offered a bull to Jupiter, and an ox or a heifer to Juno, together with plenty of wine and incense; and less wealthy persons, who were unable to purchase more costly oblations, contributed small sheep. All these, together with the δαίδαλα, being thrown into a heap and set on fire, the whole, with the altar itself, were consumed to ashes.

ΔΑΡΟΝ was a festival of which nothing is known besides the name.[p]

ΔΑΥΛΙΣ was a solemnity at Argos, in which was represented the combat between Prœtus and Acrisius.

ΔΑΦΝΗΦΟΡΙΑ was a novennial festival,[q] celebrated by the Bœotians in honor of Apollo. The principal part of the solemnity was as

[k] Thucyd. lib. ii.
[l] Pindar. Pythion. Od. ix.
[m] Plutarch. Apophth.
[n] Lucian. Pseudom.
[o] Pausan. Bœotic.
[p] Hesychius.
[q] Pausan. Bœotic. Procl. Chrestom.

follows:—they adorned an olive bough with garlands of laurel, and with various sorts of flowers. Upon the top of the bough was placed a globe of brass, from which hung other lesser globes; about the middle were fixed to it purple crowns, and a globe of smaller size than that at the top; and the bottom was covered with a garment of saffron color. The highest globe was an emblem of the sun, by which they meant Apollo; that placed exactly under it signified the moon; the lesser globes represented the stars; and the crowns, which were 365 in number, were types of the sun's annual revolution, which is completed in nearly the same number of days. The bough thus adorned was carried in procession; the chief in which was a boy of a beautiful countenance and good family, whose parents were both alive. He was dressed in a sumptuous garment, which reached to his ancles; his hair hung loose and dishevelled; upon his head was a crown of gold, and on his feet were shoes, which were called iphicratidæ, from Iphicrates an Athenian, who invented them. It was his duty to execute at that time the priest's office; and he was honored with the title of δαφνηφόρος, laurel-bearer. Before him went one of his nearest relations, who carried a rod adorned with garlands; and after the boy followed a choir of virgins with branches in their hands. In this order they proceeded as far as the temple of Apollo, surnamed Ismenius and Galaxius, where they sang supplicatory hymns to the god.

ΔΕΛΦΙΝΙΑ was a festival at Ægina,[r] in honor of Delphinian Apollo.

ΔΗΛΙΑ was a quinquennial festival in the isle of Delos,[s] instituted by Theseus, at his return from Crete, in honor of Venus, who had assisted him in his expedition, and whose statue, given him by Ariadne, he erected in that place. In this solemnity they crowned the statue of the goddess with garlands, appointed a choir of music and horse-races, and performed a remarkable dance, which was called γέρανος, the crane, and in which they imitated by their motions the various windings of the Cretan labyrinth, from which Theseus had made his escape.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ was in honor of Ceres, whom the Greeks called Δημήτηρ.[t] In this solemnity it was customary for the worshippers to lash themselves with whips, made from the bark of trees, and termed μόροττοι.

Another festival of this name was observed by the Athenians[u] in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and celebrated on the thirteenth day of Μουνυχιών; and the day of this solemnity was called Demetrias.

ΔΙΑΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΣΙΣ was a solemnity at Sparta[v] in honor of Diana Orthia, and received its name ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστιγοῦν, from whipping, because it was usual to whip boys on the altar of the goddess. At first, these boys were freeborn Spartans; but afterwards they were of

[r] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. viii.
[s] Thucyd. lib. iii. Callim. Hymn. in Del. Plutarch. Theseo.
[t] Pollux lib. i. cap. 1. Hesych.
[u] Plut. Demetr. Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. Eustath.
[v] Plut. Lacon. Instit. et Aristid. Pausan. Lacon. Cic. Tuscul. lib. ii. cap. 14. Stat. Theb. lib. viii. v. 437.

meaner birth, and frequently the offspring of slaves. They were called *βωμονεῖκαι*, from the exercise which they underwent at the altar, and which was extremely cruel and severe. The priestess of the goddess was present, and held in her hand a very small and light wooden image of Diana. If the executioner appeared to be moved with compassion, the priestess exclaimed that she could no longer bear the weight of the image. The strokes were then redoubled; and the attention of all present became more eager. The parents of the innocent victims exhorted them, with frantic cries, to suffer with patience and fortitude, and not to permit the least complaint to escape them. So great, indeed, were the resolution and bravery of the boys, that, though they were lashed till the blood gushed out, and sometimes till they died, a cry or a groan was very seldom heard; and they endured these horrid tortures with a serene countenance, and a joy at which humanity shudders. They who died by these means were buried with garlands on their heads, in token of joy or victory, and were honored with a public funeral.

ΔΙΑΝΤΙΝΙΑ was a festival at Sparta.

ΔΙΑΣΙΑ was a festival at Athens[w] in honor of Jupiter surnamed Μειλίχιος, the Propitious. It received its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς ἄσης*, from Jupiter and misfortune; because by making supplications to Jupiter, protection and deliverance from evils were obtained. It was celebrated about the end of *Ἀνθεστηριῶν*, without the city, where was a great concourse of Athenians, who feasted and offered sacrifices. At the same time also was a public mart, in which all sorts of goods were exposed to sale.[x]

Another festival belonged to Jupiter, in which a solemn procession was made by men on horseback.[y]

ΔΙΙΠΟΛΕΙΑ was an Athenian festival,[z] celebrated on the fourteenth of *Σκιῤῥοφοριῶν*, and was so named because it was sacred *τῷ Διὶ Πολιεῖ*, to Jupiter surnamed Polieus, Protector of the city. It was sometimes called *Βουφόνια*, from killing an ox; for it was customary on this day to place certain cakes, of the same sort as those used at sacrifices, upon a brass table, around which were driven a select number of oxen; and the ox that ate any of the cakes was immediately slaughtered. The person who killed the ox was called *βούτης* or *βουφόνος*. Three families were employed in this ceremony, and received different names from their different offices. The family, whose duty it was to drive the oxen, were called *κεντριάδαι*, from *κέντρον*, a spur or goad; they who knocked the ox down, *βουτύποι*, and were descended from Thaulon; and they who slaughtered and cut him up, *δαιτροὶ*, butchers or cooks. This custom originated from a priest having killed an ox which had eaten one of the consecrated cakes, and being obliged to flee, the axe with which he had slain the beast was condemned in his room.

ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΙΑ was a Spartan festival[a] in honor of Diana, surnamed

[w] Thucyd. lib. i. Aristoph. Schol. in Nub. v. 407. Suidas.
[x] Aristoph. Nub.
[y] Plut. Phocione.
[z] Pausan. Atticis; Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 3. Porphyr. de Abstin. Hesychius; Suidas.
[a] Pausan. Laconicis.

Dictynna from a city of Crete, or from a Cretan nymph, one of her companions, who was called Dictynna from her inventing hunting nets denominated δίκτυα.

ΔΙΟΚΑΕΙΑ was celebrated in the spring at Megara in memory of Diocles,[b] who died in defence of a youth whom he loved; and hence there was a contest at his tomb, in which a garland was bestowed on him who gave the sweetest kiss.[c]

ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ was in honor of Jupiter Diomeus; or of Diomus,[d] an Athenian hero, the son of Colyttus, from whom the inhabitants of one of the Athenian boroughs were called διομεῖς.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ were solemnities in honor of Διόνυσος, Bacchus, and were sometimes called by the general name of Ὄργια, which, though sometimes applied to the mysteries of other gods, more particularly belonged to those of Bacchus. They were also sometimes denominated Βακχεῖα.[e]

They were observed at Athens with greater splendor, and with more ceremonious superstition, than in any other part of Greece: the years were numbered by them;[f] the chief archon had a share in their management;[g] and the priests who officiated were honored with the first seats at public shows.[h] At first, however, they were celebrated without splendor, being days set apart for public mirth, and observed only with the following ceremonies:—a vessel of wine, adorned with a vine branch, was brought forth; next followed a goat; then was carried a basket of figs; and after all, the phalli.[i]

At some of them, the worshippers in their garments and actions imitated the poetical fictions concerning Bacchus: they put on fawns' skins,[k] fine linen, and mitres; carried thyrsi,[l] drums,[m] pipes, flutes,[n] and rattles; and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy,[o] vine,[p] fir, and other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some imitated Silenus, Pan, and the satyrs, and exhibited themselves in comic dresses and antic motions;[q] some rode upon asses;[r] and others drove goats to the slaughter. In this manner persons of both sexes ran about the hills and deserts,[s] dancing ridiculously,[t] personating men deranged in their intellects, and crying aloud, Εὐοῖ Σάβοι, Εὐοῖ Βάκχε, ὦ Ἴακχε, Ἰόβακχε, or Ἰὼ Βάκχε.[u]

Such were the rites used in most of the festivals of Bacchus in every part of Greece. At Athens, on one of these solemnities the frantic multitude was followed by persons who carried sacred vessels,

[b] Pindar. Schol. Pyth. Od. xiii.
[c] Theocrit. Idyll. xii. v. 27.
[d] Eustath. in Il. δ'.
[e] Aristoph. Ran. v. 360.
[f] Suidas.
[g] Pollux lib. viii.
[h] Aristoph. Schol. in Ran. v. 299.
[i] Plutarch. de Cupidit. Divit.
[k] Schol. Eurip. ad Phœniss. v. 789. Eurip. Bacch. v. 111. 833 et 695. Aristoph. Ran. v. 1242.
[l] Eurip. Bacch. v. 80.
[m] Eurip. ibid. v. 59. 124. 156. 513. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 8.
[n] Catull. Carm. lxi. v. 261. Virg. Æn. lib. xi. v. 737. Eurip. Bacch. v. 127 seq. 160.
[o] Eurip. Bacch. v. 81. 106.
[p] Ovid. Met. lib. vi. v. 587. Hom. Hymn. in Διόνυσ. v. 35. seq.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. cap. 3. 4. 5.
[r] Perizon. ad Ælian. lib. iii. cap. 18.
[s] Eurip. Bacch. v. 222.
[t] Id. ib. v. 62. 76. seq.
[u] Id. ibid. v. 141. 576. 582. Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 1003. Schol. Aristoph. ad Av. v. 874.

the first of which was filled with water. After these went a select number of honorable virgins, who were called *κανηφόροι*, because they carried small baskets of gold, which were filled with all kinds of fruit.[v] In these consisted the most mysterious part of the solemnity; and therefore to amuse the people, they put into the baskets serpents, which, crawling out of their places, astonished the beholders. Next followed the *περιφαλλία*, a company of men who carried *τοὺς φαλλοὺς*, poles on which were represented the privities of a man: these persons were crowned with violets and ivy, and had their faces covered with other garlands; and they were called *φαλλοφόροι*, and the songs repeated by them, *φαλλικὰ ἄσματα*. After these went the *ἰθύφαλλοι*, in women's apparel, with garlands upon their heads, gloves made of flowers on their hands, and imitating in their gestures drunken men. There were also certain persons called *λικνοφόροι*, whose office consisted in carrying the *λίκνον*, mystical van of Bacchus,[w] which was so essentially necessary to this and other solemnities and sacrifices of this god, that few of them could be properly celebrated without it. Hence Bacchus is sometimes called *Λικνίτης*.

The festivals of Bacchus were almost innumerable; the names of some of them were as follows:—

Διονύσια ἀρχαιότερα,[x] celebrated on the twelfth of *Ἀνθεστηριών*, at Limnæ in Attica, where was a temple of Bacchus. The chief persons that officiated were fourteen women, who were appointed by the *βασιλεὺς*, one of the archons, who provided necessaries for the solemnity. These women were called *γεραιραὶ*, venerable, and could not enter on their office till they had taken an oath in presence of the *βασίλισσα*, wife of the *βασιλεὺς*, that they were free from all kinds of pollution.

Διονύσια νεώτερα,[y] perhaps the same as some others.

Διονύσια μεγάλα,[z] the greater, sometimes called *ἀστικὰ*, or *τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*,[a] because they were celebrated within the city,[b] in the beginning of spring,[c] in the month *Ἐλαφηβολιών*.[d] It was sometimes by way of eminence called *Διονύσια*, because it was the most celebrated of all the festivals of Bacchus at Athens, and was probably the same as *Διονύσια ἀρχαιότερα*.

Διονύσια μικρὰ, the less, sometimes called *τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς*,[e] because it was observed in the country. It was a sort of preparation to the former and greater festival, and was celebrated in autumn,[f] in the month *Ποσειδεὼν* or *Γαμηλιών*. Some are of opinion that it was the same as *Διονύσια ληναιὰ*, which received its name from *ληνὸς*, a wine-press.[g]

Διονύσια Βραυρώνια,[h] observed at Brauron, a borough of Attica.

[v] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 241. ejusque Schol. Lysistr. v. 1191. seq.
[w] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 241.
[x] Thucyd. lib. ii. Hesych. Demosth. in Neær. Pollux lib. viii.
[y] Thucyd. lib. ii.
[z] Demosth. in Leptin. Ulpian. in loc.
[a] Æschin. in Ctesiphont.
[b] Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 503.
[c] Idem ibid.
[d] Thucyd. lib. v.
[e] Theophrast. *περὶ ἀγροικίας*.
[f] Aristoph. Schol. ad Acharn.
[g] Hesychius.
[h] Aristoph. Schol. in Pace.

Διονύσια νυκτήλια,[i] mysteries unlawful to be revealed, and observed by the Athenians in honor of Bacchus Nyctelius.

Θεοίνια, to Bacchus surnamed Θέοινος, the god of wine.

Ὠμοφάγια, to Bacchus surnamed Ὠμοφάγος and Ὠμηστὴς, because human sacrifices were offered to him at that time;[k] or from eating raw flesh, which action the priests imitated in this solemnity. They also put serpents into their hair, and in their whole behaviour counterfeited madness and distraction.

Διονύσια Ἀρκαδικὰ was an anniversary in Arcadia, where the children that had been instructed in the music of Philoxenus and Timotheus, celebrated yearly in the theatre the feast of Bacchus with songs, dances, and games.[l]

Διονύσια τριετηρικὰ was a triennial festival,[m] instituted by Bacchus himself in memory of his expedition into India, where he spent three years.

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑ was in honor of the διόσκουροι, Castor and Pollux, who were reputed to be the sons of Jupiter. It was observed by the Cyrenæans,[n] but more especially by the Spartans,[o] whose country had been honored with the birth of these heroes. This solemnity was celebrated with sports and merriment, in which they shared plentifully of the gifts of Bacchus.

ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΣ was a Milesian festival, in which an ox was offered to Jupiter.[p]

ΔΡΥΟΠΕΙΑ was an anniversary observed in memory of Dryops, one of the sons of Apollo, at Asine, which was a maritime town of Argos, and inhabited by the Dryopians.[q]

ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ was a festival so called from its being celebrated on the twelfth day of Ἀνθεστηριών.[r]

ΕΒΔΟΜΗ was on the seventh day[s] of every lunar month, in honor of Apollo, to whom all seventh days were sacred, because one of them was his birth-day;[t] whence he was sometimes called Ἑβδομαγένης.[u] At this solemnity the Athenians sang hymns to Apollo, and carried in their hands branches of laurel, with which also they adorned their dishes.

Another festival of this name was observed by private families on the seventh day after the birth of a child.

ΕΙΣΗΤΗΡΙΑ was the day on which the Athenian magistrates entered on their offices;[v] on which occasion they offered a solemn sacrifice, and prayed for the preservation and prosperity of the commonwealth, in the temple or hall of Jupiter Βουλαῖος and Minerva Βουλαία, the Counsellors.[w]

ΕΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ was in honor of Jupiter surnamed Hecalus, or Hecalesius, from Hecale, a borough town in Attica,[x] or from an old woman called Hecale, who erected to him a statue.[y]

[i] Pausan. Atticis.
[k] Plutarch. Themistocle.
[l] Polyb. lib. iv.
[m] Virg. Æn. lib. iv.
[n] Pindar. Schol. Pythion. Od. v.
[o] Pausan. Messen.
[p] Hesychius.
[q] Pausan. Messen.
[r] Hesychius.
[s] Suidas; Proclus in Hesiod. Dies.
[t] Hesiod. Diebus.
[u] Plut. Sympos. lib. viii. quæst. 1.
[v] Suidas.
[w] Antiphon. Orat. pro Choreut.
[x] Stephan. Byzant.
[y] Plutarch. Theseo.

'ΕΚΑΤΗΣΙΑ was an annual solemnity observed in honor of Hecate by the Stratonicensians, who assembled for that purpose in great numbers.[z]

The Athenians paid great reverence to this goddess, whom they believed to be the overseer of their families, and the protectress of their children; and hence it was customary to erect to her, before the doors of their houses, statues, which from the name of the goddess were called Ἑκαταῖα.[a] Every new moon there was a public supper, which was provided at the charge of the rich, and which was carried away by poor persons, who pretended that Hecate had devoured it;[b] and hence it was called Ἑκάτης δεῖπνον, Hecate's supper. This supper was served up in a place where three ways met, because this goddess was supposed to have a triple nature, or three offices; in allusion to which she was known by three names, being called in the infernal regions Ἑκάτη, Hecate; in heaven Σελήνη, the Moon; and on earth Ἄρτεμις, Diana; and hence she was denominated Τριγέννητος, Τρίγληνος, Τριγλαθήνη, Τριοδίτη, &c. The reason of placing Hecate in the public ways was, because she was supposed to preside over piacular pollutions;[c] and the sacrifices or suppers were expiatory offerings to induce this goddess to avert any impending evils, on account of piacular crimes committed in the public ways.[d]

'ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΟΙΑ was a festival[e] celebrated in honor of Juno by the Argians, and by the Æginensians, who were a colony from Argos. It derived its name from ἑκατόμβη, which signifies a sacrifice of a hundred oxen; it being usual on the first day of this solemnity to offer so many to Juno, the remains of which were distributed among the citizens. There were also at this time public sports; and the prizes were a brazen shield and a crown of myrtle.

In Laconia was likewise an annual sacrifice called by this name, and offered for the preservation of the hundred cities which once flourished in that country.[f]

'ΕΚΑΤΟΜΦΟΝΙΑ was a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter, offered by the Messenians, when any of them had killed one hundred enemies.[g]

'ΕΚΔΥΣΙΑ was a festival observed by the Phæstians in honor of Latona,[h] who, at the request of Galatea, the wife of Lamprus, changed the sex of Galatea's daughter, and transformed the girl into a boy, in order to prevent the death with which Lamprus threatened the child. Hence Latona was called Φύτια, because the child changed its sex; and Ἐκδυσία, because she put off the female apparel.

'ΕΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΙΑ was in honor of Diana, surnamed Ἐλαφηβόλος, the Huntress; for this reason a cake which was made in the form of a deer, and on that account called ἔλαφος, was offered to her.[i] This festival was instituted on the following occasion:—the Phocensians being reduced to the greatest extremity by the Thessalians, it was determined that, if they should be defeated in another attack, they

[z] Strabo lib. xiv.
[a] Aristophan. ejusque Schol. in Vesp.
[b] Idem in Pluto.
[c] Schol. Theocrit. in Idyll. ii.
[d] Plutarch.
[e] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. vii. viii.
[f] Eustath. Il. β'.
[g] Pausan. Messen.
[h] Ovid. Met. lib. xvii.
[i] Athenæ. lib. xiv.

would erect a pile, and burn their wives, children, and all their substance. To this the women and boys readily consented; but the Phocensians engaged the Thessalians with such vigor and resolution, that they entirely defeated their enemies.[k] Hence originated the proverb, *Φωκέων ἀπόνοια*, Phocensian despair, which is applied to persons in the greatest extremity.

'ΕΛΕΝΙΑ was a festival instituted by the Laconians in honor of Helena,[l] whom they honored with a temple and divine worship. It was celebrated by virgins riding upon mules, or in chariots made of reeds and rushes, and called *καναθραι*.

'ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ were games of liberty observed at Platæa,[m] in honor of Jupiter Eleutherius, the assertor of liberty, by delegates from almost all the cities of Greece. This festival was instituted in memory of the victory gained over the Persians at Platæa, and was celebrated every fifth year. The Platæans also observed an annual solemnity in memory of those who had lost their lives in defence of the liberty of their country.

Another festival of this name was observed by the Samians, in honor of the god of love.[n]

It was likewise customary for slaves to keep a holiday called by this name, when they obtained their liberty.[o]

'ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ was a solemnity observed by the Celeans and Phliasians every fourth year; by the Pheneatæ, the Lacedæmonians, Parrhasians, and Cretans, but more especially by the Athenians, every fifth year, at Eleusis, a borough-town of Attica.[p] It was the most celebrated solemnity in Greece,[q] and was therefore, by way of eminence, called *τὰ μυστήρια*, the mysteries,[r] and *τελετή*.[s] It is said by some to have been instituted by Ceres herself, when she had supplied the Athenians with corn in a time of famine. Some say that it was instituted by king Erechtheus; and others, by Eumolpus.

It was divided into the *μικρὰ* and *μεγάλα μυστήρια*, lesser and greater mysteries; and the latter were in honor of Ceres, the former in that of her daughter Proserpine.[t] *Μικρὰ μυστήρια*, the lesser mysteries, were observed in the month *Ἀνθεστηριὼν*, at Agræ, a place near the river Ilissus; and the *μεγάλα μυστήρια*, greater mysteries, were celebrated in the month *Βοηδρομιὼν*, at Eleusis, a borough-town of Attica, from which Ceres was called Eleusinia. In latter ages the lesser festival was used as a preparation to the greater,[u] in which they could not be initiated till they had been purified at the former. The manner of this purification in the lesser mysteries was as follows:—the persons to be purified having kept themselves unpolluted for nine days, came and offered sacrifices and prayers, wearing crowns and garlands of flowers, called *ἴσμερα*, or *ἵμερα*; and they had also under their feet *Διὸς κώδιον*, Jupiter's skin, which was the

Plut. de Virtute Mulierum. Hesychius.

[m] Pausan. Bœot. Plut. Aristide.

[n] Athenæ. lib. ii.

[o] Plaut. Pers. act. i. scen. i.

[p] Philostr. Apollon. iv. 6. Pausan. Phocic. Corinth. et Arcad.

[q] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. ii. cap. 24.

[r] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. cap. 14.

[s] Isocrat. Panegyric. 6.

[t] Aristophan. Schol. ad Plut. v. 846 et 1014.

[u] Aristoph. Schol. ad Plut. v. 846.

skin of a victim offered to that god. The person who assisted in the purification was called ὑδρανὸς, from ὕδωρ, water, which was used in most purifications; and they who were thus purified were named μύσται, initiated.[v]

About a year after this purification they sacrificed a sow to Ceres, and were admitted to the greater mysteries, the secret rites of which (with the exception of a few known only to the priests) were openly revealed to them; and hence they were called ἔφοροι and ἐπόπται, inspectors. Persons of both sexes and of all ages were initiated at this solemnity. To neglect the initiation into these mysteries was considered a crime of a very heinous nature, and formed a part of the accusation for which Socrates was condemned to death. Persons initiated were thought to live in a state of greater happiness and security than other men, and to be under the immediate care and protection of the goddess; and after death they were believed to occupy a distinguished place in the Elysian Fields,[w] to enjoy a pure light,[x] and live in the bosom of the divinity;[y] while those, who had not participated in the mysteries, were thought to dwell, after death, in places of darkness and horror.[z] Hence the Greeks repaired from all parts to solicit at Eleusis the pledge of happiness. From the most tender age the Athenians were admitted to the ceremonies of initiation;[a] and those who had never participated in them requested to be admitted to them before they died.[b] All the Greeks might claim initiation into the mysteries;[c] but the people of every other nation were excluded by an ancient law; and persons convicted of sorcery or of any atrocious crime, and especially if they had committed homicide, even though involuntarily, were debarred from these mysteries.

The manner of initiation was as follows:—the candidates, being crowned with myrtle,[d] were admitted by night[e] into a place called μυστικὸς σηκὸς, the mystical temple, or μυστοδόκος δόμος,[f] which was an edifice very capacious. At their entrance they washed their hands in holy water, and at the same time were admonished to present themselves with minds pure and undefiled, without which the external cleanness of the body would not be accepted. After this the holy mysteries were read to them out of a book called πέτρωμα, from πέτρα, a stone, because the book was only two stones cemented together. Then the priest who initiated them, and who was called ἱεροφάντης, proposed to them certain questions, to which they returned answers. Soon after they beheld strange and frightful objects: sometimes the place in which they were appeared bright and resplendent with light and radiant fire, and instantly was covered with pitchy darkness; sometimes a hollow sound was heard, and the earth seemed to groan beneath their feet;[g] sometimes they heard

[v] Suidas.
[w] Diog. Laert. lib. vi. seg. 39.
[x] Aristophan. Ran. v. 155 et 457.
[y] Plat. in Phæd.
[z] Plat. ibid. Idem de Rep. Aristoph. Ran. v. 145.
[a] Terent. Phorm. act. i. sc. i. v. 15.
[b] Aristoph. Pace v. 374.
[c] Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 65.
[d] Aristoph. Schol. in Ran. v. 333.
[e] Aristoph. Schol. in Ran. v. 346. Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. cap. 14.
[f] Aristoph. Nub. v. 302.
[g] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 255.

thunder, and by the glare of lightning perceived phantoms and spectres wandering in darkness,[h] and filling the holy places with howlings and groans. The being present at these sights was called *αὐτοψία*, intuition. They were then dismissed in these words, Κὸγξ, Ὄμπαξ. The garments in which they were initiated were deemed sacred, and efficacious in averting evils and incantations; and therefore, when worn out, they were converted into swaddling clothes for their children, or consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine.[i]

The chief person who attended at the initiation was called *ἱεροφάντης*, a revealer of holy things.[k] He was chosen from the house of the Eumolpidæ,[l] one of the most ancient in Athens. He appeared in a distinguished robe, having his head adorned with a diadem, and his hair flowing on his shoulders.[m] His office was for life;[n] and he was obliged to confine himself to celibacy, for the observance of which he anointed himself with the juice of hemlock. The hierophantes had three assistants: the first was called *δᾳδοῦχος*, torch-bearer, to whom it was permitted to marry;[o] the second, *κῆρυξ*, the crier;[p] and the third, *ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ*, from his ministering at the altar. Ἱεροφάντης is said to have been a type of the Great Creator of all things; *δᾳδοῦχος*, of the sun; *κῆρυξ*, of Mercury; and *ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ*, of the moon.[q]

There were also certain public officers, whose business consisted in seeing that all things were performed according to custom. Of these was *βασιλεὺς*, the king, who was one of the archons, and who was obliged to offer prayers and sacrifices at this solemnity, and to observe that no indecency or irregularity was committed during the festival;[r] four *ἐπιμεληταὶ*, curators, who were elected by the people;[s] and ten persons who assisted at this and some other solemnities, and who were called *ἱεροποιοὶ*, from their offering sacrifices.[t]

This festival continued nine days, from the fifteenth to the twenty-third day of the month Βοηδρομιών.[u] During this time it was unlawful to arrest any man,[v] or to present any petition; and they who were found guilty of such practices were fined one thousand drachms, or, as others say, put to death.[w] It was also unlawful for those who had been initiated to sit on the covering of a well, or to eat beans, mullets, or weazels. If any woman rode in a chariot to Eleusis, she was by an edict of Lycurgus obliged to pay six thousand drachms.[x]

1. The first day of the festival was called Ἀγυρμὸς, an assembly, because the worshippers then first met together.[y]

2. The second was named Ἅλαδε μύσται,[z] To the sea ye that are initiated, because they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the sea.

[h] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. xii.
[i] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. v. 843 et 846.
[k] Hesych. in Ἱεροφ.
[l] Id. in Εὐμολπ.
[m] Arrian. in Epictet. lib. iii. cap. 21. Plutarch. Alcibiade.
[n] Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 14.
[o] Plut. Alcibiade et Aristide; Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vi. cap. 3.
[p] Plut. Alcibiade.
[q] Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. iii. c. 12.
[r] Hesych. Pollux lib. viii. cap. 8. seg. 3.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 9. seg. 90.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 9. seg. 107.
[u] Polyæn. lib. iii. cap. 11.
[v] Demosth in Midi.
[w] Andocid. de Myster.
[x] Plut. in x. Orat. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 24.
[y] Hesych. v.
[z] Id. v. Ἁλαδέμυσται.

3. On the third they offered sacrifices, which consisted chiefly of *τρίγλη*, a mullet, and barley out of Rharium, a field of Eleusis, in which that sort of corn was first sown. These oblations were called *θύα*, and accounted so sacred that the priests were not allowed to partake of them.

4. On the fourth they made a solemn procession, in which the *καλάθιον*, holy basket of Ceres, was carried in a consecrated cart,[a] crowds of persons shouting as they went, Χαῖρε, Δημῆτερ, Hail, Ceres. After these followed certain women called *κιστοφόροι*, who carried baskets, in which were contained carded wool, grains of salt, a serpent, pomegranates, reeds, ivy-boughs, a sort of cakes called *φθοῖς*, poppies, &c.[b]

5. The fifth was called Ἡ *τῶν λαμπάδων ἡμέρα*, the torch-day; because the night following the men and women ran about with torches in their hands. It was also customary to dedicate torches to Ceres, and to contend who could present the largest; and this was done in memory of the journey of Ceres, who sought Proserpine with a torch lighted at the flames of Ætna.[c]

6. The sixth day was called Ἴακχος, from Iacchus, the son of Jupiter and Ceres, who with a torch in his hand accompanied the goddess in her search after Proserpine. His statue, crowned with myrtle,[d] and bearing a torch,[e] was carried from the Ceramicus to Eleusis,[f] in a solemn procession called Ἴακχος. The persons who accompanied the statue were also crowned with myrtle, and were denominated Ἰακχαγωγοὶ; and, as they went, they danced and sang, and beat brazen kettles;[g] and the air resounded with the name of Ἴακχος.[h] The way by which the procession issued out of the city was called *ἱερὰ ὁδὸς*, the sacred way; the resting place, *ἱερὰ συκῆ*, from a fig-tree which grew there, and which was accounted sacred. It was also customary to rest on a bridge built over the river Cephissus, where they jested on travellers that passed, especially on persons of most eminence in the state;[i] and hence *γεφυρίζων*, from *γέφυρα*, a bridge, is expounded by *χλευάζων*, mocking or jeering,[k] and *γεφυρισταὶ* by *σκῶπται*, scoffers;[l] for such is said to have been the reception which Ceres, on her arrival at Eleusis, here met with from an old woman named Iambe.[m] Having passed this bridge, the procession went to Eleusis, the way into which was called *μυστικὴ εἴσοδος*, the mystical entrance.

7. On the seventh day were sports, in which the victors were rewarded with a measure of barley, which was the first grain sown in Eleusis.[n]

8. The eighth was called Ἐπιδαυρίων *ἡμέρα*, because Æsculapius, coming from Epidaurus to Athens, desired to be initiated, and the

[a] Callim. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 121.
[b] Aristoph. Av. v. 1549. seq. ejusque Schol. ad v. 1508.
[c] Theophrast. Char. Eth. cap. 4.
[d] Aristoph. Ran. v. 333.
[e] Pausan. lib. i. cap. 2.
[f] Plutarch. Phocione.
[g] Vell. Paterc. lib. i. cap. 4. Plut. Alcibiade.
[h] Aristoph. Ran. v. 319. Hesych.
[i] Strabo lib. ix.
[k] Suidas.
[l] Hesychius.
[m] Apollod. lib. i.
[n] Schol. Pindar. Olymp. ix.

lesser mysteries were repeated. Hence it became customary to celebrate them a second time on this day, and to initiate those who had not already obtained that privilege.[o]

9. The ninth and last day of the festival was called Πλημοχόαι, earthen vessels ;[p] because two earthen vessels were filled with wine, one of which was placed towards the east, the other towards the west, when, after repeating certain mystical words, they were both thrown down,[q] and the wine being spilt on the ground was offered as a libation.[r]

'ΕΛΕΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ was an Athenian festival,[s] which derived its name from ἑλέναι, vessels made of bulrushes, with ears of willow, in which certain mysterious things were carried on this day.

'ΕΛΑΩΤΙΑ were two festivals,[t] one of which was celebrated in Crete in honor of Europa, who was called Ἑλλωτία, from the rape committed by Jupiter in the form of a bull. At this time the bones of Europa were carried in procession, with a myrtle garland, called ἑλλωτὶς or ἑλλώτης, which was twenty cubits in circumference.

The other festival was instituted in honor of Minerva, surnamed Ἑλλωτὶς, and was celebrated by the Corinthians with solemn games and races, in which young men contended, running with lighted torches in their hands.

'ΕΛΩΡΙΑ were games in Sicily, near the river Helorus.[u]

'ΕΜΠΛΟΚΙΑ, celebrated at Athens.[v]

'ΕΝΗΛΙΑΞΙΣ, or Ἐνναλίαξις, was a festival in honor of Enyalius,[w] who is said to have been Mars, or one of his ministers.

'ΕΞΙΤΗΡΙΑ were oblations or prayers to any of the gods ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξόδου, for a prosperous departure. They were offered by generals before they went to war, and by men who were going from home, or were about to die.[x]

'ΕΠΑΧΘΗΣ was in honor of Ceres named Ἄχθεια,[y] from ἄχθος, grief; in memory of her sorrow for the loss of her daughter Proserpine.

'ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ were private festivals and times of rejoicing, on account of a friend or relation returning from a journey.[z]

'ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ was a Delphic festival, in memory of a journey of Apollo.[a]

'ΕΠΙΘΡΙΚΑΔΙΑ was in honor of Apollo.[b]

'ΕΠΙΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ was an Athenian festival, in honor of Ceres.[c]

'ΕΠΙΚΡΗΝΙΑ was another festival of Ceres, observed by the Laconians.[d]

'ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ, 'ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, was a day of rejoicing after victory. Ἐπινίκια θύειν signifies to sacrifice for a victory obtained.

[o] Pausan. Corinth. cap. xxvi. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. lib. iv. cap. 17 et 18.
[p] Pollux lib. x. cap. 20. seg. 74.
[q] Athenæ. lib. xi.
[r] Pollux lib. i. cap. 50. seg. 36.
[s] Pollux lib. x. cap. 53. Hesychius.
[t] Hesych. Athenæ. lib. xv. Pindar. Schol. Olymp. xiii.
[u] Hesychius.
[v] Idem.
[w] Idem.
[x] Suidas ; Etymolog. Auct.
[y] Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir.
[z] Himer. in Propempt. Flavian.
[a] Procop. in Epist. ad Zachari.
[b] Hesychius.
[c] Idem.
[d] Idem.

'ΕΠΙΣΚΑΦΙΑ was a Rhodian festival.[e]

'ΕΠΙΣΚΗΝΑ was a Spartan festival.[f]

'ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΑ, 'ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΩΣΙΣ, was observed at Scira in Attica, in honor of Ceres and Proserpina.[g]

'ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑ was a Laconian festival in honor of Hercules,[h] in memory of whose labors it was probably instituted.

'ΕΡΚΗΝΙΑ, or *Ἐρκύννια*, was in honor of Ceres,[i] who was surnamed Hercynna,[k] from Hercynna, the daughter of Trophonius and companion of Proserpina.[l]

'ΕΡΜΑΙΑ were festivals observed in honor of *Ἑρμῆς*, Mercury, by the Pheneatæ in Arcadia,[m] and the Cyllenians in Elis.[n] Another was observed by the Tanagræans in Bœotia,[o] where Mercury was called *Κριοφόρος*, the ram-bearer, and represented with a ram upon his shoulders, because in a time of sickness he is said to have walked about the city with a ram upon his shoulders, and to have cured those who were ill; in memory of which, one of the most beautiful youths walked round the walls of the city with a lamb or ram upon his shoulders. Another festival was observed in Crete, where the masters attended whilst the servants sat at table.[p] Another of Mercury's festivals was observed by boys in the schools of exercise at Athens;[q] at which no adult person was allowed to be present, except the gymnasiarch.

'ΕΡΩΤΙΔΙΑ was celebrated by the Thespians in honor of *Ἔρως*, Cupid, the god of love.[r]

'ΕΡΩΤΙΑ was probably the same as the last, it being observed by the Thespians in honor of Cupid,[s] and was celebrated every fifth year with sports and games, in which musicians and others contended. If any quarrels had happened among the people, it was usual at this time to offer sacrifices and prayers to the god that he would terminate them.

'ΕΣΤΙΑΙΑ were solemn sacrifices to Vesta,[t] called *Ἑστία*, of which it was unlawful to carry any part away; and hence *Ἑστίᾳ θύειν*, to sacrifice to Vesta, was proverbially applied to those who performed any thing privately,[u] or rather to covetous persons who will not give up any thing of which they are possessed.[v]

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΙΑ, or ΣΕΜΝΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, was a festival in honor of the Furies,[w] who were called by the Athenians *σεμναὶ θεαὶ*, venerable goddesses, and by the Sicyonians and others, *εὐμενίδες*, favorable or propitious, from an opinion that their true names were unlucky omens. It was observed annually with sacrifices, in which pregnant ewes, cakes made by the most eminent of the young men, and a libation of honey and wine, were offered to the goddesses by persons decked with flowers. At Athens none but freeborn citizens were

[e] Hesychius.
[f] Idem.
[g] Strabo lib. ix.
[h] Hesych.
[i] Idem.
[k] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 153.
[l] Pausan. Bœotic.
[m] Id. Arcadic.
[n] Id. Eliac.
[o] Pausan. Bœotic.
[p] Athen. lib. xiv.
[q] Æschin. in Timarchum.
[r] Eustath. in Il. ω'.
[s] Plut. Erotic. Pausan. Bœot.
[t] Hesych.
[u] Diogenianus.
[v] Tarrhæus.
[w] Pausan. Bœotic.

admitted, and of them only such as were remarkable for virtue and integrity, for such alone were acceptable to these deities, whose peculiar office it was to punish all kinds of wickedness.

ΕΥΡΥΘΙΩΝΙΟΝ was a festival in honor of Ceres.[x]

ΕΥΡΥΚΑΕΙΑ was a Spartan festival.

ΕΥΡΥΝΟΜΕΙΑ was an annual solemnity observed by the Phigaleans in Arcadia,[y] who offered public and private sacrifices to Eurynome, who was either Diana, or one of the daughters of Oceanus.

Ἔφιππος were horse-races in Laconia.[z]

ΗΑΚΑΤΑΙΑ was a Laconian festival in honor of Helacatus,[a] a boy beloved by Hercules.

ΗΡΑΙΑ was a festival at Argos in honor of Juno, who was the protectress of that city, and called Ἥρη. There were two processions to the temple of the goddess, which was without the city: one by men in armor, which from respect they put off before they approached the altar;[b] the other, in which the priestess of Juno was drawn in a chariot by two beautiful white oxen.[c] A hundred oxen adorned with garlands were sacrificed, and distributed among the people;[d] and hence this festival was called Ἑκατόμβοια; and that sacrifice was sometimes denominated λεχέρνα, probably from λέχος, a bed, because Juno presided over marriages, births, &c. See Ἑκατόμβοια. The same festival was celebrated by the inhabitants of Ægina and Samos, who were colonies from Argos.

Another festival of this name was observed every fifth year in Elis, where sixteen matrons were appointed to weave a garment for the goddess. There were also games,[e] over which presided these sixteen matrons, who decreed the prize of running to the girls of Elis. The contenders were virgins, who being divided into different classes, according to their ages, ran races in their order. The habit of all was the same: their hair was dishevelled; their right shoulders were bare to their breasts; and their dress reached no lower than their knees. They had a second race in the Olympic stadium, which at that time was shortened about a sixth part. They who obtained the victory were rewarded with crowns of olive, and with a share of the ox offered in sacrifice, and were also permitted to dedicate their own pictures to Juno.

The same name was given to a solemn day of mourning at Corinth for Medea's children, who were buried in the temple of Juno Acræa in that city, and who, as some say, were slain by the Corinthians, and not by Medea, as was afterwards pretended.[f]

Another festival of this name was celebrated by the Pellenæans with games, in which the victor was rewarded with a rich garment called Πελληνικὴ χλαῖνα.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ was an Athenian festival celebrated every fifth year in honor of Hercules.[g]

[x] Hesychius.
[y] Pausan. Arcadic.
[z] Hesych. et Phavorin.
[a] Hesych.
[b] Æneas Poliorcet. cap. 17.
[c] Palæphat. de Incredib. cap. 51.
[d] Schol. Pindar. in Olymp. vii. v. 152.
[e] Pausan. lib. v. cap. 16.
[f] Lycophr. Scholiast.
[g] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9.

The Thisbians also, and Thebans, observed a solemn festival in honor of Hercules, surnamed Μήλων, because τὰ μῆλα, apples, were offered to him.[k]

At Sicyon Hercules was honored with a festival, which continued two days, the former of which was called Ὀνομάτας, and the latter Ἡράκλεια.

At Lindus was a solemnity in honor of Hercules, at which only execrations and ill-boding words were heard.

At Coös was another festival, in which the priest officiated in woman's apparel, and with a mitre on his head.

ΗΡΟΣΑΝΘΕΙΑ was a Peloponnesian festival, in which the women met together and gathered flowers.[i]

ΗΡΟΧΙΑ was a festival of which nothing is known besides the name.[k]

ΗΡΩΙΣ was celebrated every ninth year by the Delphians, in honor of some heroine.[l]

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ was an Athenian festival in honor of Ἥφαιστος, Vulcan. At this time there was a race with torches, called ἀγὼν λαμπαδοῦχος, in the Academy.[m] The contenders were three young men, one of whom being appointed by lot to begin the race, took a lighted torch in his hand, and commenced the course: if the torch was extinguished before he arrived at the goal, he gave it to the second; and the second, in like manner, to the third. He who carried the torch lighted to the end of the race was the victor, and was called λαμπαδηφόρος or πυρσηφόρος; and if no one could accomplish that, the victory was not adjudged to any. If the contenders, through fear of extinguishing the torch, slackened their course, the spectators struck them with the palms of their hands; for which reason the blows were called πληγαὶ πλατεῖαι, broad stripes, and κεραμεικαὶ, because inflicted in the Ceramicus.[n] The successive delivery of the torches from one to another is usually compared in authors to the vicissitudes of human life.[o]

ΘΑΛΥΣΙΑ was a sacrifice offered by the husbandmen after harvest ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐλείας τῶν καρπῶν, in gratitude to the gods by whose blessing they enjoyed the fruits of the ground. The whole festival was called Ἄλῶα, and Συγκομιστήρια from the gathering of fruits. Some say that it was observed in honor of Ceres and Bacchus,[p] who were the two deities that had a peculiar care of the fruits of the earth; but others think that there was at this time a solemn procession in honor of Neptune, and that all the gods participated in the offerings at this festival.[q]

Hence is derived Θαλύσιος ἄρτος, sometimes called Θάργηλος,[r] which was the first bread made of the new corn. Some say that Θαλύσια is a general name for every festival in which were carried οἱ θαλλοὶ, green boughs.

[k] Pollux lib. i. cap. 1.
[i] Hesychius.
[k] Idem.
[l] Plut. Quæst. Græc.
[m] Pausan. Pers. Vet. Schol. Hesych.
[n] Aristophan. ejusque Schol. in Ran.
[o] Lucret. lib. ii.
[p] Menander Rhetor.
[q] Hom. Il. ι'. et Eustath. ibid.
[r] Athenæ. lib. iii.

ΘΑΡΓΗΛΙΑ was an Athenian festival in honor of the sun and his attendants, the hours; or, as others think, of Delian Apollo and Diana. It was celebrated on the sixth and seventh of Θαργηλιών, and received its name from θαργήλια, which was a general word for all the fruits of the earth; because one of the principal ceremonies was the carrying of first fruits in pots called θάργηλοι. The chief solemnity was on the latter day, the former being employed in preparing for it. On the first day it was customary to lustrate the city, which was performed by two persons, who were called by the general name of φαρμακοὶ, or by the particular one of σύμβακχοι. They were both men, or, according to others, a man and a woman, one of whom represented the male, the other the female sex, and offered a sacrifice for each of them. It was usual for the man to carry about his neck figs, called ἰσχάδες, of a black color; and the woman, white. The φαρμακὸς was denominated κραδησίτης from a sort of figs called κράδαι, and used in lustrations; and hence κράδης νόμος was a tune on the flute, which was played as he went to perform his office. It was also customary for a choir of singers to contend for victory; and the conqueror dedicated a tripod in the Pytheum, a temple of Apollo. At this festival the Athenians enrolled their adopted sons in the public register. During the solemnity it was unlawful to give or receive pledges; and they who offended in this particular were arraigned in an assembly held in the theatre of Bacchus.

The Milesians had a festival of the same name, which they celebrated with feasting, and with many expressions of mirth and good humor.

ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ, the marriage of the gods, was a Sicilian festival in honor of Proserpina,[s] and seems to have been instituted in memory of her marriage with Pluto.

ΘΕΟΙΝΙΑ. See Διονύσια.

ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ was a festival common to all the gods,[t] and celebrated in many cities of Greece, but especially at Athens.

The Pellenæans instituted solemn games, called by this name, in honor of Apollo Θεοξένιος, the god of hospitality,[u] or, according to others,[v] of Apollo and Mercury. The victors were rewarded with a piece of plate,[w] or with a garment called χλαῖνα.[x]

It is also said that the Dioscuri instituted a festival of this name, in memory of the gods honoring them with their presence at an entertainment.[y]

ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ or ΘΕΟΦΑΝΙΑ, the appearance of the god, was a festival observed by the Delphians,[z] on the day that Apollo first manifested himself to them.

ΘΕΡΑΠΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ was a Laconian festival.[a]

ΘΕΡΜΙΩΝ ΈΟΡΤΗ was a public festival of the Ætolians at Thermi.[b]

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑ was a festival in honor of Ceres, surnamed Θεσμο-

[s] Pollux lib. i. cap. 1.
[t] Hesychius.
[u] Pausan. Achaic.
[v] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. xi.
[w] Pausan. Achaic.
[x] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. xi.
[y] Idem ibid. Olymp. iii.
[z] Herodot. lib. i. Suidas.
[a] Hesych.
[b] Polyb. lib. v.

φόρος, the Lawgiver,[c] because she was the first that taught mankind the use of laws. Some attribute its institution to Triptolemus, some to Orpheus, and others to the daughters of Danaüs. It was celebrated in many cities of Greece, and in particular by the Spartans, Milesians, Drymeans, Thebans, Megarians, Syracusans, Eretrians, and Delians.

But it was observed by the Athenians with the greatest appearance of devotion.[d] The worshippers were freeborn women, whose husbands were accustomed to defray the charges of the solemnity; and to this they were obliged, if the portion of their wives amounted to three talents.[e] These women were assisted by a priest called στεφανοφόρος, from his wearing a crown during the execution of his office, and by certain virgins, who were strictly confined, and maintained at the public charge in a place denominated Θεσμοφορεῖον. The women were dressed in white apparel[f] to denote their spotless innocence, and were obliged to the strictest chastity for five or three days before the festival,[g] and also during the solemnity, which lasted four days. For this purpose they strewed their beds with agnus castus,[h] fleabane,[i] vine-branches,[k] and other herbs, which were supposed to conduce to chastity. It was considered unlawful to eat the kernels of pomegranates,[l] or to adorn themselves with garlands; and every thing was performed with the greatest seriousness and modesty, with the exception of jesting on each other. Three days at least, were spent in preparing for the festival. On the eleventh of Πυανεψιών,[m] the women carrying upon their heads books in which were contained the laws,[n] went to Eleusis, where the solemnity was observed; and hence this day was called Ἄνοδος, the Ascent.[o] On the fourteenth the festival began, and continued till the eighteenth.[p] On the sixteenth, about the middle of the festival, they kept a fast, sitting on the ground,[q] in token of humiliation;[r] and hence the day was called Νηστεία, a Fast.[s] It was usual at this solemnity to offer prayers to Ceres, Proserpina, Pluto, the Earth, Mercury, the Graces, and Calligenia,[t] who, some say, was the nurse, some the priestess, and others the waiting-maid of Ceres:[u] of all the Greeks the Eretrians alone omitted this custom. There was also a mysterious sacrifice called δίωγμα, and afterwards ἀποδίωγμα, because all men were excluded from it, or because in a dangerous war the women's prayers were so efficacious that the enemies of the republic were defeated and driven to Chalcis; whence it is sometimes denominated Χαλκιδικὸν δίωγμα.[v]

[c] Virg. Æn. lib. iv. v. 58. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 14. lib. v. cap. 68.
[d] Theocrit. Schol. Idyll. iv. v. 25.
[e] Isæus Orat. Pyrrhi de Hæredit.
[f] Ovid. Met. lib. x. v. 431. Fast. lib. iv. v. 619.
[g] Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. Ovid. Met. ibid.
[h] Plin. lib. xxiv. cap. 9. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. ix. cap. 26.
[i] Schol. Theocrit. Idyll. iv. v. 25.
[k] Stephan. in Μίλητ.
[l] Clem. Alex. Protrept.
[m] Hesych. in Ἄνοδος.
[n] Schol. Theocrit. Protrept.
[o] Hesych. in Ἄνοδος.
[p] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 86. Plut. Demosth. Athen. lib. vii. cap. 16.
[q] Plut. de Isid. et Osir.
[r] Phurnut. de Nat. Deorum.
[s] Athen. ibid.
[t] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 304. seq.
[u] Hesych. voce.
[v] Idem. et Suidas.

On the last day of the festival was another sacrifice called ζημία, a mulct, which was offered as an expiation of any irregularity that had been committed during the solemnity.[w] At the commencement of this festival, all persons who had been committed for small faults, which would not render them incapable of communicating in the sacrifices and other parts of divine worship, were released.[x]

ΘΗΣΕΙΑ was an Athenian festival in memory of Theseus. It was celebrated on the eighth day of every month with sports, games, and banquets; and they who were poor and unable to contribute any thing towards them, were entertained free of cost at the public tables.[y] The sacrifices were called Ὀγδόδια from ὄγδοος, the eighth, because they were offered on the eighth day of the month.[z]

ΘΡΙΩ was a festival in honor of Apollo,[a] from whose three nurses, called Thriæ, it derived its name.

ΘΥΙΑ was a festival in honor of Bacchus,[b] observed by the Eleans at a place distant about eight stadia from Elis, where it was confidently reported that the god himself was present in person.

ΘΥΑΛΑ was in honor of Venus.[c]

ΘΥΝΝΑΙΑ was a sacrifice that derived its name from θύννος, a tunny, which fishermen offered to Neptune after a successful draught.[d]

ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ, the sacred marriage, was a festival in honor of Jupiter and Juno,[e] whose marriage it commemorated.

ΙΘΩΜΑΙΑ was a festival in which musicians contended, and was celebrated in honor of Jupiter,[f] surnamed Ἰθωμήτης from Ithome a city of Thessaly or Messene.

ΙΝΑΧΙΑ was a festival of Leucothea in Crete, and derived its name from Inachus,[g] or rather from Ino, who was the same as Leucothea, and ἄχος, grief.

ΙΝΥΝΙΑ was a festival in Lemnos.

ΙΝΩΑ were festivals in memory of Ino, one of which was celebrated yearly at Corinth with sports and sacrifices.[h] An annual sacrifice was offered to Ino by the Megarians, by whom she was first called Leucothea.[i] Ino had also a festival in Laconia.[k]

ΙΟΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ was in honor of Bacchus, surnamed Iobacchus from the exclamation used in some of his festivals. See Διονύσια.

ΙΟΛΑΙΑ was a Theban festival, and the same as Ἡράκλεια.[l] It was instituted in honor of Hercules and his companion Iolaüs, who assisted him against the hydra. It lasted several days, and was celebrated with sacrifices, horse-races, and the exercises of the πένταθλος. The victors were crowned with garlands of myrtle, and sometimes rewarded with tripods of brass; and the place in which these exercises were performed was called Ἰολάειον from Iolaüs.

ΙΣΕΙΑ was a solemnity observed by several cities in honor of Isis,[m]

[w] Hesych.
[x] Sopat. de Divis. Quæst.
[y] Aristoph. Pluto.
[z] Hesych.
[a] Idem.
[b] Pausan. Eliac. β'.
[c] Hesych.
[d] Athen. lib. vii.
[e] Hesychius.
[f] Stephan. Byzant. Pausan. Messen.
[g] Hesychius.
[h] Tzetz. in Lycophr.
[i] Pausan. Atticis.
[k] Pausan. Lacon.
[l] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. vii.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. i.

who, as some say, first taught men the use of corn; in memory of which benefit the worshippers, in some places, carried vessels full of wheat and barley.

ΊΣΧΕΝΙΑ were annual sports celebrated at Olympia in memory of Ischenus, the grandson of Mercury and Hierea, who devoted his life to the service of his country, and was honored with a monument near the Olympian stadium.[n]

ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ were mysteries observed at Thebes and Lemnos, and especially at Imbrus and Samothrace, which islands were consecrated to the Cabiri, of whom little is known. They who were initiated into these mysteries were supposed to be effectually secured from storms at sea and all other dangers.[o]

ΚΑΛΑΟΙΔΙΑ were solemn sports celebrated by the Laconians in honor of Diana.[p]

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΕΙΑ, the rewards of beauty, was a Lesbian festival, in which women presented themselves in the temple of Juno, and the prize was assigned to the fairest.[q]

Another of these contests was at the festival of Ceres Eleusinia among the Parrhasians.[r]

Another of the same kind was among the Eleans,[s] by whom the most beautiful man was presented with a complete suit of armor, which he consecrated to Minerva.

ΚΑΛΛΥΝΤΗΡΙΑ was an Athenian festival.[t]

ΚΑΡΝΕΙΑ was a festival observed in most of the cities of Greece, and especially at Sparta, in honor of Apollo, surnamed Carneus from Carneus a Trojan,[u] or from Carnus, the son of Jupiter and Europa.[v] This festival lasted nine days, and commenced on the thirteenth of the month Carneus, which corresponded with the Athenian Metagitnion.[w] It was an imitation of the method of living in camps; for nine *σκιάδες*, tents, were erected, in each of which nine men of three different tribes lived nine days, during which they were obedient to a public crier.[x] At this festival the tunes called *καρνεῖοι νόμοι* were sung by musicians, who contended for victory.

ΚΑΡΥΑ, or ΚΑΡΥΑΤΙΣ, was a festival in honor of Diana,[y] who was surnamed Caryatis from Caryum in Laconia, where this solemnity was observed. It was usual for virgins to meet at this celebration, and to join in a certain dance called *καρυατίζειν*.[z]

ΚΙΣΣΟΤΟΜΟΙ was a festival in honor of Hebe, the goddess of youth.[a]

ΚΛΑΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ, or ΒΙΣΒΑΙΑ, was a festival[b] celebrated at the pruning of the vines.

ΚΝΑΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ was annually celebrated upon mount Cnacalos,

[n] Tzetz. in Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 42.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. v.
[p] Hom. Schol. Il. *ι'*.
[q] Athen. lib. xiii.
[r] Idem ibid.
[s] Etymolog. Auctor.
[t] Idem.
[u] Alcman.
[v] Hesych.
[w] Plut. Nicia.
[x] Athen. lib. iv. Callim. Hymn. in Apollin. Pindar. Pythion.
[y] Pausan. Lacon.
[z] Lucian. *περὶ ὀρχήσεως*.
[a] Pausan. Corinth.
[b] Hesych.

by the Caphyatæ, in honor of Diana, who from that place was surnamed Cnacalesia.[c]

ΚΟΝΝΙΔΕΙΑ was a solemnity on the day before the festival of Theseus, in which a ram was sacrificed to Connidas, the tutor of Theseus.[d]

ΚΟΡΕΙΑ was in honor of Proserpina, who was named *κόρη*.[e]

ΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΙΚΑ was a festival observed at Cnossus in Crete, in memory of the Corybantes, who educated Jupiter when concealed in that island from his father Saturn.

ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΑ, or ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΣ, was a nocturnal festival in honor of Cotys, or Cotytto, the goddess of wantonness.[f] It was observed by the Athenians, Corinthians, Chians, Thracians, and others, and celebrated with such rites as were thought to be most acceptable to the goddess. Her priests were called *βάπται* from *βάπτειν*, to paint, because they practised all kinds of effeminate arts; and hence *Κότυος θιασώτης*, a votary of Cotys, was proverbially applied to a man who spent his time in dressing and perfuming himself.

Another festival of this name[g] was observed in Sicily, where the worshippers carried boughs hung about with cakes and fruit, which any person might pluck off.

ΚΡΟΝΙΑ was an Athenian festival in honor of Saturn, called *Κρόνος*.[h] It was celebrated in the month Hecatombæon, which was anciently denominated Cronius. Another of Saturn's festivals was celebrated[i] on the sixteenth of Metagitnion at Rhodes, where they offered in sacrifice a condemned criminal.

ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΑ was a festival instituted by Theseus in memory of the *κυβερνῆται*, pilots, who conducted him in his voyage to Crete.[k]

ΚΥΝΟΦΟΝΤΙΣ was a festival observed in the dog-days at Argos,[l] and derived its name *ἀπὸ τοὺς κύνας φονεῖν*, from killing dogs, because it was usual on that day to kill all the dogs they met.

ΛΑΜΠΤΗΡΙΑ was a festival at Pellene[m] in Achaia, in honor of Bacchus, surnamed *Λαμπτὴρ* from *λάμπειν*, to shine; for this solemnity being in the night, the worshippers went to the temple of Bacchus with lighted torches in their hands.

ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ ΈΟΡΤΗ were games at Larissa,[n] in which the combatants contended singly, before the *πένταθλος*, combat of five exercises, was invented.

ΛΑΡΥΣΙΑ was a festival of Bacchus celebrated at Larysium, a mountain of Laconia, about the beginning of spring.[o]

ΛΑΦΡΙΑ was an annual festival at Patræ in Achaia, in honor of Diana[p] surnamed Laphria, *ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων*, from the spoils taken in hunting. The solemnity lasted two days, on the former of which was a solemn procession followed by Diana's priestess, who was a

[c] Pausan. Arcad.
[d] Plut. Theseo.
[e] Hesych.
[f] Suidas; Juvenal. Sat. ii.
[g] Plutarch. Proverb.
[h] Aristoph. Schol. in Nub. Hesych.
[i] Porphyr. ap. Theodor. lib. vii.
[k] Plutarch. Theseo.
[l] Athen. lib. iii.
[m] Pausan. Achaic.
[n] Apollon. Schol. lib. iv.
[o] Pausan. Lacon.
[p] Idem Achaic.

virgin, and rode in a chariot drawn by deer. On the second day they offered sacrifices, which consisted of birds, bears, deer, lions, wolves, and other animals, with garden fruits, which were procured partly by private persons, and partly at the public charge.

ΛΕΟΝΙΔΕΙΑ was annually observed at Sparta [q] in honor of Leonidas, who with a small number of men stopped the whole army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ, and maintained the passage of those straits for two days. On this occasion an oration was pronounced on that hero; and sports, in which only freeborn Spartans were allowed to contend, were performed.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΚΑ was a festival in which they washed their hands with honey instead of water, in token of their being free from all things hurtful and malicious.[r]

ΛΕΡΝΑΙΑ was a festival at Lerna [s] in honor of Bacchus, Proserpina, and Ceres. Anciently, the Argives carried fire to this solemnity from a temple dedicated to Diana, who was surnamed Πυρωνία, perhaps from πῦρ, fire.

ΛΗΝΑΙΑ was a festival of Bacchus,[t] surnamed Lenæus from ληνὸς, a wine-press. It was celebrated in the month Lenæon with several ceremonies; but the contest in which poets strove for victory, and the tragedies acted at that time, recommended it to particular attention.

ΛΙΘΟΒΟΛΙΑ, lapidation, was a festival celebrated by the Trœzenians in memory of Lamia and Auxesia, who were two virgins that in a time of tumult fell a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were stoned to death.[u]

ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ was a festival in honor of Diana,[v] surnamed Limnatis from Limne, a school of exercise at Trœzen, in which she was worshipped; or from λίμναι, lakes, because she had the care of fishermen.[w]

ΛΙΝΕΙΑ was a festival in memory of Linus, an old poet, who had a statue in mount Helicon, to which they repaired yearly before they sacrificed to the muses.[x]

ΛΥΚΑΙΑ was an Arcadian [y] festival celebrated with games, in which the conqueror was rewarded with a suit of brazen armor. At this time a human sacrifice was offered. It was first observed by Lycaon in honor of Jupiter, surnamed Lycæus.

ΛΥΚΕΙΑ was a festival observed at Argos in honor of Apollo Λύκειος, who was so called from his delivering the Argives from wolves (λύκοι) which wasted their country; or from his being born in Lycia, whence he was also denominated Λυκηγενής.[z]

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΕΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the Spartans in memory of Lycurgus their lawgiver,[a] whom they honored with a temple and an annual sacrifice.

[q] Pausan. Lacon.
[r] Porphyr. de Antr. Nymph.
[s] Pausan. Corinth.
[t] Aristoph. Schol. Equit. Diog. Laert. Platone.
[u] Pausan. Corinth.
[v] Idem Achaic.
[w] Artemidorus.
[x] Pausan. Bœot.
[y] Plut. Cæsare; Pausan. Arcad. Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχ.
[z] Hom. Pindar. Schol. Pythion. Sophocl. uterq. Schol. in Electr.
[a] Plut. Lycurg. Strab. lib. viii.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ was a Samian festival[b] in honor of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral. It was anciently called Ἥραια, which name the Samians abolished by a decree.

ΜΑΙΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ were solemn sacrifices offered by the Athenians in Mæmacterion, which was a winter month, to Jupiter Μαιμάκτης, the Propitious,[c] to induce him to send mild and temperate weather; because Jupiter was usually considered as the air or heavens, and therefore thought to preside over the seasons.

ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΤΙΑ. See Θεσμοφόρια.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΕΙΑ was a festival in honor of Menelaus[d] at Therapnæ in Laconia, where, together with Helena, he was worshipped, not as a hero or inferior deity, but as one of the supreme gods.

ΜΕΣΟΣΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑΙ ἩΜΕΡΑΙ were certain days on which the Lesbians offered public sacrifices.[e]

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΑ was a festival in the month Metagitnion[f] in honor of Apollo Μεταγείτνιος. It was celebrated by the inhabitants of Melite, who left their habitations, and settled among the Diomeans in Attica; and hence the name was derived.

ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΕΙΑ were sacrifices, with horse-races and other games, celebrated by the Chersonesians in memory of Miltiades, the Athenian general.[g]

ΜΙΝΥΕΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the Orchomenians,[h] who were called Minyæ; and the river on which the city was founded was denominated Minya from Minyas, king of that place.

ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ ἙΟΡΤΗ was a festival celebrated by all the inhabitants of Mitylene, in a place without the city, in honor of Apollo Μαλλόεις.[i]

ΜΟΥΝΥΧΙΑ was an annual solemnity at Athens,[k] on the sixteenth of Munychion, in honor of Diana, surnamed Munychia from king Munychus, or from a part of the Piræeus called Munychia, where this goddess had a temple. At this solemnity they offered certain cakes called ἀμφιφῶντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφιφάειν, from shining on every side, because lighted torches hung round them, when they were carried into the temple; or because they were offered at full moon, at which time the festival was observed.

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ were festivals[l] in honor of the Muses at several places in Greece, especially among the Thespians, by whom solemn games were celebrated every fifth year. The Macedonians also observed a festival in honor of Jupiter and the Muses, which lasted nine days, according to the number of the Muses.

ΜΥΣΙΑ was a festival[m] in honor of Ceres, surnamed Mysia from Mysius an Argian, who dedicated a temple to her; or from μυαιᾶν, to satisfy, because Ceres first taught men the use of corn. This fes-

[b] Plut. Lysandro; Hesych.
[c] Hesych. Plut. περὶ ἀοργησίας,
[d] Isocrat. Helen. Encom. Pausan. Lacon.
[e] Hesych.
[f] Plut. de Exil. Harpocrat. Suidas.
[g] Herodot. lib. vi.
[h] Pindar. Schol. Isthm. Od. i.
[i] Thucyd. lib. iii. Hesych.
[k] Plut. de Glor. Athen. Harpocrat. Suidas; Eustath. in Il. o'.
[l] Poll. lib. i. cap. 1. Æschin. in Timarch. Pausan. Bœotic. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Plut. Erotic.
[m] Pausan. Achaic.

tival continued seven days, on the third of which all the men and dogs were shut out of the temple, and the women and bitches remained within.

ΜΩΛΕΙΑ was an Arcadian[n] festival which derived its name from *μῶλος*, a fight, being instituted in memory of a battle in which Lycurgus slew Ereuthalion.

ΝΕΚΥΣΙΑ was in memory of deceased persons.

ΝΕΜΕΣΕΙΑ, or ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ, was a solemnity in memory of deceased persons, and derived its name from the goddess Nemesis, who was supposed to defend the relics of the dead from injury.[o]

ΝΕΟΙΝΙΑ was a festival celebrated in honor of Bacchus,[p] when the new wine was first tasted.

ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the Delphians,[q] with much pomp and splendor, in memory of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who was slain in an attempt to sack the temple of Apollo.

ΝΗΛΗΙΔΙΑ was a Milesian festival[r] in honor of Diana, surnamed Neleïs from Neleus, an inhabitant of Miletus.[s]

ΝΙΚΗ 'Η 'ΕΝ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ was an annual solemnity observed by the Athenians on the sixth of Boedromion, in memory of the famous victory which Miltiades obtained over the Persians at Marathon.[t]

ΝΙΚΗΤΗΡΙΑ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΣ was an Athenian solemnity in memory of Minerva's victory over Neptune, when they contended for the honor of giving name to the city which was afterwards called Athens.[u]

ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΑ, or ΝΕΟΜΗΝΙΑ, was a festival observed at the beginning of every lunar month,[v] which, as the name imports, was upon the new moon, in honor of all the gods, but especially of Apollo, who was called *Νεομήνιος*, because the sun is the author and origin of all light. To celebrate this festival was called *νουμηνιάζειν*; the cakes that were offered were denominated *νουμήνιοι*; and the worshippers *νουμηνιασταί*. It was observed with games and public entertainments which were provided by the rich, to whose tables the poor repaired in great numbers. The Athenians, at these times, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices for the prosperity of the commonwealth during the ensuing month, in the temple of Erechtheus in the citadel, which was kept by a dragon, to which they gave a honey-cake called *μελιτοῦτα*. These sacrifices, because offered every month, were denominated *ἔμμηνα ἱερὰ*, or *ἐπιμήνια*; and they who performed them, *ἐπιμήνιοι*, and *ἀγρεμόνες*.

ΞΑΝΘΙΚΑ was a Macedonian festival[w] which derived its name from its being observed in the month Xanthus, which was the same as April.[x] At this time the army was purified by a solemn lustration in the following manner:—a bitch was divided into two halves, one of which, together with the entrails, was placed on the right hand, the other on the left; and between these the army marched in a cer-

[n] Apollon. Rhod. Schol. lib. i. v. 164.
[o] Sophocl. Electr. v. 793. Demosth. adv. Spudiam; Suidas voce.
[p] Hesych.
[q] Heliodor. Ethiopic. lib. iii.
[r] Plut. de Virtute Mulier.
[s] Lycophr. Cassandr.
[t] Plut. de Glor. Athen.
[u] Proclus in Timæum Com. i.
[v] Hom. Schol. Od. ν'. Eustath. Od. ν'. et φ'. Hesych. Herodot. lib. viii.
[w] Hesych. Liv. lib. xl. Curtius l. x.
[x] Suidas.

tain order. After the arms of the Macedonian kings came the horse, which were followed by the king and his children, after whom went the life-guards, and then the rest of the army. This being performed, the army was divided into two parts, and a mock battle ensued.

ΞΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ, or ΜΕΤΟΙΚΙΑ, was annually observed by the Athenians[y] in honor of Minerva, on the sixteenth of Hecatombæon, in memory of leaving their country-seats, and uniting together in one body at the persuasion of Theseus.

'ΟΓΧΗΣΤΙΑ was a Bœotian festival[z] in honor of Neptune, surnamed Onchestius from Onchestus, a town in Bœotia.

'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ was a festival celebrated in honor of Olympian Jupiter by the Athenians, Smyrnæans, Macedonians, and especially by the Eleans.

'ΟΜΟΛΩΙΑ was a Theban festival in honor of Jupiter Homoloïus, or of Ceres Homoloïa,[a] who were so called from Homole in Bœotia, from the prophetess Homoloïa, or from *ὅμολος*, which in the Æolian dialect signifies peaceable.

'ΟΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ, or 'ΩΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ, was an Athenian festival which derived its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν τὰς ὄσχας*, from carrying boughs hung with grapes that were termed *ὄσχαι*,[b] and which was instituted by Theseus in commemoration of his return from Crete.[c] Besides other rites performed at this festival, there was always a race,[d] the contenders in which were young men whose parents were both living, and who were selected from every tribe. The place where the race terminated was called *Ὡσχοφόριον* from the *ὄσχαι*, boughs, which the runners carried in their hands, and there deposited. The reward of the victor was a cup called *πενταπλόα*, or *πενταπλῆ*, fivefold, because it contained a mixture of five things, namely, wine, honey, cheese, meal, and oil.

ΠΑΓΚΑΛΔΙΑ was a festival which derived its name *ἀπὸ πάντων κλάδων*, from all sorts of boughs, and which was celebrated by the Rhodians when they pruned their vines.[e]

ΠΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ was a festival celebrated by all the Bœotians,[f] who assembled near Chæronea, at the temple of Minerva, surnamed Itonia from Itonius the son of Amphictyon.

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ was an Athenian festival in honor of Minerva, the protectress of Athens. It was first instituted by Erichthonius,[g] who called it *Ἀθήναια*; and it was afterwards revived by Theseus, when he had united into one city all the Athenian people, and by him was denominated *Παναθήναια*.[h] Some are of opinion that it was the same as the Roman quinquatria. At first it continued only one day; but it was afterwards prolonged several days, and celebrated with great magnificence.

There were two solemnities of this name, one of which was called

[y] Thucyd. lib. ii. Plut. Theseo.
[z] Pausan. Bœotic.
[a] Theocrit. Schol. Idyll. viii.
[b] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 13. Hesych. Harpocrat.
[c] Plut. Theseo.
[d] Pausan. Attic. Athen. ibid. Hesych.
[e] Hesych.
[f] Strabo lib. ix. Pausan. Bœotic.
[g] Harpocrat.
[h] Pausan. Arcad. Plut. Theseo; Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. v. 385.

Μεγάλα Παναθήναια, the Great Panathenæa, and was celebrated once in five years,[i] beginning on the twenty-second of Hecatombæon: the other was denominated Μικρὰ Παναθήναια, the Less Panathenæa, and was observed every third year, or, as some think, every year, beginning on the twentieth or twenty-first of Thargelion.[k] In the latter were three games, managed by ten presidents, who were elected from the ten tribes of Athens, and who continued in office during four years.[l] On the first day was a race with torches, in which first footmen, and afterwards horsemen, contended,[m] and which was also observed in the greater festival. The second contention was ἐυανδρίας ἀγὼν, a gymnastic exercise,[n] in which the combatants gave proof of their strength or manhood. The place of these games was near the river, and was called from the festival Παναθηναϊκόν. The third was a musical contention instituted by Pericles: the subject proposed was the eulogium of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and also of Thrasybulus, who had rescued the republic from the yoke of the tyrants by which it was oppressed.[o] The poets also contended in four plays, which from their number were called τετραλογία.[p] Besides these there was a contention at Sunium, in imitation of a sea-fight.[q] The victor in either of these games was rewarded with a vessel of oil and with a crown of the olives which grew in the Academy, and which were called μορίαι, from μόρος, death, or from μέρος, a part.[r] There was likewise a dance called Pyrrhichia, performed by boys in armor, who represented to the sound of the flute the battle of Minerva with the Titans.[s] No man was permitted to be present at these games in dyed garments, under a penalty to be imposed by the ἀγωνοθέτης, president of the games. Lastly, a sumptuous sacrifice was offered, to which every Athenian borough contributed an ox; of the flesh that remained, a public entertainment was made for the whole assembly; and at this entertainment cups of an unusual size were employed.[t]

In the greater festival most of the same rites and ceremonies were observed,[u] but with greater splendor and magnificence, and the addition of some other matters. In particular, at this solemnity was a procession, in which was carried the sacred πέπλος, garment, of Minerva.[v] This πέπλος was woven by a select number of virgins, who were called ἐργαστικαὶ, from ἔργον, a work, and who were superintended by two of the ἀρρηφόροι, and commenced their employment at the festival Χαλκεῖα, which was on the thirtieth of Pyanepsion. The garment was white, without sleeves, and embroidered with gold; upon it were described the achievements of Minerva against the giants, of Jupiter, of the heroes, and of men renowned for valor and

[i] Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 56. Schol. Eurip. ad Hecub. v. 469.
[k] Harpocrat. et Suidas in Παναθήναια.
[l] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 93.
[m] Xenoph. Sympos. Athen. lib. iv.
[n] Idem ibid. Demosth. de Corona.
[o] Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. vii. cap. 4.
[p] Diog. Laert. in Plat.
[q] Lysias in Apologia δωροδοκίας.
[r] Aristot. ap. Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 730. Schol. Pindar. Nem. x. v. 65. Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. 1001.
[s] Aristoph. Nub. v. 984. Schol. ibid.
[t] Idem Nub. v. 385. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. xi.
[u] Xenoph. Sympos. Demosth. de Corona.
[v] Plato in Euthyphron. Plaut. Mercat. act. i. sc. i. v. 67.

great exploits ;[w] and hence men of courage and bravery were said to be ἄξιοι πέπλου, worthy of being portrayed on the garment of Minerva.[x] The ceremonies attending the procession with the πέπλος were as follows :—in the Ceramicus without the city, was an engine built for the purpose in the form of a ship, upon which the πέπλος was hung in the manner of a sail,[y] and which was put in motion by concealed machinery.[z] The πέπλος was thus conveyed to the temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and thence to the citadel, where it was placed upon Minerva's statue,[a] which was laid on a bed strewed with flowers, and called πλακίς. This procession was composed of a great number of persons of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions. It was led up by old men, and, as some say, by old women, carrying olive branches in their hands ;[b] and hence they were called θαλλοφόροι, bearers of green boughs.[c] After these came middle-aged men, who, armed with lances and bucklers, seemed only to respire war,[d] and who were accompanied by the μέτοικοι, sojourners, carrying little boats as emblems of their being foreigners, and therefore called σκαφηφόροι, boat-bearers. Then followed the women, attended by the sojourners' wives, who were called ὑδριαφόροι, from carrying water-pots in token of servitude.[e] These were followed by young men, who sang hymns in honor of the goddess,[f] and who were crowned with millet. Next proceeded select virgins of high rank, whose features, shape, and deportment, attracted every eye,[g] and who were called κανηφόροι, from their carrying baskets, which contained sacred utensils, cakes, and all things necessary for the sacrifices.[h] These utensils were in the custody of one, who, because he was chief manager of the public processions, was called ἀρχιθέωρος. The virgins were attended by the sojourners' daughters, who carried umbrellas and folding-chairs, and who were thence denominated σκιαδηφόροι, umbrella-carriers, and διφρηφόροι, seat-carriers.[i] It is probable that the rear was brought up by boys, who walked in coats used at processions, and called πανδαμικοί. The necessaries for this and other processions were prepared in a public hall erected for that purpose between the Piræan gate and the temple of Ceres ; and the management of the whole business belonged to the νομοφύλακες,[k] who were appointed to see that the laws and ancient customs were observed. At this solemnity it was usual to have a gaol-delivery,[l] to present golden crowns to those who had rendered any remarkable service to the commonwealth,[m] and to appoint rhapsodists to sing the poems of Homer.[n] Lastly, in the sacrifices at this and other quinquennial so-

[w] Eurip. Hecub. v. 468. Schol. ibid.
[x] Schol. Aristoph. Equ. v. 563.
[y] Harpocrat. in Πέπλ.
[z] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. i. Philostrat. in Sophist. lib. ii.
[a] Plat. in Euthyphron.
[b] Xenoph. Sympos.
[c] Hesych. in θαλλοφόροι.
[d] Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 58.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. c. 1. Poll. lib. iii. cap. 4. seg. 55. Hesych. in Σκαφηφόροι.
[f] Heliodor. Æthiopic. lib. i.
[g] Hesych. et Harpocrat. in Κανηφ. Ovid. Met. lib. ii. v. 711.
[h] Aristoph. Pace v. 948.
[i] Aristoph. Av. v. 1550. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 1. Hesych. Διφρηφόροι.
[k] Poll. lib. viii. cap. 9. seg. 94.
[l] Demosth. contr. Timocr.
[m] Demosth. de Corona.
[n] Lycurg. in Leocr. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 2. Plat. in Hipp.

lemnities, it was customary to pray for the prosperity of the Platæans, on account of the services they had rendered the Athenians at the battle of Marathon, in which they behaved with extraordinary courage and resolution.[o]

ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ was in honor of Panace.[p]

ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ was the same as Ἀθήναια and Χαλκεῖα,[q] and derived its name from the great concourse of persons who met at this solemnity.

ΠΑΝΔΙΑ was an Athenian festival,[r] which derived its name from Pandion, by whom it was instituted; or from Jupiter, who turns all things as he thinks proper; or from the moon, which moves incessantly both by night and day, whilst the sun appears only during the day and was supposed to rest all night. It was celebrated after the Διονύσια, festival of Bacchus.

ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ was an Athenian festival,[s] in memory of Pandrosus, the daughter of Cecrops.

ΠΑΝΔΥΣΙΑ were public rejoicings,[t] when cold and intemperate seasons obliged mariners to stay at home.

ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ was a public festival celebrated by an assembly of people from all parts of Greece.[u]

ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ was a festival celebrated by a concourse of people from all the cities of Ionia.[v] It was instituted in honor of Neptune, surnamed Heliconius, from Helice, a city of Achaia. If the bull offered in sacrifice happened to bellow, it was accounted an omen of divine favor, because that sound was supposed to be acceptable to Neptune.

ΠΑΝΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ was an annual solemnity[w] at Athens, in honor of Pan, who had a temple near the Acropolis.

Pan had also a festival in Arcadia,[x] where he was supposed most to frequent. At this solemnity his statue was beaten with σκίλλαι, sea onions, and at other times when they missed their prey in hunting.[y] It was also customary at such times to offer a scanty sacrifice, the relics of which were not sufficient to entertain those who were present.

ΠΑΝΟΨΙΑ. See Πυανέψια.

ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ was in honor of Paralus, an ancient hero.[z]

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΕΙΑ was a festival celebrated with solemn games, in which freeborn Spartans only contended. An oration was also spoken in praise of Pausanias, the Spartan general, who defeated Mardonius in the famous battle at Platæa.[a]

ΠΕΛΟΠΕΙΑ was a festival kept by the Eleans in honor of Pelops, and observed in imitation of Hercules, who sacrificed to him in a trench, as was usually done to the manes and infernal gods.[b]

[o] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 3.
[p] Theodoret.
[q] Suidas.
[r] Idem.
[s] Hesych.
[t] Proclus in Hesiod. Ἔργ. β'.
[u] Eustath. Il. β'.
[v] Herodot. lib. i. Strabo lib. v. Eustath. Il. ν'.
[w] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 106.
[x] Theocrit. Schol. Idyll. vii.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Eustath. Odys. δ'.
[a] Pausan. Lacon.
[b] Pausan. Eliac.

ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑ was a Thessalian festival, not unlike the Roman Saturnalia.[c]

ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑ was a Macedonian solemnity.[d]

ΠΕΡΙΦΑΛΛΙΑ was the same as φαλλαγώγια, being derived from φαλλός. See Διονύσια.

ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΩΝ ΈΟΡΤΗ were gymnastic exercises at Pitana.[e]

ΠΛΥΝΤΗΡΙΑ was a festival in honor of Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops, or rather of Minerva, who from her was surnamed Aglaurus.[f] At this time, the statue of Minerva was undressed and washed; and hence the solemnity was called Πλυντήρια, from πλύνειν, to wash. It was accounted an inauspicious day; and therefore the temples were surrounded with ropes, to prevent men from being admitted.[g] It was also customary at this festival to carry in procession a cluster of figs; which was called ἠγητόρια, or ἠγήτρια, from ἡγέομαι, to lead the way, because the use of figs led to a more civilized course of life.

ΠΟΛΙΕΙΑ was a solemnity at Thebes,[h] in honor of Apollo, surnamed Πολιὸς, grey, because he was represented in that city with grey hairs. The victim was a bull; but it once happening that a bull could not be procured, an ox was taken from the cart and sacrificed, and hence commenced the custom of killing laboring oxen, which till that time had been considered a capital crime.

ΠΟΜΠΕΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΈΟΡΤΗ was a festival,[i] at which was an image peculiarly called στεμματιαῖον.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΑ, or ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΑ, was in honor of Ποσειδῶν, Neptune, to whom was also offered a solemn sacrifice denominated Ὀνείλιον.[k]

ΠΡΙΑΠΕΙΑ was a festival in honor of Priapus.

ΠΡΟΗΡΟΣΙΑ, or ΠΡΗΡΟΣΙΑ, were sacrifices[l] offered πρὸ τῆς ἀρόσεως, before seed-time, to Ceres, who was thence surnamed Προηροσία. They were called by the common people Προακτούρια, from ἀκτὴ, bread-corn; and hence Δημητέρος ἀκτὴ, the corn of Ceres.[m]

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the inhabitants of Laconia, before they gathered their fruits.[n]

ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ was a festival at which the Lacedæmonians crowned themselves with reeds.[o]

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΑ was an Athenian solemnity, celebrated in honor of Prometheus,[p] with torches, in memory of his teaching men the use of fire.

ΠΡΟΣΧΑΙΡΗΤΗΡΙΑ was a day of rejoicing when a newly married wife went to live with her husband.[q]

ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ was a solemnity before marriage.

ΠΡΟΤΡΥΓΕΙΑ was a festival in honor of Neptune, and of Bacchus[r] surnamed Προτρύγης or Προτρυγαῖος, ἀπὸ τῆς τρυγὸς, from new wine.

[c] Athen. lib. xiv.
[d] Hesych.
[e] Idem.
[f] Hesych. Plut. Alcibiade; Athen. lib. iii. Poll. lib. viii. cap. 12.
[g] Plut. Alcibiade.
[h] Pausan. Bœotic.
[i] Hesych.
[k] Idem.
[l] Idem; Suidas. Aristoph. Schol. Eq.
[m] Homer.
[n] Hesych.
[o] Athen. lib. xv.
[p] Aristoph. Schol. Ranis.
[q] Harpocrat. Suidas.
[r] Hesych.

ΠΡΟΦΘΑΣΙΑ was a festival which derived its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφθάνειν*, from preventing, and was observed by the Clazomenians in memory of rendering themselves masters of Leuca, by coming to the celebration of a sacrifice before the Cumæans.[s]

ΠΡΟΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ was a solemn sacrifice which the Athenian magistrates offered annually to Minerva, at the first appearance of spring.[t]

ΠΡΩΤΕΣΙΛΑΕΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the Chersonesians and Thessalians,[u] in memory of Protesilaus, who was the first Grecian slain by Hector.

ΠΥΑΝΕΨΙΑ was an Athenian festival,[v] which was sometimes called Ποιανόψια or Πανόψια, because Theseus and his companions were entertained with all kinds of fruits; but the first and more common name was derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕψειν πύανα*, from boiling pulse, as was usual on that day, because the young men, who with Theseus escaped from Crete, put their provisions into one pot and ate together. Hence at this solemnity it was also customary to carry about an olive or laurel branch bound with wool, which was called *εἰρεσιώνη*, from *εἶρος*, wool, and which was crowned with all sorts of first fruits, to signify that scarcity and barrenness had ceased. At the same time a song was sung, expressive of the plenty and abundance which the *εἰρεσιώνη* failed not to produce. The *εἰρεσιώνη*, when carried in honor of Apollo, was of laurel; when of Minerva, of olive; for those trees were thought most acceptable to these deities. When the solemnity was ended, the *εἰρεσιώνη* was placed at the doors of the houses, as an amulet to prevent scarcity and want.

ΠΥΛΑΙΑ was a festival at Pylæ,[w] called also Thermopylæ, in honor of Ceres, surnamed Pylæa.

ΠΥΡΣΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ, the festival of torches, was observed at Argos, in memory of the torches lighted by Lynceus and Hypermnestra, to signify to each other that they had escaped from danger.[x]

ΡΑΒΔΟΥ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ, the reception or elevation of the rod, was an annual solemnity in the island of Cos, at which the priests carried a cypress tree.

ΡΑΨΩΔΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ was a part of the Διονύσια, festival of Bacchus, at which they repeated scraps of songs or poems, as they walked beside the statue of the god.[y]

ΣΑΒΑΖΙΑ were nocturnal mysteries in honor of Jupiter Sabazius,[z] in which the initiated had a golden serpent put into their breasts, and taken out at the lower extremity of their garments. Others[a] think that this solemnity was in honor of Bacchus, who was surnamed Sabazius, from the Sabæ, a people of Thrace.

ΣΑΡΩΝΙΑ was a festival in honor of Diana,[b] surnamed Saronia, from Saro, the third king of Trœzen, who instituted this solemnity.

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. xv.
[t] Suidas.
[u] Pindar. Schol. Isthm. Od. i. Lucian. Deor. Concil.
[v] Harpocrat. Plut. Theseo; Hesych.
[w] Strabo lib. ix.
[x] Pausan. Corinthiacis.
[y] Athen. lib. vii.
[z] Clem. Protrept.
[a] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. Harpocrat.
[b] Pausan. Corinthiacis.

ΣΕΙΣΑΧΘΕΙΑ, a shaking off the burden, was a public sacrifice at Athens, in memory of the ordinance of Solon, by which the debts of the poor were remitted, or at least the interest lessened, and the creditors prevented from seizing on their persons.[c]

ΣΕΜΕΛΗ was a festival[d] observed probably in memory of Semele, the mother of Bacchus.

ΣΕΠΤΗΡΙΟΝ was a Delphian festival, celebrated every ninth year, in memory of Apollo's victory over Python. The chief part of the solemnity was a representation of Python pursued by Apollo.[e]

ΣΘΕΝΙΑ was a festival at Argos,[f] celebrated perhaps in honor of Minerva, who was surnamed Σθενιὰς, from *σθένος*, strength.

ΣΚΕΙΡΑ, ΣΚΙΡΑ, ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ, was an annual solemnity at Athens,[g] on the twelfth of Σκιρροφοριῶν, in honor of Minerva, or, as some say, of Ceres and Proserpine. Σκίρον, an umbrella, was at this time carried in procession by the priest of Erechtheus, or by some of the sacred family of Butas; and they who ordered the procession used Διὸς κώδια, the skins of beasts sacrificed to Jupiter. There was also at this festival a race called ὀσχοφόρια, because the young men who contended carried in their hands vine branches full of grapes.

ΣΚΙΕΡΙΑ, or ΣΚΙΕΡΑ, was a festival at Alea in Arcadia,[h] in honor of Bacchus, whose image was exposed ὑπὸ τῇ σκιάδι, under a shade; and hence the solemnity probably derived its name. At this festival the women, in the same manner as the Spartan boys at the altar of Diana Orthia, were beaten with scourges, which they suffered in obedience to a command of the Delphian oracle.

ΣΚΙΛΛΩΝ ΈΟΡΤΗ, the festival of sea onions, was observed in Sicily. It consisted chiefly of a combat, in which boys beat each other with sea onions; and he who obtained the victory was rewarded by the gymnasiarch with a bull.[i]

ΣΤΗΝΙΑ was an Athenian solemnity,[k] in which the women made jests and lampoons on each other; and hence στηνιῶσαι signifies to abuse, ridicule, and calumniate.

ΣΤΟΦΕΙΑ was observed at Eretria, in honor of Diana Stophea.[l]

ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΑ was at Stymphalus in Arcadia, in honor of Diana surnamed Stymphalia.[m]

ΣΥΓΚΟΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ. See Θαλύσια.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ. See Ξυνοίκια.

ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΈΟΡΤΑΙ were Syracusan festivals, one of which continued ten days, during which the women were employed in offering sacrifices.[n] Another was celebrated annually by a great concourse of people, at the lake near Syracuse, through which Pluto was said to have descended with Proserpine.[o]

ΣΥΡΜΑΙΑ were games at Sparta,[p] the prize of which was *συρμαία*, mixture of fat and honey.

[c] Plut. Solone.
[d] Hesych.
Plut. Græc. Quæst.
[f] Hesych.
[g] Aristoph. Schol. Concionat. Harpocrat. Suidas.
[h] Pausan. Arcad. Poll. lib. viii. c. 33.
[i] Theocrit. Schol. Idyll. vii.
[k] Hesych. Suidas.
[l] Athen. lib. vi.
[m] Pausan. Arcadicis.
[n] Plat. Epist. ad Dion. propinquos.
[o] Cic. Orat. in Verrem iv.
[p] Hesych.

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ were sacrifices and thanksgivings for deliverances from danger.[q]

ΤΑΙΝΑΡΙΑ were in honor of Neptune surnamed Tænarius, from Tænarus, a promontory of Laconia, where was a temple dedicated to him. The worshippers were called *ταιναρίται*.[r]

ΤΑΛΑΙΔΙΤΗΣ were gymnastic exercises in honor of Jupiter Ταλαιός.[s]

ΤΑΥΡΕΙΑ was in honor of Neptune,[t] and was perhaps the same as that celebrated at Ephesus, in which the cup-bearers were young men, and called *ταῦροι*.[u]

ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΑ was in honor of Diana Ταυροπόλος.[v]

ΤΑΥΡΟΧΟΛΙΑ was celebrated at Cyzicus.[w]

ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΟΝ was the fortieth day after child-birth, on which the women went to the temples and returned thanks to the gods.

ΤΙΘΗΝΙΔΙΑ was a Spartan festival,[x] in which the *τιθῆναι*, nurses, conveyed the male infants committed to their charge to the temple of Diana Corythallia, which was at some distance from the city. Here they offered young pigs in sacrifice, during which some of them danced, and were called *κορυθαλλίστριαι*; others employed themselves in buffoonery, and were denominated *κυρίττοι*. There was also a public entertainment, which was called *κοπὶς*, and to partake of which was denominated *κοπίζειν*. It was as follows:—tents being erected near the temple, and beds covered with tapestry, all the guests, as well foreigners as natives of Laconia, were invited to supper, at which every man had his portion allotted him, together with a small loaf of bread called *φυσίκυλλος*. Each of them also received a piece of new cheese, part of the belly and tripes, figs, beans, and green vetches.

TITANIA was in memory of the Titans.

ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ were games celebrated[y] at Rhodes, in memory of Tlepolemus, on the twenty-fourth of Gorpiæus. In them boys, as well as men, contended; and the victors were crowned with poplar.

ΤΟΝΕΙΑ was a festival[z] at Samos, at which the image of Juno was carried to the sea shore, where they offered cakes to it, and then restored it to its former place. This was done in memory of this image having been stolen by the Tyrrhenians, who were stopped by an invisible force.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΔΙΑ was observed at Athens,[a] in memory of Toxaris, a Scythian hero, who died in that city, and was called *ξένος ἰατρὸς*, the foreign physician.

ΤΡΙΚΛΑΡΙΑ was an annual festival[b] celebrated by the Ionians who inhabited Aroe, Authea, and Mesatis, in honor of Diana Triclaria, to appease whose anger for the adultery committed in her tem-

q Plut. in Arat. Polyb. lib. ii. Cic. de Offic. lib. iii.
r Idem.
s Hesych.
t Idem.
u Athen. lib. x.
v Hesych.
w Idem.
x Athen. lib. iv. Hesychius.
y Pindar. Schol. Olymp. Od. vii.
z Athen. lib. xv.
a Lucian. Scyth.
b Pausan. Achaicis.

ple by Menalippus and Comætho the priestess, they were commanded by the Delphian oracle to sacrifice a boy and a virgin.

ΤΡΙΟΠΙΑ were solemn games dedicated to Apollo Triopius. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to Apollo.[c]

ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΟΡΕΙΑ was a solemnity[d] in which it was usual to pray for children to the *θεοὶ γενέθλιοι*, gods of generation, who were sometimes called *τριτοπάτορες*.

ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑ were solemn games celebrated every year at Lebadea, in honor of Trophonius.[e]

ΤΥΡΒΗ was observed by the Achæans, in honor of Bacchus.[f]

ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΑ was an annual solemnity[g] at Amyclæ in Laconia,[h] in memory of the beautiful youth Hyacinthus, with games in honor of Apollo.[i] It was celebrated during three days, the first and third of which exhibited only sadness and mourning. The second was a day of rejoicing, on which all Lacedæmon abandoned itself to the intoxication of joy. On every side were seen choruses of boys, clad only in tunics: some of them played on the lyre, or celebrated Hyacinth in ancient songs accompanied by the flute; some danced; and others displayed their skill in horsemanship.[k] The procession then advanced towards Amyclæ, under the conduct of a leader, who was called *πρεσβεὺς*, a legate. Around the altar, which was the tomb of Hyacinth,[l] and on which a solemn sacrifice was offered, were ranged twenty or twenty-five boys, and as many young maidens, who sang in the most charming concert in the presence of the magistrates of Lacedæmon.[m]

ΥΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ was observed at Argos,[n] in memory of the achievements of Telesilla, who, when Argos was besieged by Cleomenes, collected a number of women, and made a vigorous defence against the whole Spartan army.

ΥΔΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ was a solemnity which derived its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν ὕδωρ*, from bearing water, and which was observed at Athens in memory of those who perished in the deluge.[o] Another festival of this name was celebrated at Ægina, in the month Delphinius, in honor of Apollo.[p]

ΥΜΝΙΑ was observed at Orchomenos, and at Mantinea, in honor of Diana Hymnia.

ΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ was a festival at Argos in honor of Venus,[q] and derived its name from *ὗς*, a sow, because sows were sacrificed to this goddess.

ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ or ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ, ΦΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΣΙΑ or ΦΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΣΙΑ, was a festival so called from *φάγειν* and *πίνειν*, to eat and drink,[r] and was observed during the Dionysia, and belonged to Bacchus.

[c] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 44.
[d] Etymolog. Auctor.
[e] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. Od. vii.
[f] Pausan. Corinthiacis.
[g] Pausan. Lacon. Hesych.
[h] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. iv. Strab. lib. vi.
[i] Ovid. Met. lib. x. v. 219.
[k] Athen. lib. iv. Xenoph. in Agesil.
[l] Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 19.
[m] Hesychius.
[n] Plut. Virtut. Mulier. Polyæn. l. viii.
[o] Suidas.
[p] Pindar. Schol. Nem. Od. v.
[q] Athen. lib. iii.
[r] Idem lib. vii.

ΦΑΓΩΝ was a festival of the same kind.[s]

ΦΕΛΛΟΣ was a festival of Bacchus,[t] preparative to the Διονύσια.[u]

ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΙΑ was a festival at Cyzicum, in which a black heifer was sacrificed to Pherephatta, or Proserpina.[v]

ΦΩΣΦΟΡΙΑ was in honor of Phosphorus, or Lucifer.[w]

ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ derived its name from χαλκὸς, brass, because it was celebrated in memory of the invention of working that metal, which was ascribed to Athens.[x] It was also called Πάνδημον, because ὁ πᾶς δῆμος, all the Athenian people, assembled to celebrate it; and sometimes Ἀθήναια, because it was observed in honor of Ἀθήνη, Minerva, who was the goddess of arts and inventions.

ΧΑΛΚΙΟΙΚΙΑ was a solemnity at Sparta, at which the young men assembled in arms to celebrate a sacrifice in the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed Χαλκίοικος from her temple of brass. The ephori were always present to direct the ceremonies.[y]

ΧΑΟΝΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the Chaonians in Epirus.[z]

ΧΑΡΙΛΑ was a festival observed every nine years by the Delphians, in memory of the virgin Charila, who, in a time of famine having besought the charitable assistance of the king, was repulsed by him; upon which she hanged herself with her girdle.[a]

ΧΑΡΙΣΙΑ was a festival celebrated[b] in honor of the Χάριτες, Graces, with dances, which continued all night; and he who was awake the longest was rewarded with a cake called πυραμοῦς.

ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ was a thanksgiving at Athens,[c] on the twelfth of Βοηδρομιὼν, the day on which Thrasybulus expelled the thirty tyrants and restored the Athenians to their liberty.

ΧΕΙΡΟΠΟΝΙΑ was a festival celebrated by the χειροπόνοι, handicraftsmen.[d]

ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΙΑ was a festival at Rhodes,[e] in the month Βοηδρομιὼν, in which the boys begged from door to door, and sang a certain song; this ceremony was called χελιδονίζειν, and the song itself χελιδόνισμα, because it was begun with an invocation to the χελιδὼν, swallow.

ΧΘΟΝΙΑ was annually observed by the Hermionians, in honor of Ceres surnamed Chthonia, because she was goddess of the earth, which is called χθὼν, or from a damsel of that name whom Ceres carried from Argolis to Hermione. At this festival was a procession led by the priests and magistrates in office, who were followed by a crowd of men and women; and a procession in honor of the goddess was also formed by boys, who were dressed in white apparel, and had upon their heads crowns made of a flower called κομοσάνδαλος, which was the same as the hyacinth, in memory of the untimely death of Hyacinthus. This procession was followed by persons who dragged an untamed heifer to the temple, where it was let loose; and four old

[s] Eustath. Odys. φ'.
[t] Suidas.
[u] Aristoph. Schol. Nubes.
[v] Plut. Lucullo.
[w] Id. in Colot. Hesych.
[x] Eustath. Il. β'. Suid. Harpocrat.
[y] Polyb. lib. iv. Pausan. Phocic. et Lacon.
[z] Parthen. Erot.
[a] Plut. Græc. Quæst.
[b] Eustath. Odys. σ'.
[c] Plut. de Glor. Athen.
[d] Hesych.
[e] Athen. lib. viii.

women within the temple, armed with scythes, pursued the heifer, and killed it. The doors of the temple were then opened, and three other heifers were brought in succession, and killed in the same manner, all of them falling on the same side.[f]

XITΩNIA was in honor of Diana, surnamed Chitonia, from Chitone, a borough in Attica, where this festival was celebrated.[g] Another of the same name was observed at Syracuse, with songs and dances peculiar to the solemnity.[h]

XAOEIA was a festival at Athens on the sixth of Θαργηλιὼν,[i] at which a ram was sacrificed to Ceres, who was worshipped in a temple near the Acropolis under the name of Χλόη, from χλόη, grass, because she was goddess of the earth.

XOES. See Ἀνθεστήρια.

XOΛAΣ was in honor of Bacchus.[k]

XYTPOI. See Ἀνθεστήρια.

ΩMOΦAΓIA was a festival[l] in honor of Bacchus Ὠμοφάγος, eater of raw flesh. At this solemnity the worshippers counterfeited madness, and ate the entrails of goats raw and bloody, in imitation of the god whom they adored.

ΩPAIA were solemn sacrifices[m] of fruits, offered in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, that heaven might afford mild and temperate weather. They were offered to the Ὧραι, Hours, who were three in number, and who attended on the sun, presided over the four seasons of the year, and were honored with divine worship at Athens.[n]

CHAP. XX.

Public Games and Exercises.

There were four public and solemn games, which were peculiarly termed ἱεροὶ, sacred, partly from the esteem in which they were held in every nation of Greece, and partly because they were instituted in honor of the gods, or of deified heroes, and always begun and ended with sacrifices. Their names, the persons to whom they were dedicated, and the prizes in each of them, are comprised in the two following distichs:

Τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροί·
Οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων·
Ζηνὸς, Λητοΐδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο
Ἆθλα δὲ κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

They who obtained the victory, especially in the Olympic games,[o] were universally honoured. On their return home, they rode in a triumphal chariot into the city, the walls being thrown down to give

[f] Pausan. Corinthiacis.
[g] Callim. Schol. Hymn. in Dianam; Athen. lib. xiv.
[h] Stephan. Byzant. in Χιτώνη.
[i] Hesych. Eustath. Il. ι'. Pausan. Attic.
[k] Hesych.
[l] Clem. Protrept.
[m] Hesych.
[n] Athen. lib. xiv.
[o] Plut. Sympos. lib. ii. quæst. 6.

them admittance. At Sparta, an honourable post in the army was conferred on them; and they were placed near the person of the king. In some cities, presents were bestowed on them; and they were honored with the first places at all shows and games, and maintained at the public charge.[p] If any one was conqueror in all the exercises, he was considered as superior to mortals, and his actions were termed wonderful victories.[q] Nor did their honours terminate in themselves, but extended to their parents, their relations, and to the city which gave them birth.[r] By the laws of Solon, one hundred drachms were allowed from the public treasury to every Athenian who obtained a prize in the Isthmian games; and five hundred to him who was victor in the Olympian games.[s] Afterwards, they who were conquerors in the latter were maintained in the Prytaneum. It was forbidden to give names to harlots or slaves from any of these games.[t]

Persons were appointed to observe that all things were rightly performed, to decide disputes, and adjudge the prizes to the victors. They were called *αἰσυμνῆται*, *βραβευταὶ*, *ἀγωνάρχαι*, *ἀγωνοδίκαι*, *ἀγωνοθέται*, *ἀθλοθέται*, and *ῥαβδοῦχοι* and *ῥαβδονόμοι*, from *ῥάβδος*, a rod or sceptre, which these judges carried in their hands.

After the judges had passed sentence, a public herald proclaimed the name of the victor; and hence *κηρύσσειν* signifies to commend, or proclaim any man's praise. The token of victory was commonly a palm-branch, which was presented to the conquerors, and carried by them in their hands.[u]

The principal exercises in these games were the following:—

Πένταθλον consisted of the five exercises mentioned in this line,

Ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην·

leaping, running, throwing, darting, and wrestling. Instead of darting, some mention boxing; and other exercises different from these enumerated may be noticed by some; for *πένταθλον* was a common name for any five exercises performed at the same time.

Δρόμος, running, was in high esteem among the ancient Greeks:

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μεῖζον κλέος ἀνέρος ὄφρα κεν ᾖσιν,
Ἢ ὅ τι ποσσίν τε ῥέξει καὶ χερσὶν ἔῃσιν.[v]

To fame arise! for what more fame can yield
Than the swift race, or conflict of the field? POPE.

Swiftness was considered an excellent qualification in a warrior, as it served both for a sudden attack and also for retreat. Hence the character of Achilles, who was styled *πόδας ὠκὺς*, swift of foot.[w] The course was called *στάδιον*,[x] being of the same extent with the measure of that name, and containing one hundred and twenty-five paces;[y] it was also denominated *αὐλὸς*,[z] which was a name given to whatever was produced straight in length, and narrow. The race was four-fold:[a] 1. *στάδιον*, one hundred and twenty-five paces; 2. *δίαυλος*, the space

[p] Xenoph. Coloph. in Epigr.
[q] Plut. Lucullo.
[r] Plut. Pelopide.
[s] Idem Solone.
[t] Athen. lib. xiii.
[u] Plut. Theseo.
[v] Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 147.
[w] Hom. Il.
[x] Pausan. Messen.
[y] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 23.
[z] Athen. lib. v. cap. 3.
[a] Schol. Aristoph. ad Av. v. 293.

of two stadia, the course being run over both in proceeding towards, and in returning from, the goal; 3. *δόλιχος*, the space of seven stadia, or according to some,[b] of twenty-four stadia, the course being run over twelve times both in going and returning; 4. *ὁπλίτης*, when the contenders ran armed. Hence they who ran once over the stadium were called *σταδιοδρόμοι*; they who ran twice over it, *διαυλοδρόμοι*; they who ran over it six or seven times, or more, *δολιχοδρόμοι*;[c] and they who ran over it in armour, *ὁπλιτοδρόμοι*.[d] The stadium had two boundaries; the one, where the course began; the other, where it terminated. The former, or place of starting, was called *ἄφεσις*, *ὕσπληξ*, *γραμμὴ*, *βαλβίς*,[e] and *ἀφετηρία*;[f] and the latter, or goal to which they ran, *τέλος*, *τέρμα*, *βατῆρα*,[g] *γραμμὴ* and *ἄκρα γραμμὴ*,[h] *σταθμὴ*,[i] and *καμπή*.[k] Many ran in contest at the same time, and were called *οἱ σύνδρομοι*, *συναγωνισταὶ*, *ἀντίπαλοι*, &c.[l] The latter runner, who endeavoured to overtake his antagonist, was said *διώκειν*, to pursue;[m] and if he came up with him, *καταλαμβάνειν*, to overtake him.[n] He who first reached the goal received a prize of small value, which was called *ἆθλον* and *βραβεῖον*,[o] and which was commonly a crown of olive,[p] of pine,[q] of branches of the apple-tree laden with fruit, or of parsley.[r] To obtain this reward was called *λαμβάνειν τὸ βραβεῖον*, and *καταλαμβάνειν*.[s] This crown was also the reward of him who was victorious in either of the other contests besides that of running. They who were left behind in the race, and therefore failed in gaining the reward, was said *ὑστερεῖν*, *ὑστερεῖσθαι*, and *καταλείπεσθαι*.[t] It is observable that other and more valuable rewards than crowns of olive, &c. were sometimes proposed to the victors.[u]

Horse-races were performed by single horses, which were denominated *κέλητες*, or *μονάμπυκες*; and by two horses, upon one of which they performed the race, and leaped upon the other at the goal. These men were called *ἀναβάται*; and if it was a mare upon which they leaped, she was called *κάλπη*.[v] Races were also performed by chariots, which were sometimes drawn by two, three, four, &c. horses; and hence the words *δύωροι*, *τέθριπποι*, *τετράωροι*, &c. As the *ἅρμα*, chariot, to which four horses were joined, was sometimes driven twelve times over the course, we read of *τεθρίππους δυωδεκαδρόμους*,[w] and *δυωδεκάγναμπτον περὶ τέρμα δρόμου ἵππων*.[x] At first, the horses were placed in one front, being joined together in pairs; afterwards, they

[b] Suid. Schol. Pind. Olymp. iii. v. 58.
[c] Schol. Aristoph. ibid.
[d] Schol. Aristoph. ibid.
[e] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 30. seq. 146.
[f] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 546.
[g] Poll. ibid.
[h] Pind. Pyth. ix. v. 208.
[i] Eurip. Electr. v. 955. Antigon. v. 29. Ion. v. 1514.
[k] Eurip. Electr. v. 659.
[l] Xenoph. de Exped.
[m] Hesychius.
[n] Lucian. Hermot.
[o] Schol. Pindar. in Olymp. antistr. δ'. v. 1.
[p] Pausan. Eliac. Aristoph. Plut. v. 586. Plin. lib. xv. cap. 4.
[q] Lucian. de Gymn. Plin. lib. xv. cap. 10.
[r] Pindar. Olymp. Od. xiii. v. 45. Lucian. de Gymnas. Plin. lib. xix. cap. 8. Juvenal. Sat. viii. v. 226.
[s] 1 Cor. ix. 24.
[t] Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 125.
[u] Hom. Il. lib. xxiii. Virg. Æneid. lib. v.
[v] Pausan. Eliac.
[w] Pindar. Olymp. ii. antistr. 3. v. 5 et 6.
[x] Pindar. ib. Od. iii. str. 3. v. 5.

coupled only the two middle horses, which for that reason were called *ζύγιοι*, and governed with reins the others, which were termed *σειραφόροι, σειραῖοι, παράσειροι, παράοροι, ἀορτῆρες*, &c. Sometimes mules were used instead of horses, and the chariots drawn by them were called *ἀπῆναι*.[y] The principal art of the charioteer consisted in avoiding the *νύσσαι*, goals; in which if he failed, he overturned the chariot, which was dangerous as well as disgraceful.

Ἅλμα, leaping, which derived its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅλλεσθαι*, was sometimes performed with the hands empty,[z] and sometimes with weights of lead or stone of an oval shape, which were called *ἁλτῆρες*,[a] which were carried in the hands, or placed upon the heads and shoulders, and sometimes fastened to the feet, and which were sometimes thrown from the hands into the air to augment the elasticity of the body in leaping.[b] The place from which they leaped was called *βατὴρ*; the space of ground to be leaped over, *κανών*; and the mark or place to which they leaped, *σκάμμα*, or *τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*, from *σκάπτω*, to dig, because it was marked by digging the earth;[c] and hence arose the proverb, *πηδᾷν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*, to leap beyond the mark, which was applied to an extravagant person.

THROWING THE QUOIT.



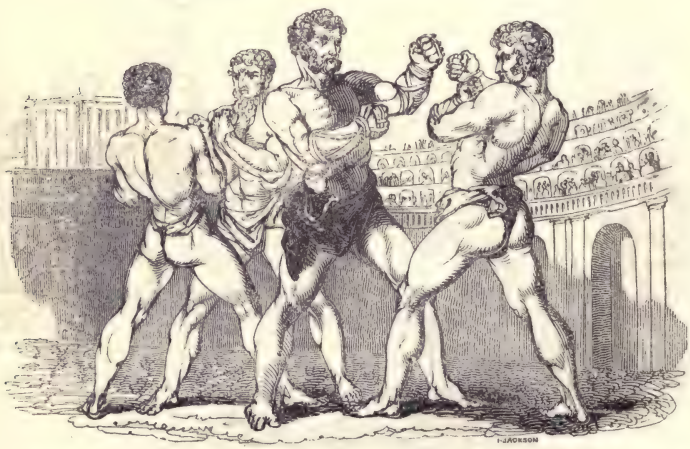
Δίσκος, a quoit, was a certain round plate three or four digits, or between two and three inches thick, which was heavy,[d] and made of stone, brass, or iron.[e] It seems to have derived its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκειν*, which was an old word for *δίκειν*, to cast,[f] because it was launched into the air.[g] The quoit was thrown by the help of a thong,

[y] Pausan. Eliac. cap. ix.
[z] Aristot. de Anim. incess. cap. 3. et Problem. Sec. 5. n. 8.
[a] Aristot. ibid. Poll. lib. iii. cap. 30. seg. 151. Pausan. Eliac.
[b] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[c] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 30. seg. 151.
[d] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[e] Eustath. Odys. θ'. v. 186.
[f] Eustath. Il. β'. v. 281. Odys. δ'. v. 20. Eurip. Bacch. v. 600.
[g] Ovid. Met. lib. x. v. 178. Stat. Theb. vi. 681. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. v. 13.

which was called καλώδιον,[h] and which was put through a hole in the middle[i] that it might sound.[k] He who launched it, brought his hand to his breast, then carried it back, and threw the quoit into the air with a circular motion.[l] The quoit was of different forms and sizes, being sometimes square, but generally broad and like a lentil, whence that herb is called δίσκος. The same exercise was sometimes performed with an instrument denominated σόλος,[m] which differed from the δίσκος probably in this, that the σόλος was of a spherical form, and the δίσκος broad. To exercise with the disk was called δίσκοις γυμνάζεσθαι,[n] ἐρίζειν περὶ δίσκου,[o] δισκεύειν,[p] δισκεῖν,[q] δίσκους ῥίπτειν,[r] δίσκον ῥίψαι,[s] δίσκους βάλλειν, and δισκοβολεῖν.[t] Hence he who contended in this exercise was denominated δισκοβόλος. He who threw his disk farthest, or nearest the mark which was set up, was victor.[u] This healthful exercise[v] is said to have been invented by the Lacedæmonians.[w]

Ῥίψις, the exercise of throwing or darting, was performed sometimes with a javelin, rod, or other large instrument, which was thrown out of the hands, when it was called ἀκόντισμα; and sometimes with an arrow, or small javelin, cast from a bow or sling, when it was denominated τοξική.

BOXERS WITH THE CESTUS.



Πυγμὴ, or πυγμική, was the exercise of boxing. The combatant was called πύκτης,[x] or πυγμάχος;[y] whence were formed πυκτεύειν and πυκταλίζειν, all of them being derived from πὺξ, a fist. This exercise was sometimes performed by combatants, who held in their hands

[h] Eustath. Odys. θ'. v. 186.
[i] Eustath. Odys. θ'. v. 186.
[k] Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 190.
[l] Propert. iii. 12. 10. Stat. Theb. vi. 707.
[m] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 826.
[n] Lucian. Dialog.
[o] Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 24.
[p] Philostr. ep. 44. et Icon. xiv.
[q] Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 188.
[r] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 842.
[s] Hesych.
[t] Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 8.
[u] Lucian. de Gymnas. Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 841. sqq. Odys. θ'. v. 192. sqq.
[v] Lucian. ibid.
[w] Martial. xiv. 164.
[x] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 30. seg. 150.
[y] Hom. Od. θ'. v. 246. Eustath. ad Il. ψ'.

balls of stone or lead, which were called σφαῖραι; and then it was termed σφαιρομαχία. At first, the hands and arms of the combatants were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with thongs of leather called cestus.[z] The cestus was a thong from the hide of an ox newly killed,[a] which was filled with a mass of lead,[b] brass,[c] or iron,[d] and bound round the arm.[e] It was called ἱμὰς,[f] or ἱμὰς βόειος,[g] because it was made from the hide of an ox. At first the cestus was short, and reached no higher than the wrist; but it was afterwards enlarged, and extended to the elbow, and sometimes to the shoulder; and in time it was used not only for defence, but also for attack. The great art in this contest consisted in eluding the stroke of the adversary by a flexion of the body,[h] and in not dealing blows in vain. The pugilists aimed sometimes at the head, sometimes at the back, and sometimes at the arms of each other; but they endeavoured chiefly to strike and disfigure the face;[i] and hence bruises on the face occasioned by blows were called ὑπώπια.[k] They who prepared themselves for this exercise used means to become fat and fleshy, that they might be more able to endure blows; and hence corpulent persons were denominated pugilists.[l] He who yielded the victory to his antagonist, acknowledged his defeat either by his voice, by letting his weary arms fall,[m] or by sinking to the ground.

WRESTLERS.

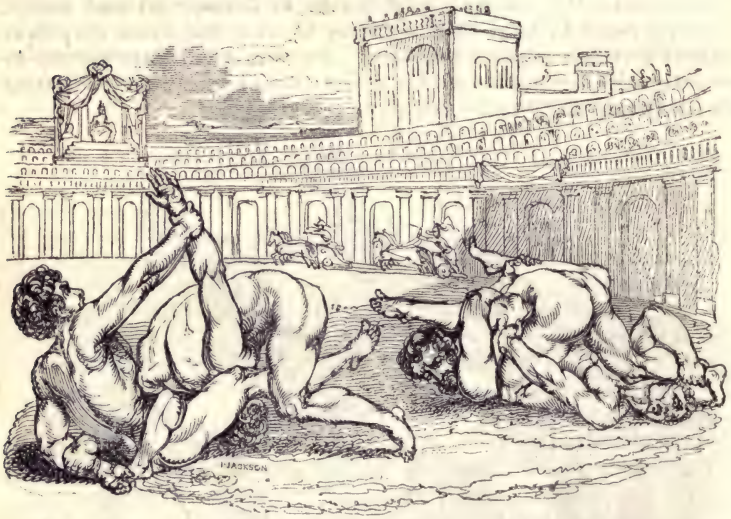


Πάλη, wrestling, was the most ancient of the exercises,[n] and was

[z] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 684. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 50. sq. Virg. Æn. lib. v. v. 400.
[a] Apollon. Rhod. ii. 52. sq. Valer. Flacc. iv. 250.
[b] Virg. Æn. lib. v. v. 404. Stat. Theb. lib. vi. v. 729. sq.
[c] Theocrit. xxii. 3 et 80. Valer. Flacc. iv. 253.
[d] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 684. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 52.
[e] Theocrit. xxii. 3.
[f] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 684.
[g] Theocrit. ibid.
[h] Virg. Æn. v. 437. Theocrit. xxii. 120.
[i] Theocrit. xxii. v. 110. sq.
[k] Aristoph. Vesp. v. 1377. Pac. v. 540.
[l] Terent. Eunuch. act. ii. sc. 3.
[m] Theocrit. xxii. 129. sq.
[n] Plut. Sympos. ii. Probl. 4. 5.

sometimes called *καταβλητικὴ*, because the combatants endeavoured to throw each other down, which was denominated *ῥῆξαι*. It was performed in the Xystus, or covered portico,[o] where two naked wrestlers,[p] anointed with oil,[q] besprinkled with dust,[r] and folding themselves with their arms,[s] aimed chiefly at the feet, and endeavoured to bring each other to the ground. At first the combatants contended only with strength of body; but Theseus improved this exercise into an art.[t] The words *θλίβειν*,[u] *κατέχειν*,[v] *καταβάλλειν*,[w] *συνέχειν*,[x] *ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι*,[y] *μέσον ἔχειν*,[z] and *ῥῆξαι*,[a] were usually applied to this contest. He who brought his antagonist thrice to the ground was declared victor;[b] and hence *τριάξαι* and *ἀποτριάξαι* signify to conquer; *ὁ τριάξας* or *ἀποτριάξας* and *τριακτὴρ*, the conqueror;[c] and *τριαχθῆναι* or *ἀποτριαχθῆναι* denotes to be overcome.[d] Hence also *ἀτρίακτος ἄτα* signifies an insuperable evil.[e]

THE PANCRATION.



There were two kinds of wrestling: *ὀρθία πάλη*, or *ὀρθοπάλη*, in which the combatants stood and wrestled on their feet; and *ἀνακλινοπάλη*, in which they voluntarily threw themselves down, and contended rolling on the ground,[f] when they were sometimes called *κυ-*

[o] Hesych. et Suid. in Ξυστός.
[p] Virg. Æn. iii. 281. Stat. Theb. vi. 832. Ovid. Met. ix. 32.
[q] Ovid. Heroid. xix. 11. Theocrit. Idyll. ii. v. 51. Lucian. de Gymnas.
[r] Ovid. Met. ix. 35. sq. Stat. Theb. vi. 846. Lucian. ibid.
[s] Lucian. ibid. Ovid. Met. ix. 57. sq. Stat. Theb. vi. 859. sqq. Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 711. Plut. Sympos. ii. Probl. 4.
[t] Pausan. Attic. cap. xxxix.
[u] Aristot. Rhet. i. 5. seg. 36.
[v] Aristot. ibid.
[w] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 727.
[x] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Aristoph. Nub. v. 1043.
[a] Hesych.
[b] Schol. ad Æschyl. Eum. v. 592.
[c] Æschyl. Agamem. v. 180.
[d] Suidas; Hesychius; Poll. Æschyl. Agamem. v. 179.
[e] Æschylus.
[f] Martial. xiv. 199.

λιστικοί. He who was conquered acknowledged his defeat with his voice, or by holding up his finger; and hence αἶρε δάκτυλον, raise your finger, was a proverbial expression, which signified, confess that you are conquered. This kind of wrestling is thought by some to be the same as παγκράτιον, which consisted of both boxing and wrestling.[g] With their fists they struck each other after the manner of boxers; and they endeavoured to throw each other down after the manner of wrestlers. This exercise was sometimes called παμμάχιον, and the combatants were denominated πάμμαχοι.[h]

Besides the exercises which have been described, there were others of a quite different nature, in which musicians, poets, and artists, contended for victory.[i]

CHAP. XXI.

The Olympic Games.

THE Olympic games derived their name from Olympian Jupiter, to whom they were dedicated;[j] or from Olympia, a city of the Pisæans,[k] or, as others say, the same as Pisa. Their first institution is referred by some to Jupiter, after his victory over the Titans;[l] by some to Pisus, from whom the city Pisa derived its name; by some to one of the Dactyli called Hercules;[m] by some to Pelops; and by others to Hercules, in honor of Pelops,[n] or of Olympian Jupiter, from the spoils taken from Auges king of Elis, whom Hercules had dethroned and plundered.[o] It is, however, certain that the Olympic games had been discontinued, or were little frequented, till the time of Iphitus, who was contemporary with Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver,[p] and who revived them about 408 years after the Trojan war, or 776 years before Christ, from which period the number of the Olympiads was reckoned.[q] One hundred and twelve years after, the name of Chorœbus, who gained the prize in the course of the stadium, was first inscribed in the public register of the Eleans; and the practice being continued, the names of the victors indicated the different Olympiads, and formed so many fixed periods in chronology.

These games were celebrated every fifth year, that is, every fiftieth month, which is the second month after the completion of four years.[r] They continued five days, beginning on the eleventh and ending on the fifteenth day of the lunar month, when the moon was at full. The care and management of them belonged sometimes to the Pisæans,[s] but for the most part to the Eleans,[t] by whom the Pisæans were destroyed. The one hundred and fourth Olympiad was cele-

[g] Plut. Sympos. ii. prob. 4. Aristot. Rhetor. i. 5. seg. 36.
[h] Pollux; Suidas.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 8. Suid.
[j] Pindar. Olymp. ii. v. 22. sq. iii. v. 30. sq. Lucian. in Icarom.
[k] Strab. lib. viii. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vii.
[l] Aristoph. ejusque Schol. in Plut.
[m] Plut. Theseo; Pindar. Nem. xi. v. 34. sq. Strab. ib. Stat. Theb. vi. 5.
[n] Stat. Theb. vi.
[o] Pindar. Olymp. ii. Diod. Sic. lib. iv.
[p] Aristot. in Plut. Lycurg. Pausan. Eliac.
[q] Solin. Polyhist. cap. 1.
[r] Suidas.
[s] Strabo lib. viii.
[t] Strabo ibid.

brated by order of the Arcadians; but those managed by any other people than themselves the Eleans called Ἀνολυμπιάδες, unlawful Olympiads, and left them out of their annals, in which were recorded the names of the victors and the several occurrences at these games.

The games were superintended by a single person till the fiftieth Olympiad, when two were appointed to perform that office. In the one hundred and third Olympiad, the superintendants were increased to twelve, according to the number of the Elean tribes, from each of which a president was elected; but in the following Olympiad, the tribes being reduced by war to eight, the presidents were also eight. In the one hundred and fifth Olympiad they were increased to nine; and in the one hundred and sixth to ten, which number continued till the reign of Adrian the Roman emperor. These persons were called ἑλληνοδίκαι, and assembled in a place denominated ἑλληνοδικαῖον, in the Elean forum, where they resided ten months before the celebration of the games, to superintend the προγυμνάσματα, preparatory exercises of those who offered themselves to contend, and to be instructed in the laws of the games by the νομοφύλακες, keepers of the laws. To prevent all unjust practices, they took an oath that they would act impartially, receive no bribes, and not divulge the reasons for which they approved or disapproved of any of the contenders.[u] At the solemnity they sat naked, having the crown of victory before them till the exercises were finished, when they adjudged it to the victor. The integrity of these judges was seldom questioned;[v] but an appeal lay from them to the Olympian senate.[w]

To preserve peace and good order the Eleans appointed certain officers called ἀλύται, who were the same as the ῥαβδοφόροι or μαστιγοφόροι of the other Greeks, and over whom was a president called ἀλυτάρχης.

At first women were not allowed to be present at these games;[x] and such was the severity of the Elean laws in this particular, that if any woman passed the river Alpheus during this solemnity, she was to be thrown headlong from a rock. Afterwards, however, the laws were altered, and women were permitted not only to be present, but to contend in the games; and some of them obtained prizes.[y]

They who designed to contend were obliged to repair ten months before the solemnity to the public gymnasium at Elis, where they prepared themselves by constant exercises:[z] the first nine months were spent in more easy preparations; but during the tenth or last month, they performed all the exercises practised at the games.[a] No one who had omitted to present himself in this manner, was allowed to offer himself for any of the prizes; and no person who was himself a notorious criminal, or who was related to a notorious criminal, was permitted to contend.[b] If any one was convicted of bribing his adversary, a heavy fine was imposed on him. The contenders were also obliged to swear that they had spent ten months in preparatory

[u] Pausan. lib. vi. cap. 24.
[v] Dio Chrysost. in Rhod.
[w] Pausan. lib. vi. cap. 3.
[x] Pausan. lib. vi. cap. 24. Schol. Pindar. in Olymp. vii. Ælian. Var. Hist. x. 1.
[y] Pausan. Laconicis.
[z] Pausan. Eliac.
[a] Epictet. Enchirid. cap. xxxv.
[b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Philostr. in Apollon. v. cap. 43.

exercises; and they, their fathers, and brothers, took a solemn oath that they would employ no unlawful means to obtain the rewards.

The order of the wrestlers was appointed by lot in the following manner:—into a silver urn called κάλπις, were put little pellets, which were about the size of beans, and upon each of which was inscribed a letter, the same letter belonging to every pair. They who obtained the same letters wrestled together. If the number of the wrestlers was unequal, he, to whom the odd pellet fell by lot, contended with him who had obtained the mastery, and was called ἔφεδρος, from his coming after the rest.[c] This was accounted the most fortunate chance that could happen, because he had to contend with one weary and exhausted, whilst he himself was fresh and in full vigor.[d]

The prize of the victors in each of these contests was a wreath of wild olive, which was termed κότινος.[e] The reward was of small value, that the combatants might be animated with the hope of glory, and not stimulated by the desire of gain.[f]

These games drew together all Greece,[g] and hence obtained the name of πανήγυρις. They were frequented also by people from Egypt, Libya, Sicily, and other foreign countries;[h] and hence Olympia was called πάγκοινος χώρα, the common country of all.[i]

CHAP. XXII.

The Pythian Games.

THE Pythian games were celebrated in honor of Apollo near Delphi, and are supposed by some to have been instituted by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, or by the council of the Amphictyons. Some refer the institution of them to Agamemnon;[k] and some to Diomedes, the son of Tydeus;[l] but the most common opinion is, that Apollo himself was the author of them, after he had overcome Python, a serpent, or cruel tyrant;[m] and hence they were sometimes called πανήγυρις ὄφεως.[n] At first they were celebrated once every ninth year,[o] and hence that period was denominated ἐννεατηρὶς; but afterwards they were observed every fifth year, which period was called πενταετηρίς.

The rewards were certain apples consecrated to Apollo,[p] and garlands of laurel.[q] At the first institution of these games, the victors were crowned with garlands of palm,[r] or of beech.[s] Some say that, in the first Pythian solemnity, the gods contended in horse-races,

[c] Aristoph. Ran. v. 804.
[d] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. v. c. 8.
[e] Aristoph. Plut. v. 586.
[f] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[g] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. cap. 55.
[h] Pausan. Eliac.
[i] Pindar. Olymp. vi. epod. γ. v. 14.
[k] Etymolog. Auctor.
[l] Pausan. Corinthiacis.
[m] Ovid. Met. lib. i. v. 445.
[n] Clem. Alex.
[o] Plut. Quæst. Græc.
[p] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[q] Pindar. Pyth. Od. viii. v. 28. Pausan. Phocic. Ælian. Var. Hist. iii. 1.
[r] Plut. Sympos. viii. probl. 4.
[s] Ovid. Met. lib. i. v. 449.

running, throwing the quoit, boxing, wrestling, &c. and that Apollo honored the victors with crowns of laurel; but others[t] assert that at first there was only a musical contest, in which he who best sang the praises of Apollo obtained the prize, which was either gold or silver, or something of value, but which was afterwards changed into a garland. If the prize was money, the games were called ἀγῶνες ἀργυρῖται; if only a garland, ἀγῶνες στεφανῖται, φυλλῖναι, &c. The songs were sung on the harp, and were thence called κιθαρῳδίαι.

There was also another song called Πυθικὸς νόμος, to which a dance was performed. It consisted of these five parts, in which the contest of Apollo and Python was represented:[u] 1. ἀνάκρουσις, which contained the preparation to battle; 2. ἄμπειρα, the first essay towards it; 3. κατακελευσμὸς, the action itself, and the god's exhortation to himself to be courageous; 4. ἴαμβοι καὶ δάκτυλοι, the insulting sarcasms of Apollo over the vanquished Python; 5. σύριγγες, the hiss of the serpent when he died. Some divide this song into the six parts following:—1. πεῖρα, the preparation; 2. ἴαμβος, in which Apollo dared Python to engage him by invectives, for ἰαμβίζειν signifies to reproach; 3. δάκτυλος, which was sung in honor of Bacchus, to whom those numbers were thought most acceptable; 4. κρητικὸς, in honor of Jupiter, who was the father of Apollo, and thought to delight in such feet as were used in Crete; 5. μητρῷον, in honor of mother Earth, to whom the Delphian oracle at first belonged; 6. συριγμὸς, the hissing of the serpent. By others it is thus described:—1. πεῖρα, the preparation; 2. κατακελευσμὸς, the challenge; 3. ἰαμβικὸς, the fight, from iambic verses, which express passion and rage; 4. σπονδεῖος, from the feet of that name, or from σπένδειν, to offer a libation, because it was the celebration of victory; 5. καταχόρευσις, a representation of Apollo's dancing after his victory.[v]

In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, flutes, (αὐλῳδίαι, songs on the flute,) which till that time had not been used in this solemnity, were introduced by the Amphictyons, who were presidents of these games;[w] but because flutes appeared more proper for funereal songs, they were soon laid aside. The Amphictyons also added all the gymnastic exercises used in the Olympian games;[x] and they enacted a law that none but boys should contend in running. Afterwards, horse and chariot-races,[y] and contests in poetry and the fine arts,[z] were introduced.

These games were celebrated on the sixth,[a] or, as others say, on the seventh day,[b] of the Delphic month Βύσιον, which corresponds with the Athenian Θαργηλιὼν; but whether they continued more days than one is uncertain.

[t] Strab. lib. xi. Pausan. Phocic.
[u] Strabo lib. ix.
[v] Poll. lib. iv. cap. 10. seg. 84.
[w] Strab. lib. ix. Pausan. Phocic. Plut. Sympos. v. probl. 2.
[x] Pausan. ibid. Schol. Pindar.
[y] Pausan. ibid. Schol. Pindar.
[z] Plut. Sympos. v. probl. 2. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 37.
[a] Plut. Sympos. viii. probl. 1. Idem Quæst. Græc.
[b] Schol. Pindar.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Nemean Games.

THE Nemean games derived their name from Nemea,[c] a village and grove between the cities of Cleonæ and Phlius,[d] where they were celebrated every third year, on the twelfth of the Corinthian month Πάνεμος,[e] sometimes called Ἱερομηνία, which corresponds with the Athenian Βοηδρομιών. Some of the games, however, were observed in summer, and others in winter.[f] The exercises were chariot-races and all the parts of the πένταθλον.[g] The presidents were elected from Corinth, Argos, and Cleonæ,[h] and were dressed in black clothes, because these games were a funereal solemnity, and therefore sometimes called ἀγὼν ἐπιτάφιος,[i] being instituted in memory of Opheltes,[k] who was also denominated Archemorus, from ἀρχὴ, a beginning, and μόρος, death, because Amphiaraus foretold his death soon after he was born, or because his death was a prelude to all the misfortunes which befel the Theban champions.[l] Some say that these games were instituted by Hercules after his victory over the Nemean lion,[m] in honor of Jupiter;[n] and others, that they were appointed in memory of Archemorus, but being intermitted were revived by Hercules, and consecrated to Jupiter.

The victors were crowned with parsley,[o] which was an herb used at funerals, and fabled to have sprung from the blood of Archemorus; but, at first, they were rewarded with a crown of olive.[p]

CHAP. XXIV.

The Isthmian Games.

THE Isthmian games derived their name from the place where they were celebrated, which was the Corinthian Isthmus, a neck of land that joins Peloponnesus to the continent. They were held near a temple of Neptune, and a wood of pine-trees consecrated to that god.[q] They were instituted in honor of Palæmon or Melicertes, son of Athamas, king of Thebes, and Ino, who, through fear of her husband, cast herself, with Melicertes, into the sea, where they were received by Neptune among his divinities. The body of Palæmon was afterwards taken up by a dolphin, and carried to the Corinthian

[c] Pausan. Corinth. Schol. Pindar.
[d] Strabo lib. viii. Plin. vi. 6.
[e] Schol. Pindar.
[f] Pausan. Corinth.
[g] Pausan. Eliac. Corinth. Pindar. Nem. Od. v. str. α'. v. 9.
[h] Schol. Pindar. in hypoth. 3. ad Nem.
[i] Schol. Pindar.
[k] Apollod. iii. 6. seg. 4.
[l] Schol. Pindar. Stat. Theb. lib. iv. lib. v.
[m] Pindar. Schol.
[n] Pindar. Nem. Od. iii. str. δ'. v. 4.
[o] Plut. Timoleon. Pausan. lib. viii. cap. 48. Lucian. de Gymnas. Plin. lib. xix. cap. 18.
[p] Schol. Pindar.
[q] Strab. lib. viii. Pausan. Corinth. Pindar. Olymp. Od. xiii. v. 5. Isthm. Od. i.

shore, where it was found by Sisyphus, king of Corinth, who gave it an honorable interment, and instituted these games to his memory.[r] Some say that they were instituted by Theseus in honor of Neptune. It is probable, however, that their first institution was in honor of Melicertes, but that they were afterwards altered, enlarged, and re-instituted by Theseus in honor of Neptune.[s]

The Eleans were the only people in Greece who absented themselves from this solemnity, in consequence of a dreadful execration denounced against them, if they should ever be present at the celebration of the Isthmian games.[t] These games were τριετηρικοὶ, celebrated every third year,[u] that is, after the completion of every two years; though some are of opinion that they were held annually, and others every fifth year.[v] They were considered so sacred and inviolable, that after being intermitted for some time through the oppression of Cypselus, king of Corinth, they were revived with redoubled splendor and magnificence. When Corinth was sacked and demolished, they were not discontinued; but the care of them was committed to the Sicyonians, till that city was rebuilt.[w]

The contests were the same as in the other sacred games.[x] At first, the victors were rewarded with garlands of pine-leaves,[y] and afterwards with parsley, which was dry and withered,[z] instead of being fresh and green, as in the Nemean games. In subsequent times the use of parsley was laid aside, and the pine-tree came again into request.[a]

CHAP. XXV.

Time.

The writers of fables say that Οὐρανὸς, king of the Atlantic islands, was the father of all the gods, and that he gave his name to the heavens, which from him were called οὐρανὸς, because he was the inventor of astrology.[b] Some, however, ascribe that and the whole science of the celestial bodies to Atlas, by whom these discoveries were communicated to Hercules, who first imparted them to the Greeks; and hence both these heroes are fabled to have supported the heavens upon their shoulders.[c] The Cretans pretended that Hyperion first observed the motions of the sun, moon, and stars;[d] but the Arcadians ascribed the discovery of the motion of the moon to Endymion.[e] Lastly, others say that Actis or Actæus, who lived in the time of Cecrops, and resided in the isle of Rhodes, invented the

[r] Pausan. Corinth. Attic. Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp. v. 1404. Ovid. Met. lib. iv. v. 531.
[s] Plut. Theseo; Aristoph. Equ. v. 606.
[t] Pausan. Eliac.
[u] Pindar. Nem. Od. vi. epod. β'. v. 6.
[v] Plin. iv. 5.
[w] Pausan. Corinth.
[x] Dio Chrysost.
[y] Pausan. Arcad. Lucian. de Gymnas. Plin. xv. 10.
[z] Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. Od. ii. epod. α'. v. 7.
[a] Plut. Sympos. v. probl. 3.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. iii.
[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Idem lib. v.
[e] Apollon. Schol. in lib. iv.

science of astrology, which he communicated to the Egyptians.[f] Certain, however, it is, that the first study of astronomy has been generally ascribed to the Grecian colonies which inhabited Asia, and which are supposed to have learned it from the Babylonians or Egyptians, and to have communicated it to the Greeks.[g]

In the heroic ages, the years were numbered by the return of seed-time and harvest, and by the seasons of labor and rest. The day was not then divided into certain and equal portions of time, but measured by the access and recess of the sun.[h] Hence the more ancient Greeks distinguished the natural day, that is, the time from the rising to the setting of the sun, into three parts, the first of which was called ἠὼς, the morning, the second μέσον ἦμαρ, the middle of the day, and the third δείλη, the evening.[i] Again δείλη, the evening, was subdivided into δείλη πρωΐα, the early part of the evening, and δείλη ὀψία, the latter part of the evening; the former was the time after dinner, when the sun began to decline, and the latter about the setting of the sun.[k] Nor were the Greeks more accurate in distinguishing the several portions of time, till they learned the use of the sun-dial, and the pole, and the twelve parts of the day from the Babylonians.[l]

In the time of Homer, however, lunar months seem to have been in use;[m] but that the Greeks had then no settled form of years and months appears from what is said respecting Thales the Milesian, who, having observed that the lunar revolution never exceeded thirty days, appointed twelve months of thirty days each, by which the year was made to consist of 360 days. In order to reduce these months to an agreement with the revolution of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of every two years;[n] by which means this period of two years contained seven hundred and fifty days, and exceeded two solar years by twenty days.

Afterwards, Solon observing that the course of the moon was finished in twenty-nine days and a half, and that the computation of Thales was erroneous, appointed that the months should consist alternately of 29 and 30 days. Thus an entire year of twelve months was reduced to 354 days, which fell short of the solar year by eleven days and about one fourth part of a day. In order to reconcile this difference, τετραετηρὶς, a cycle of four years, was invented. By this the Greeks, after the first two years, seem to have added an intercalated month of twenty-two days; and after the expiration of two years more, another intercalated month, which consisted of twenty-three days. Thus Solon prevented the lunar years from exceeding those which are measured by the revolution of the sun.

Afterwards it was considered that the forty-five days added by Solon to his period of four years, and containing a full lunar month and a half, would occasion this cycle to end in the midst of a lunar month. To remedy this inconvenience, ὀκταετηρὶς, a term of eight

[f] Diod. Sic. lib. v.
[g] Suid. Laert. in Vit. Philosoph. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 76.
[h] Eustath. Il. λ'. v. 84.
[i] Hom. Il. φ'. v. 111. et passim.
[k] Hesych. v. δείλη.
[l] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 109.
[m] Hom. Odys. ξ'. v. 161.
[n] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 32. lib. ii. cap. 4.

years, was instituted instead of the former cycle of four years, to which three entire lunar months were added at several times.

After the cycle of eight years, no change was made in the calendar till the time of Meton, who, having observed that the motions of the sun and moon fell short of each other by some hours, and that this disagreement, though at first scarcely perceivable, would entirely invert the seasons in the course of a few ages, invented a cycle of nineteen years, which was called *ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς*. In this term the sun having finished nineteen periods, and the moon 235, both returned to the same position in the heavens in which they had been nineteen years before.

It was afterwards observed, that in the revolution of every cycle the moon outwent the sun about seven hours. To prevent this Calippus contrived a new cycle, which contained four of those of Meton, or seventy-six years. Perceiving some small disagreement between the sun and moon at the end of this term, Hipparchus devised another cycle, which contained four of those instituted by Calippus. According to other accounts, one of Meton's cycles contained eight *ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδες*, or 152 years. This was afterwards divided into two equal parts, and from each part was taken one day, which was found to be superfluous in the cycle of Meton.

It is observable that the years of different nations were not begun at the same time. The Roman January, which was their first month, was in the depth of winter. The Macedonians reckoned Dius their first month from the autumnal equinox. The ancient Athenian year began after the winter solstice; the more modern Athenians computed their years from the first new moon after the summer solstice. The ancient Arcadians divided the year into three months, and afterwards into four months; the Acarnanians reckoned six months to the year; but most of the Greeks of later ages gave twelve months to the year, besides those which were intercalated to adjust the solar and lunar periods. The months were not constantly of the same length, some containing thirty, and others a different number of days. The Athenians, and most of the more modern Greeks, made use of lunar months; but the Macedonians, and all the ancient Greeks, measured their months by the motion of the sun.

The Athenians, whose year is chiefly followed by ancient authors, after their calendar had been reformed by Meton, began their year on the first new moon after the summer solstice.[o] Their year was divided into twelve months, which contained thirty and twenty-nine days alternately; so that the months of thirty days always preceded those of twenty-nine. The months which contained thirty days were termed *πλήρεις*, full, and *δεκαφθινοὶ*, as ending on the tenth day; those which consisted of twenty-nine days, *κοῖλοι*, hollow, and *ἐναφθινοὶ*, from their concluding on the ninth day.

The names and order of the Athenian months were as follows:—

1. *Ἑκατομβαιών*, which was *πλήρης* or *δεκαφθινὸς*, a month of thirty days. It began on the first new moon after the summer solstice, and corresponded with the latter part of the Roman June, and with the

[o] Plato de Leg. lib. vi.

first part of July. It derived its name from the great number of hecatombs, which were usually sacrificed in this month;[p] but its ancient name was Κρόνιος, or Κρονιὼν, which was derived from Κρόνια, the festival of Cronus or Saturn observed in this month. It was the same as the Corinthian month Panemus, and the Macedonian Lous.

2. Μεταγειτνιὼν, which was κοῖλος or ἐναφθινὸς, a month of twenty-nine days, derived its name from Metagitnia, a festival of Apollo celebrated at this time.[q] It was the same as the Corinthian month Carnius, and the Macedonian Gorpiæus.

3. Βοηδρομιὼν, a month of thirty days, which derived its name from the festival Boedromia,[r] and which was called Hyperberetæus by the Macedonians.

4. Μαιμακτηριὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, which derived its name from the festival Mæmacteria, and which was called Apellæus by the Macedonians.[s]

5. Πυανεψιὼν, a month of thirty days, in which the Pyanepsia were celebrated, and which was called Dius by the Macedonians.

6. Ἀνθεστηριὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, which derived its name from the festival Anthesteria, and which corresponded with the Dystrus of the Macedonians.

7. Ποσειδεὼν, a month of thirty days, in which the festival Posidonia was observed, and which was called Audynæus by the Macedonians.

8. Γαμηλιὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, which was sacred to Juno Γαμήλιος, the goddess of marriage,[t] and which was the same as the Peritius of the Macedonians.

9. Ἐλαφηβολιὼν, a month of thirty days, which derived its name from the festival Elaphebolia, and which was the same as the Macedonian Xanthicus.

10. Μουνυχιὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, in which the Munychia were observed, and which was called Artemisius by the Macedonians.

11. Θαργηλιὼν, a month of thirty days, which derived its name from the festival Thargelia, and which corresponded with the Daesius of the Macedonians.

12. Σκιῤῥοφοριὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, which received its name from the feast Scirrophoria, and which was called Panemus by the Macedonians.

Every month was divided into τρία δεχήμερα, three decades of days:[u] the first of which was called μηνὸς ἀρχομένου, or ἱσταμένου, of the month commencing; the second, μηνὸς μεσοῦντος, of the middle of the month; and the third, μηνὸς φθίνοντος, πανομένου, or λήγοντος, of the month departing.

I. The first day of the first decade was called νεομηνία or νουμηνία, because it happened on the new moon; the second, δευτέρα ἱσταμένου; the third, τρίτη ἱσταμένου, &c., to δεκάτη ἱσταμένου, the tenth day of the first decade, on the tenth day of the month.

[p] Harpocrat.
[q] Idem. Plut de Exil.
[r] Harpocrat. Plut. Theseo.
[s] Hesych. in voc.
[t] Pollux lib. i. cap. 7. seg. 63.

II. The first day of the second decade, which was the eleventh day of the month, was called *πρώτη μεσοῦντος*, the first of the middle of the month, or *πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα*, the first after ten;[u] the second, *δευτέρα μεσοῦντος*, or *δευτέρα ἐπὶ δέκα*; the third, *τρίτη μεσοῦντος*, or *τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα*, &c., to the *εἰκὰς*, twentieth, which was the last day of the second decade.

III. The first day of the third decade was called *πρώτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι*, the first after the twentieth; the second, *δευτέρα ἐπ' εἰκάδι*; the third, *τρίτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι*, &c. Sometimes the numbers were inverted as follows:—the first of the last decade, which was the twenty-first day of the month, was called *φθίνοντος δεκάτη*;[v] the second, *φθίνοντος ἐνάτη*; the third, *φθίνοντος ὀγδόη*, &c., to the last day of the month, which was denominated by Solon *ἕνη καὶ νέα*, the old and new;[w] because one part of the day belonged to the old, the other to the new moon.[x] After the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the last day of the month received from him the name of *Δημητριάς*.[y] The last day of the month was also called *τριακὰς*, the thirtieth,[z] as well in the months of thirty, as in those of twenty-nine days only; for in the latter, according to some, the twenty-second, and according to others, the twenty-ninth day was omitted.[a] The thirtieth day was constantly retained; and hence all the months were called months of thirty days; and the lunar year of Athens was denominated a year of 360 days, though after the time of Solon it consisted only of 354 days. The Athenians, therefore, erected to Demetrius, the Phalerean, three hundred and sixty statues, of which one was intended for every day in the year.[b]

[u] Pollux ibid. Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. v. 1129.
[v] Schol. Aristoph. ibid.
[w] Plut. Solone; Diog. Laert.
[x] Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. Suidas in voc.
[y] Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. v. 1129. Plut. Demetr.
[z] Hesiod. Op. et Di. v. 766.
[a] Procl. Tzetz.
[b] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 6.

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK IV.

MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE GREEKS.

CHAP. I.

Levies, Pay, &c., of the Soldiers.

THE Grecian armies consisted chiefly of free denizens, whom the laws of their country obliged, at a certain age, to appear in arms at the summons of the magistrate. In some places they were admitted into the army at an earlier age than in others. The Athenians at eighteen years of age were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it; and hence they were called *περίπολοι*;[a] but they were not sent to foreign wars till the age of twenty, and the Spartans seldom till that of thirty. In both cities the young and the aged were left to defend their habitations. At threescore it was usual in most places to allow them to retire. At Athens, no man who was above forty years of age was obliged to serve in war, except in times of great danger.[b] Farmers of the public revenue,[c] several of the holy orders, persons appointed to dance at the festival of Bacchus,[d] slaves, and those on whom the freedom of the city had not been conferred, were exempted.

They who served were entered in a public roll; and hence the levy was called *καταγραφὴ*, *κατάλογος*, *στρατολογία*; and to make a levy *κατάλογον* or *καταγραφὴν ποιεῖσθαι*. Among the ancient Greeks it was frequently made by lot, every family being obliged to furnish a certain number.[e] The soldiers were maintained at their own expense; but no one was permitted to absent himself, except for reasons which the law allowed; and at Athens, he who thus transgressed was deprived of the rights of a citizen, and excluded from the public temples.[f] Lest any of the persons appointed to serve should escape, they

[a] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. iii.
[b] Idem ibid.
[c] Demosth. in Neær.
[d] Idem in Midian.
[e] Hom. Il. *ω*′.
[f] Æschin. Ctesiph. Demosth. Timocr.

were branded with certain marks called *στίγματα*, which were impressed on their hands, to distinguish them from slaves who were commonly marked on their foreheads.[g]

The Carians were the first that served in Greece for pay.[h] Hence their names became infamous; and *καρικοὶ* and *καρίμοιροι* are proverbial epithets for cowards or slaves;[i] and Κᾶρες is a synonymous term for slaves.[k] In order to ingratiate himself with the common people, Pericles introduced the custom of paying soldiers at Athens.[l] At first, the foot soldiers had two oboli a day, which in a month amounted to ten drachms.[m] Afterwards, they had four oboli; and hence *τετρωβόλου βίος* was a proverbial expression for a soldier's life,[n] and *τετρωβολίζειν* for serving in war. A common seaman was allowed a drachm a day, with another drachm for a servant;[o] and they who manned the sacred vessel called Πάραλος were allowed three oboli. The pay of soldiers of cavalry, which was termed *κατάστασις*,[p] was a drachm a day.

When the treasury was exhausted, and the revenues from tributary cities, public lands, woods, mines, &c., were not sufficient to defray the charges of the war, money was raised by imposing a tax, by which all persons were obliged to contribute according to the value of their estates. In times of greater necessity, the rich at Athens paid extraordinary contributions. Confederate wars were maintained at the common charge of all the allies.[q]

CHAP. II.

Different Sorts of Soldiers.

The Grecian armies were composed of different sorts of soldiers: their main body usually consisted of infantry; and the rest rode in chariots, on horseback, or on elephants.

The foot soldiers were distinguished into three sorts:—1. Ὁπλῖται, who bore heavy armor, and engaged with broad shields and long spears.[r] 2. Ψιλοὶ, light-armed men, who fought with arrows and darts, or stones and slings, and annoyed their enemies at a distance, but were unfit for close fight. In honor and dignity they were inferior to the heavy-armed soldiers,[s] behind whose shields they sought protection after they had discharged their arrows.[t] 3. Πελτασταὶ,[u] who were a middle sort between the ψιλοὶ and ὁπλῖται, who carried shields and spears, which, however, were greatly inferior in size to those of the heavy-armed men, and who derived their name from their narrow shields called πέλται.

At first, the Grecian horsemen were not very numerous, being only

[g] Ælian.
[h] Strabo; Hesychius.
[i] Hesychius.
[k] Aristophanes.
[l] Ulpian. Orat. de Sytax.
[m] Demosth. Philipp. i.
[n] Eustath. Odys. α'.
[o] Thucyd. lib. iii.
[p] Suidas.
[q] Plut. Aristide.
[r] Suidas.
[s] Sophocl. Ajac. v. 1141.
[t] Hom. Il. θ'. v. 266.
[u] Suid. Ælian. Tact. cap. 2.

such as were possessed of estates, and able to maintain horses at their own expense.[v] Hence both at Athens and Sparta, ἱππεῖς, horsemen, composed the second order in the commonwealth. Afterwards, they employed substitutes to serve for them.[w]

Some say that the art of horsemanship was first taught by the Amazons;[x] some, by the Centaurs;[y] some, by Bellerophon;[z] and others, by Neptune,[a] who was therefore called Ἵππιος,[b] Ἱππαρχος,[c] Ἱππηγέτης,[d] and Ἱπποκούριος. At first, horses were governed with a rope or switch, and by the voice.[e] Afterwards they used bridles, which had bits of iron like the teeth of a wolf, and were therefore called λύκοι. Some say that bridles were invented by Neptune;[f] some, by the Lapithæ;[g] and others, by Pelethronius,[h] to whom also is attributed the invention of harness, which was called στρώματα and ἐφίππια, and which was made of leather, cloth, or the skins of wild beasts.[i]

The ancient Greeks used no stirrups or saddles, but leaped upon horseback,[k] or taught their horses to bow their bodies, and receive their riders.[l] Sometimes in leaping upon horseback they used their spears. Some mounted their horses by getting upon the backs of their slaves;[m] and others by the help of short ladders; and both these assistances were termed ἀναβολεῖς. Lastly, the highways were adorned with stones erected for this purpose.[n] Some say that the first heroes were mounted upon horses;[o] but others, with greater truth, that they rode to battle in chariots.[p] The Lapithæ, who lived about the time of Hercules, are said to have been the first that rode upon horses, and by that means excited the astonishment of the Greeks, who considered them as monsters partaking of the different forms of men and horses, or bulls, upon which they frequently rode instead of horses. Hence originated the fables of the Centaurs and Hippocentaurs. It is, indeed, more than probable that at the time of the Trojan war, the custom of riding and fighting upon horses was not commonly adopted by the Greeks, since the heroes of Homer are always introduced into the battle in chariots, and never on horseback;[q] and the soldiers who were carried in chariots are sometimes termed ἱππεῖς.[r]

The chariots of princes and heroes were made not only for service but for ornament, being richly embossed with gold and other metals,[s] and also adorned with curious hangings:

[v] Herodot. lib. v.
[w] Xenoph. Ἑλληνικ. lib. vi.
[x] Lysias Orator.
[y] Palæphat. lib. i.
[z] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.
[a] Hom. Hymn. Sophocl. Œdip.
[b] Pausan. Achaic.
[c] Pindar. Pyth.
[d] Lycophr. Cassandr.
[e] Sil. Ital. lib. i. et ii. Strab. lib. xvii. Lucan. lib. iv.
[f] Statius.
[g] Virg. Georg. lib. iii. v. 115.
[h] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.
[i] Virg. Æn. lib. vii. et viii. Statius.
[k] Virg. Æn. lib. xii.
[l] Poll. lib. i. cap. 11.
[m] Epit. Xenoph.
[n] Xenoph. Hipparcho.
[o] Lucret. lib. v.
[p] Palæphat.
[q] Hom. Il. ψ. v. 501.
[r] Idem ib. β'. v. 810.
[s] Idem ib. κ'. v. 438.

——ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλοι
Πέπανται.[t]
There veiled in spacious coverlets they stand. Pope.

They were drawn for the most part by two horses coupled together.[u] To these two was sometimes added a third, which ran first, and was governed with reins, and therefore called σειραῖος, σειραφόρος, παράσειρος, and παρήορος;[v] and the rein was denominated παρηορία. Sometimes chariots were drawn by four horses.[w]

Every chariot carried two men; and hence it was called δίφρος, quasi δίφορος.[x] One of these two was the charioteer, and was denominated ἡνίοχος, because he governed the reins, which was not a servile or an ignoble office;[y] but the charioteer was inferior, if not in dignity, at least in strength and valor to the warrior, who was called παραιβάτης, and who directed him which way to drive.[z] When the warrior encountered in close fight, he alighted from the chariot;[a] and when he became weary, he retired into the chariot, and annoyed his enemy with darts and missive weapons. There were also chariots called δρεπανηφόροι, because armed with hooks or scythes, with which whole ranks of soldiers were cut down.

Of all the Greeks, the Thessalians were accounted the best horsemen; and their cavalry was in greatest esteem.[b] The Colophonians were considered invincible; and hence they who obtained supplies from them were so certain of victory and success, that κολοφῶνα τιθέναι was proverbially used for putting an end to any affair.[c] The Lacedæmonians were ill supplied with cavalry; and till the Messenian wars, neither they nor the other Peloponnesians employed themselves in horsemanship, but reposed their chief confidence in the infantry.[d] But after the Spartans had subdued the Messenians, they had teachers of the art of horsemanship, whom they called ἡνιοχαράται.[e] The greatest part of their cavalry, however, was furnished by Sciros,[f] a town not far distant from Sparta. Attica being also a hilly country, the Athenian cavalry were very few in number,[g] till they had expelled the Medes and Persians out of Greece, when they increased them to three hundred, and afterwards to twelve hundred, and also armed an equal number of men with bows and arrows;[h] for at all times the strength of the Grecian armies consisted in the heavy-armed infantry.

The Athenians admitted no one into the number of their cavalry, till he had been previously examined by the ἵππαρχος, general of the horse, who, if occasion required, was assisted by the phylarchi and

[t] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 194.
[u] Idem ib. π'. v. 149. ε'. v. 195. Virg. Æn. lib. vii. v. 280.
[v] Hom. Il. π'. v. 471.
[w] Idem ib. θ'. v. 185.
[x] Eustath. ad Il. ρ'.
[y] Hom. Il. θ'. et ρ'.
[z] Eustath. ad Il. θ'.
[a] Hom. Il. ρ'. v. 480. Virg. Æn. lib. x. Hesiod. Scut.
[b] Xenoph. de Agesil. Pausan. Phocic. Justin. lib. vii. cap. 6.
[c] Strabo lib. xiv.
[d] Pausan. lib. iv.
[e] Hesychius.
[f] Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. iv.
[g] Pollux.
[h] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. Andocid. de Pace.

senate of five hundred.[i] If any person had been fraudulently admitted into the roll, he was disfranchised,[k] and declared *ἄτιμος*. Horses were examined, and such as were found timid or ungovernable were rejected: this examination was performed by the sound of a bell; and hence *κωδωνίζειν* signifies to try or prove, and *ἀκωδώνιστον*, that which is untried.[l] Horses, worn out with service, were branded on the jaw with a mark, frequently termed *τροχὸς*,[m] being the figure of a wheel or circle, and sometimes denominated *τρυσίππιον*;[n] by this mark they were released from farther service; and hence *ἐπιβάλλειν τρυσίππιον* signifies to excuse.[o]

There were various names of horsemen, most of which were derived from the variety of their armor, or from their different manner of fighting; as *ἀκροβολισταὶ*, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons at a distance, *δορατοφόροι*, *ξυστοφόροι*, *ὑπακοντισταὶ*, *ἱπποτοξόται*, *κοντοφόροι*, *θυρεοφόροι*, &c. who are sufficiently designated by their names.[p] *Ἀμφίπποι*, sometimes by mistake or corruption called *ἄνιπποι*, were such as had two horses, on which they rode by turns;[q] they were also sometimes denominated *ἱππαγωγοί*, because they led one of their horses; and this contrivance was practised soon after the heroic times.[r] *Διμάχαι* were appointed by Alexander the Great, and wore armor rather heavier than that of common horsemen, that they might serve either upon horseback or on foot; for which reason they had always servants attending to take their horses when the general commanded them to alight.[s]

Horsemen were also distinguished into *κατάφρακτοι* and *μὴ κατάφρακτοι*, heavy and light armed. The *κατάφρακτοι*, cuirassiers, were not only fortified with armor themselves, but their horses were covered with solid plates of brass, or other metal, which, from the parts defended by them, were called *προμετωπίδια*, *παρώτια*, *παρήϊα*, *προστερνίδια*, *παραπλευρίδια*, *παραμηρίδια*, *παρακνημίδια*, &c.;[t] and sometimes these coverings were made of skins, with plates of metal curiously wrought into plumes or other forms.[u] The horses were also decked with various ornaments, as bells; with clothing of tapestry, embroidery, and other curious work; and with rich collars and trappings called *φάλαρα*.

We find no mention of camels and elephants in the wars of the Greeks till the time of Alexander the Great, when elephants were brought from the east. After that period elephants carried into battle large towers, which contained ten, fifteen, and, as some say, thirty soldiers, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons.[v] The beasts themselves terrified their opposers with their noise, trampled them under their feet, tossed them into the air, or delivered them to their riders.[w] Nor was it unusual for them to engage each other in

[i] Aristoph. Schol. in Ran. Xenoph. Hipparch. Hesych. v. *τρυσίππιον*.
[k] Lys. Orat. de Ord. Desert.
[l] Hesych.
[m] Idem.
[n] Idem.
[o] Eustath. ad Odys. δ'.
[p] Ælian. in Tactic.
[q] Suid. Poll. lib. i. cap. 10.
[r] Hom. Il. o'. v. 684.
[s] Pollux loc. cit.
[t] Idem ibid.
[u] Virg. Æn. lib. xi. v. 770.
[v] Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. i. cap. 6.
[w] Quint. Curt. lib. viii.

combat, and tear their adversaries in pieces with their teeth.[x] In a short time, however, they were laid aside, being found unserviceable in war.

CHAP. III.

Military Armor and Weapons.

Mythologists say that Mars was the first that wore armor; and perhaps for that reason he was called the god of war. He employed Vulcan, a smith in the isle of Lemnos, so eminent in his art as to be deified, and honored with the protection of his own trade; but the Lemnians were afterwards represented as the common enemies of mankind, and branded with infamy for so destructive an invention; and hence they were called Σίντιες,[y] and their country was denominated Σίντηϊς.[z] From the same origin are also derived the common proverbs, Λήμνια κακὰ, great evils, Λημνία χεὶρ, a mischievous hand, and Λήμνιον βλέπειν, to have a bloody look.[a] Others say that Bacchus was the first that introduced the use of weapons.[b]

The arms of the primitive heroes were composed of brass.[c] Even after mankind became acquainted with the use of iron, the artificers and their occupation retained their ancient names; and hence χαλκεὺς denotes an iron-smith,[d] and ἐχαλκεύσατο is applied to the making of iron helmets.[e] Their boots, and some other parts of their armor, were made of tin.[f] The most illustrious heroes used gold and silver only as graceful ornaments; and they whose whole armor was composed of them were deemed effeminate:

> Ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἴεν ἠΰτε κούρη,
> Νήπιος.[g]
>
> Who tricked with gold, and glittering on his car,
> Rode like a woman to the field of war;
> Fool that he was! Pope.

The arms of warriors were frequently adorned with representations of their noble exploits, or covered with terrible images to strike terror into the enemy.[h]

The arms of the Greeks are distinguished into two sorts; those which were contrived for defence, and those which were intended to annoy the enemy. The ancient Greeks were better furnished with the former than with the latter.[i]

The head was guarded with a helmet called περικεφαλαία,[k] κράνος,[l] κόρυς,[m] κυνέη,[n] &c. It was sometimes made of brass or other metals,[o]

[x] Polyb. lib. v.
[y] Hom. Il. α'.
[z] Apollon. Argon. ii.
[a] Eustath. Il. α'.
[b] Isidor. Orig. lib. ix. cap. 3.
[c] Hesiod. Op. et Dier. Hom. Pausan. Lacon. Plut. Theseo.
[d] Aristot. Poet.
[e] Plut. Camillo.
[f] Hom. Il. σ'. λ'. ν'.
[g] Idem ib. β'.
[h] Idem ib. α'.
[i] Euripid. Schol.
[k] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10. seg. 135.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Theocrit. Idyll. xvi. v. 81.
[n] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 257. et 335.
[o] Hom.

and very frequently of the skins of beasts, which occasioned its having those different appellations derived from the different names of animals, as ἰκτιδέη, ταυρείη, ἀλωπεκέη, λεοντέη, αἰγείη, &c. Of these names none is more common than κυνέη, which was made of a dog's skin, and which sometimes denotes a helmet, even when composed of other matter.[p] These skins were always worn with the hair; and to render them more terrible, the teeth were frequently placed in a grinning manner.[q] The forepart of the helmet was open, and to the side was fixed a string, by which it was tied to the neck, and which was called ὀχεύς.[r] That part of the helmet which covered the eye-brows was denominated ὀφρύες; that erected over the brow, γεῖσον, the penthouse; and the crest, φάλος and λόφος, which was first used by the Carians,[s] and thence called Καρικὸς λόφος, the Carian crest.[t] Some say that φάλος signified the cone, and λόφος, the plume;[u] but others will not admit of this distinction. The former was composed of various materials, which were intended as ornaments to the helmet. The latter was also adorned with different kinds of paint; and hence it obtained the epithets of εὐανθὴς, ὑακινθινοβαφής.[v] The crest was commonly made of feathers, or of the hair of horses' tails or manes; and hence it was called λόφος ἱπποχαίτης, κόρυς ἱπποδάσεια, ἵππουρις.[w] The common soldiers wore small crests; officers and persons of distinction had plumes of a larger size.[x] A helmet with three crests or plumes was called τρυφάλεια; when surrounded with plumes, ἀμφίφαλος; and when adorned with four plumes, τετράφαλος.[y] The design of these plumes was to strike the enemy with terror;[z] and for the same reason, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, besides a lofty crest, wore goat's horns upon his helmet.[a] We are told, indeed, that the τρίχωσις, crest itself, was sometimes termed κέρας;[b] but some of the ancient helmets had no crest or cone; and one of this kind was called καταῖτυξ.[c] Other ornaments were used in helmets, as in that denominated στεφάνη, which name signifies the ridge of a mountain, and which on that account was applied to helmets that had several ἐξοχαὶ, eminences.[d] Of all the Grecian helmets, the Bœotian is said to have been the best.[e] The Macedonians had a peculiar one termed καυσία, which was composed of hides, and served instead of a cap to defend them from the cold.[f] Some attribute the invention of helmets to the Lacedæmonians.[g] Certain, however, it is, that the loss of the helmet was not accounted disgraceful by the Spartans, whilst that of the shield was peculiarly ignominious.[h]

The ancient heroes were proud of wearing for their defence the

[p] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 257.
[q] Virg. Æn. vii. v. 666. Hom. Il. κ'. v. 261.
[r] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 371.
[s] Hesych. Herodot. Clio. Strab. lib. xiv.
[t] Alcæus.
[u] Suidas.
[v] Pollux lib. i. cap. 10.
[w] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 382.
[x] Virg. Æn. vii. v. 785. Suidas.
[y] Apollon. lib. iii.
[z] Hom. Il. γ'.
[a] Plut. Pyrrho.
[b] Suidas.
[c] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 258.
[d] Hesych. Hom. Il. λ'. v. 96.
[e] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10.
[f] Suidas.
[g] Plin. lib. viii. cap. 56.
[h] Plut. Apophth.

skins of wild beasts, which they esteemed badges of their prowess.[i] They also used, within the coat of mail, armor of brass, which was lined with wool, and worn next the skin, and which was called *μίτρη*.[k]

Ζῶμα, or *ζωστὴρ*, reached from the knees to the belly, where it was joined to the brigandine; but the latter name, *ζωστὴρ*, is more frequently used for the belt which surrounded the rest of the armor; and this was so essential to a warrior that *ζώννυσθαι* was a general word for putting on armor:

> Ἀτρείδης δ' ἐβόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώννυσθαι ἄνωγεν
> Ἀργείους.[l]
>
> Atrides called, the Greeks commands to arm.

Ζώνη denotes also the whole armor,[m] and *λύειν τὴν ζώνην*, to disarm;[n] but *ζώνη* is a more general name than *ζωστὴρ*, and signifies the *μίτρη*.

Θώραξ consisted of two parts, one of which was a defence to the back, the other to the breast; the extremes of which were termed *πτέρυγες*, and the middle *γύαλα*.[o] The sides were coupled together with a sort of buttons.[p] Ἡμιθωράκιον was a half *θώραξ*, breast-plate, which is said to have been invented by Jason,[q] and was much esteemed by Alexander, who thinking that the entire *θώραξ*, which guarded the back as well as the breast, might induce his soldiers to turn their backs upon their enemies, commanded them to arm themselves with the *ἡμιθωράκια*, breast-plates, that in flight their backs might be exposed naked to the enemy.[r] Some of the thoraces were made of line, or hemp twisted into small cords, and set close together; and these were frequently used in hunting, because the teeth of lions and other wild beasts could not pierce them,[s] and sometimes also in war;[t] but thoraces were commonly made of brass, iron, or other metal,[u] which was sometimes so hardened as to be proof against the greatest force.[v] This armor was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one piece of metal, or of two continued pieces, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was termed *θώραξ στάδιος*,[w] or *στατός*.[x] The other was made of a beast's hide, and was set with plates of metal of various forms; sometimes in hooks or rings, not unlike a chain, when the breast-plate was called *θώραξ ἀλυσιδωτὸς*;[y] sometimes resembling feathers, or the scales of serpents or fishes, when it was denominated *θώραξ λεπιδωτὸς*[z] and *φολιδωτὸς*,[a] &c. The single plates being sometimes pierced through by spears and missive weapons, it was customary to strengthen them

[i] Theocrit. Διοσκ. Hom. Virg. Æn. v. v. 36.
[k] Hom. Il. δ'.
[l] Idem ib. λ'. v. 15.
[m] Pausan. Bœot.
[n] Herodot. Urania cap. 120.
[o] Pollux; Pausan. Atticis.
[p] Pausan. Atticis.
[q] Pollux.
[r] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. iv.
[s] Pausan. Atticis.
[t] Hom. Il. β'. v. 529. Corn. Nep. in Iphicrat.
[u] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 371. et 397. α'. v. 371. Pausan. Phocic.
[v] Plut. Demetrio.
[w] Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. iii. v. 1225.
[x] Hesych. Eustath. ad Il. δ'.
[y] Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ad lib. iii. v. 1225. Virg. Æn. iii. v. 467.
[z] Herodot. lib. ix.
[a] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10. seg. 134.

by placing two, three, or more plates over each other;[b] and hence they were called *διπλοῖ*, *τριπλοῖ*, &c.

Κνημῖδες were greaves of brass, copper, or other metal, to defend the legs:

> ——*κνημῖδας ὀριχάλκοιο φαεινοῦ,*
> *Ἡφαίστου κλυτὰ δῶρα, περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκεν.*[c]
> The greaves of shining brass, which Vulcan gave,
> He round his ancles placed.

sometimes they were made of tin:

> *Τεῦξε δέ οἱ κνημῖδας ἐανοῦ κασσιτέροιο.*[d]
> He forged the greaves of ductile tin.

The sides were commonly closed about the ancles with buttons, which were sometimes of solid gold or silver.[e] It is probable that this piece of armor was at first either peculiar to the Greeks, or at least more generally used by them than by other nations; as we find them so frequently called *ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί*.[f]

Χείρεις were guards for the hands, which were used by some of the Greeks.

Ἀσπὶς was a shield or buckler, which was sometimes composed of wickers woven together;[g] and hence it was called *ἰτέα*.[h] It was also made of wood; and because it was necessary that the warriors should be able to wield it with ease, they chose for that purpose the lightest wood, as fig, willow, beech, poplar, elder-tree, &c.[i] It was, however, commonly made of hides; and hence we so frequently meet with *ἀσπίδες βόειαι*.[k] These were doubled into several folds, and fortified with plates of metal. The buckler of Ajax was composed of seven folds of hide, and covered with a single plate of brass.[l] That of Achilles was fortified with two plates of brass, two of tin, and a fifth of gold:

> ——*πέντε πτύχας ἦλασε Κυλλοποδίων,*
> *Τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἔνδοθι κασσιτέροιο,*
> *Τὴν δὲ μίαν χρυσῆν.*[m]
> Five plates of various metal, various mould,
> Composed the shield; of brass each outward fold,
> Of tin each inward, and the middle gold. POPE.

The principal parts of the buckler were as follows:—*ἄντυξ*, *ἴτυς*, *περιφέρεια*, or *κύκλος*, was the utmost round or circumference.[n] *Ὀμφαλὸς* and *μεσομφάλιον* was a boss in the middle of the buckler, upon which was fixed another prominence, termed *ἐπομφάλιον*; and hence *ἀσπὶς ὀμφαλόεσσα*.[o] *Τελαμὼν* was a thong of leather, and sometimes a rod of metal, which reached across the buckler, and by which they hung it upon their shoulders;[p] it was sometimes called *κανὼν*,

[b] Stat. Theb. vii. et xii.
[c] Hesiod. Scut.
[d] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 612.
[e] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 330.
[f] Hom. passim.
[g] Virg. Æn. vii. v. 632.
[h] Hesychius.
[i] Plin. lib. iv. cap. 40.
[k] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 452. μ'. v. 425.
[l] Hom. Il. η'. v. 222.
[m] Il. ν'. v. 270.
[n] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 479. Poll. i. 10. seg. 133. Eustath. ad Il. ε'.
[o] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 118.
[p] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 480. π'. v. 802.

unless, as is probable, this is to be understood of the rod to which the τελαμὼν was fastened.[q] Sometimes the bucklers were held by little rings, called πόρπακες;[r] but at length most of the Greeks used a handle, denominated ὄχανον or ὀχάνη,[s] which derived its name from ἔχω, to hold, and which was composed chiefly of small iron bars placed across each other, and resembling the letter χ.[t] Σάγμα, or θήκη τοῦ ὅπλου, was a covering which was used to prevent the buckler from receiving any injury from rain or by attrition, and which was removed when an engagement was about to take place.[u] When the wars were ended, and the bucklers as usual suspended in the temples of the gods, the handles were taken off to render them unserviceable in any sudden insurrection.[v] Little bells were sometimes hung upon bucklers to strike terror into the enemy.[w]

Most of the bucklers were curiously adorned with various figures of birds and beasts, as eagles, lions, &c.; of the gods, of the celestial bodies, and of all the works of nature.[x] The Greeks had several sorts of bucklers, of which those of the Argives were larger than the rest.[y] Most of the ancient bucklers covered the whole body;[z] and hence they called them ἀσπίδας ἀμφιβρότας, and ποδηνεκεῖς, of the same size as a man.[a] The Spartan soldiers had bucklers of brass,[b] inscribed with the initial letters of the word Lacedæmon.[c]

The form of the bucklers was commonly round; and hence they were called ἀσπίδες εὔκυκλοι,[d] πάντοτε ἴσαι,[e] &c.

There were also shields of less size and different forms, the use of several of which was later than the heroic ages. Γέρρον, or γέρρα, was squared like the figure rhombus, and was first used by the Persians.[f] Θυρεὸς was oblong, and bent inward,[g] and was probably the same as that called ἀσπὶς κοίλη ἑτερομήκης.[h] Λαισήϊον was shaped like the last, and composed of hides with the hair, whence it is said to derive its name from λάσιος, hairy; it was very light, and was therefore designated by the epithet πτερόεν.[i] Πέλτη was a small and light buckler in the form of a half moon, or, according to some,[k] of an ivy leaf, and was first used by the Amazons; but others say[l] that it was of a square form, wanting the ἴτυς, or exterior ring.

The defensive arms of the Greeks were in general called ἀλεξητήρια, σκεπαστήρια, and προβλήματα.

The only offensive arms used by the ancients were stones or clubs, and such as nature afforded.[m] These clubs were called φάλαγγες and

[q] Hesychius.
[r] Eustath. ad Il. β'. Schol. Aristoph. ad Equit. v. 845.
[s] Eustath. ad Il. β'. Schol. Aristoph. ib. Poll. lib. i. cap. 10. seg. 133.
[t] Eustath. ad Il. β'.
[u] Xenoph. Exped. i. 2. 16.
[v] Aristophanes.
[w] Æschylus.
[x] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 478. sq. Hesiod. Scut. v. 139. sq. Pausan. Messen. Phocic. Schol. Aristoph. ad Ran. v. 960.
[y] Virg. Æn. iii.
[z] Tyrt. Carm. iii. v. 23. seq. Virg. Æn. ii. v. 227.
[a] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 646. Eustath. ad Il. β'.
[b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[c] Pausan. lib. iv. cap. 28. Eustath. ad Il. β'.
[d] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 453.
[e] Hom. Il. μ'. v. 294.
[f] Strab. lib. xv.
[g] Polyæn. viii. 7. 2. Eustath. ad Odys.
[h] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10.
[i] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 453.
[k] Xenophon.
[l] Suidas.
[m] Horat. Lucret. lib. v.

φαλάγγια; and hence it is conjectured that squadrons of soldiers were termed φάλαγγες, from this primitive way of fighting.[n]

The principal offensive weapon of the Greeks in later ages was ἔγχος and δόρυ, the spear or pike, the body of which was composed of wood, and in the heroic times commonly of ash, whence μελίη is so frequently mentioned.[o] The head, αἰχμὴ, was made of metal.[p] The same was also the σαυρωτὴρ, which was the lower part of the spear, and was so called, quasi σταυρωτὴρ, from σταυρὸς, a cross, or from σαῦρος, a lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one end, where it was fixed into the bottom of the spear, and sharp at the other,[q] and being thrust into the ground kept the spear erect, when the soldiers rested. In times of peace they reared their spears against pillars, in a long wooden case called δουροδόκη.[r] There were two sorts of spears:[s] one which was called δόρυ ὀρεκτὸν, and was used in close fight;[t] the other was employed in contending at a distance, and was denominated παλτὴ and βέλος, which were general names given to all missive weapons.[u] This last was frequently used in duels in the heroic ages, in which the combatants first threw their spears, and then used their swords.[v] The Macedonians had a peculiar kind of spear called σάρισσα, which was fourteen or sixteen cubits in length. The Lacedæmonians placed their chief dependence on their spears, which they never quitted whilst in the army.[w] Agesilaus, being asked where were the boundaries of Laconia, replied, at the end of our spears.[x]

Ξίφος, a sword, according to ancient custom, was hung in a belt, which went round the shoulders,[y] and reached down to the thighs:[z]

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον.[a]
The starry faulchion o'er his shoulders hung.

———Φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ.[b]
Straight from his thigh his sword he drew.

Some say that foot soldiers wore the sword on the left, and horsemen on the right side. The scabbard was called κολεὸς;[c] and close to it was hung a dagger or poniard, which was denominated τὸ παρὰ μηρὸν, παραμήριον or παραξώνιον ξιφίδιον, παραξιφίδιον,[d] ἐγχειρίδιον, and μάχαιρα. This was seldom used in fight, but supplied on all occasions the want of a knife;[e] and instead of it the soldiers of later ages employed a dagger called ἀκινάκης, which was first used by the Persians.[f] They had sometimes another sword denominated κοπὶς, which resembled the Roman *ensis falcatus*, and was used chiefly by the Argives. Not much unlike this were the Lacedæmonian swords which were

[n] Eustath. in Il. δ'.
[o] Hom. Il. π'. v. 143. δ'. v. 47. Plin. xvi. 13.
[p] Hom. Il. ξ'. v. 320.
[q] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 153. Poll. lib. i. 10. seg. 136. Eustath. ad Il. ν'.
[r] Hom. Odys. α'.
[s] Strab. lib. x.
[t] Schol. in Hom. Il. β'. v. 543.
[u] Eustath. ad Il.
[v] Hom. Il. κ'. γ'.
[w] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.
[x] Plut. ibid.
[y] Hesiod. Scut. Hercul.
[z] Virg. Æn. x. v. 786.
[a] Hom. Il. β'.
[b] Hom. Odys. λ'.
[c] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 271.
[d] Eustath. ad Il. γ'.
[e] Hom. Il. γ'.
[f] Pollux.

called *ξυίναις* or *ξυήλαι*,[h] and by the Athenians *κνήστιες*,[i] and which were bent like faulchions, and were much shorter than those used in other parts of Greece.[k] The hilt of the sword was adorned with various figures and representations.

Ἀξίνη was a kind of pole-axe. With this weapon Agamemnon was attacked by Pisander.[l]

Πέλεκυς was not much different from the last, and is sometimes joined with it.[m]

Κορύνη was a club of wood or iron, from which the famous robber Periphetes, slain by Theseus, was called *κορυνήτης*;[n] and this name was also given to Areïthous, who broke through whole squadrons of enemies with his iron club.[o]

Τόξον, the bow, is said by some to have been invented by Apollo, who managed it with such dexterity, that he was denominated *ἑκηβόλος, ἑκατηβελέτης, ἕκατος, τοξοφόρος, χρυσότοξος, ἀργυρότοξος, εὐφαρέτρης*, &c. This invention the god is fabled to have communicated to the Cretans,[p] who were the first mortals that understood the use of bows and arrows;[q] and in later times the Cretan bows were famous, and preferred to all others in Greece.[r] Some ascribe the invention of bows to Perses, the son of Perseus; and others, to Scythes, the son of Jupiter,[s] and progenitor of the Scythians, from whom the Greeks received it;[t] but the incurvation of the Scythian bow distinguished it from the bows of Greece and other nations, and was in the form of a half moon or semicircle.[u] Hence the third letter in the name of Theseus, ΘΗCΕΥC, the ancient character of the letter Σ, is said to resemble the Scythian bow.[v] The Grecian bows were frequently beautified with gold or silver, whence Apollo is called Ἀργυρότοξος; but the matter of which they were composed was commonly wood, though they were anciently made of horn.[w] The strings of the bow, called *νεῦρα*, were composed of horses' hair, and thence sometimes denominated *ἵππειαι*;[x] and in the heroic ages, they were made of hides cut into small thongs, whence *τόξα βόεια*.[y] The extreme part of the bow, to which the string was fixed, was called *κορώνη*, and was commonly made of gold;[z] and as this was the last thing in finishing the bow, *χρυσῆν ἐπιτιθέναι κορώνην* signified to bring an affair to a successful conclusion.[a]

The arrows, called *βέλη*,[b] *ὀϊστοὶ*,[c] *ἰοὶ*,[d] and *τοξεύματα*,[e] usually consisted of light wood, and an iron head, which was commonly hooked.[f]

[g] Pollux.
[h] Xenophon.
[i] Suidas; Eustath. ad Il. λ'. Hesych.
[k] Plut. Apophth. Id. Lycurgo.
[l] Hom. Il. ν'. v. 612.
[m] Hom. Il. ο'. v. 710.
[n] Plut. Theseo; Diod. Sicul.
[o] Hom. Il. η'. v. 136.
[p] Diod. Sicul.
[q] Isidorus.
[r] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10.
[s] Plin.
[t] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 56 et 914. Theocrit. Schol. Idyll. xiii.
[u] Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xx.
[v] Athen. lib. x.
[w] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 105. Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 563.
[x] Hesych. in verb.
[y] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 122.
[z] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 111.
[a] Eustath. ad Il. δ'.
[b] Hom. Il. α'. v. 51.
[c] Hesiod. Scut. v. 130. Hom. Il. ε'. v. 171.
[d] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 116.
[e] Xenoph. Anab.
[f] Ovid. de Amor.

Sometimes they were armed with two, three, or four hooks,[g] and hence they were called τετράγωνα βέλη. The heads of arrows were sometimes besmeared with poison;[h] but this practice was considered as deserving of the divine vengeance.[i] Arrows were usually winged with feathers, to increase their speed and force; and hence we meet with πτερόεις ἰὸς,[k] πτερόεις ὄϊστὸς,[l] ὄϊστὸς φερεπτέρυξ[m] and εὔπτερος,[n] ἰὸς κομήτης,[o] &c. They were carried to the battle in a quiver, which was usually closed on all sides, and is therefore joined with the epithet ἀμφηρεφής.[p] The quiver and the bow were carried by the warriors on their backs:[q]

Τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην.[r]
Carrying his bow and quiver on his shoulders.

In drawing their bows, the more ancient Greeks did not bring the hand towards the right ear, according to the custom of modern ages; but placing their bows directly before them, they returned their hand upon their right breast;[s] and hence the Amazonian women are said to have cut off their right breasts, lest they should hinder them in shooting, on which account their name is supposed to be derived from the privative particle ἀ and μαζὸς, a breast.

There were several sorts of ἀκόντια, darts or javelins, as γρόσφος,[t] called also αἰγανέη,[u] ὑσσὸς,[v] and many others. Some of these were thrown by the help of a strap girt round the middle, and called ἀγκύλη;[w] the action itself was termed ἀγκυλίσασθαι, which was also sometimes used for any sort of darting, though without straps; and the javelin thus thrown was denominated μεσάγκυλον.[x]

The ancient Greeks sometimes annoyed their enemies with great stones,[y] which the united strength of several men in modern times would be unable to lift.[z]

[g] Stati. Theb. lib. ix.
[h] Virg. Æn. ix. v. 771.
[i] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 259.
[k] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 116.
[l] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 171.
[m] Oppian. Ἁλιευτικ. β'.
[n] Oppian. Κυνηγ. α'.
[o] Sophocl. Trachin.
[p] Eustath. ad Il. α'.
[q] Hesiod. Scut. v. 130. Virg. Æn. xi. v. 652.
[r] Hom. Il. α'.
[s] Eustath. ad Il. δ'. Hom. Il. δ'. v. 123.
[t] Eustath. ad Hom. Odys. δ'. v. 626.
[u] Hom. Odys. δ'. v. 626.
[v] Polyb. de Mil. Rom.
[w] Eustath. ad Il. β'. Schol. ad Euripid. Orest. v. 1477.
[x] Eustath. loc. cit.
[y] Hom. Il. λ'. v. 264.
[z] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 302. η', ν. 270. Virg. Æn. xii. v. 896.

SLINGERS AND ARMED MEN.



Σφενδόνη, a sling, is said to have been invented by the natives of the Balearian islands, where it was used with such skill and dexterity, that young children were not allowed any food by their mothers, till they could sling it down from the beam upon which it was placed;[a] and when they arrived at a proper age, this was the principal of their offensive arms in war.[b] The sling was also common in Greece, especially among the Acarnanians,[c] who are thought by some to have invented it, though others give that honor to the Ætolians.[d] None of the Greeks, however, used it with so much skill as the Achaians, who were instructed in this exercise from their infancy,[e] and are thought by some to have excelled the Balearians; and hence it became customary to call any thing levelled directly at the mark, Ἀχαϊκὸν βέλος.[f] This weapon was used chiefly by the common and light-armed soldiers, and never by the officers.[g] Its form was like that of the earth, extended in length and broad in the middle; and it resembled a twined rope, rather broad in the middle, with an oval compass, and gradually decreasing into two thongs or reins.[h] It was made of wool[i] and other materials.[k] From it were cast arrows, stones,[l] and plummets of lead which were called μολυβδίδες, μολύβδυναι,[m] and μολίβδιναι σφαῖραι, some of which weighed an Attic pound, or one hundred drachms. The stones, and other missiles cast from the sling, are sometimes called σφενδόναι.[n] The sling was distinguished into several

[a] Lucius Flor. lib. iii. cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. v. Strab. lib. iii.
[b] Lycophr. ejusque Schol. v. 635. Ovid. Met. lib. ii. v. 727.
[c] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10.
[d] Strabo.
[e] Liv. lib. xxxviii.
[f] Suid.
[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. vii.
[h] Dionys. Περιηγῆς, v. 5.
[i] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 599. et 716.
[k] Eustath.
[l] Poll. lib. x. cap. 31. seg. 146.
[m] Poll. ibid.
[n] Xenoph. Anab.

sorts; some were managed by one, some by two, and others by three cords. In slinging, they whirled it twice or thrice about the head, and then cast the bullet;[o] but they were accounted the most expert, who threw the bullet after one whirl.[p] This weapon projected the missiles to a great distance, and with such force, that neither helmet, buckler, nor any other armour, was a sufficient defence againt it; and its motion was so vehement, that the plummets were frequently melted.[q]

Lastly, the Greeks used πυροβόλους λίθους, fire-balls. One sort of them was denominated σκυτάλια or σκυταλίδες, which were composed of wood, and some of which were a foot, and others a cubit, in length: their heads were armed with spikes of iron, beneath which were placed torches, hemp, pitch, or other combustible matter, which being set on fire, they were thrown with great force towards the enemy's first ranks; and the iron spikes fastening themselves to whatever opposed them, these balls burned down all in their way.[r]

Respecting military apparel nothing certain can be advanced. It may, however, be observed, that Lycurgus ordered the Lacedæmonians to clothe their soldiers with scarlet.[s] The reason of this institution seems to have been, either because that color was soonest imbibed by the cloth, and was most durable;[t] or on account of its brightness and splendor, which the lawgiver might consider as most suitable to minds animated by true valor;[u] or because it concealed the stains of blood, the sight of which might dispirit the soldiers of their own party, and inspire their enemies with fresh vigor.[v] It is also remarkable that the Lacedæmonians never engaged their enemies without wearing crowns and garlands upon their heads.[w]

The Greek soldiers usually carried their own provisions, which consisted chiefly of salt meat, cheese, olives, onions, &c. For this purpose every one had a vessel made of wicker,[x] with a long narrow neck called γύλιον; and hence men with long necks were contemptuously termed γυλιαύχενες.[y]

CHAP. IV.

Officers in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian armies.

In the primitive ages, when most states were governed by kings, the supreme command belonged to them; and it was a principal part of their duty to lead their subjects against the enemies of their country.[z] When a prince, through cowardice or other weakness, was

[o] Virg. Æn. ix. v. 587.
[p] Vegetius.
[q] Seneca.
[r] Suidas.
[s] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Plut. Inst. Lacon.
[v] Plut. ib. Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 6. Schol. Aristoph. Pace v. 1173. Ælian. lib. vi. cap. 6. Eustath. in Il. λ'. v. 459.
[w] Xenoph. Plut. Lycurgo.
[x] Aristoph. Schol. Acharn.
[y] Aristoph. Pace.
[z] Aristot. Polit. iii.

deemed incapable of protecting his people, it was customary for them to withdraw their allegiance, and substitute in his room a person better qualified. On some occasions, however, the king might nominate a person of eminent worth and valor to be his πολέμαρχος, general, who either commanded under the king, or, when the emergency of other affairs required his absence, supplied his place.[a]

The Athenian government having devolved on the people, all the tribes were invested with an equal share of power, and each of them nominated a commander from their own body.[b] No person was eligible to this situation, unless he had, within the territory of Athens, children and land,[c] which were considered as pledges to the commonwealth. Sometimes the children suffered for the treason of their fathers.[d] The generals were nominated in an assembly of the people, who were convened for that purpose in the Pnyx, and who frequently re-elected the same persons, if they had conducted themselves with courage and integrity.[e] Before being admitted into office, they took an oath of fidelity to the commonwealth; and they were not invested with absolute and unlimited power; but at the expiration of their command, they were liable to render an account of their administration. On some extraordinary occasions, however, they were exempted from this restraint, and having uncontrolable authority, were called αὐτοκράτορες.[f] These commanders were ten, according to the number of the Athenian tribes, and were denominated στρατηγοὶ, being invested with equal power, and, soon after their first creation, frequently dispatched together on expeditions of importance, in which they enjoyed the supreme command by turns; but lest, in controverted matters, an equality of votes should retard their proceedings, there was joined in commission with them an eleventh person, who was called πολέμαρχος, and whose vote, added to either of the contending parties, decided the dispute.[g] To the same person belonged the left wing of the army.[h]

Afterwards, it was considered unnecessary to send so many generals with equal power to manage the affairs of the army; and, therefore, though the ancient number was annually elected, all of them were not obliged to attend to military matters; but one, two, or more, as occasion seemed to require, were dispatched on that service. The polemarch was employed in business of a civil nature, and was appointed judge in a court which took cognizance of law-suits between natives, or freemen of Athens, and foreigners. The rest of the generals had each his proper employment. None of them, however, were entirely freed from military concerns, but determined all disputes among military men, and ordered all the affairs of war in the city.[i] Hence they were distinguished into two sorts: one the Athenians termed τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, those who administered the business of the city; and the other, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, those who

[a] Pausan. Corinth. Attic.
[b] Plut. Cimone; Corn. Nep. Miltiade; Demosth. Philipp. i. Harpocrat. et Suid. in Στρατηγοί.
[c] Dinarch. in Demosth.
[d] Cic. Epist. xvi. ad Brut.
[e] Plut. Phocione.
[f] Suid. Plut. Aristide.
[g] Herodot. lib. vi.
[h] Idem Erato.
[i] Demosth. Philipp.

were employed in military matters, and who regulated the affairs of the army.[k]

Ταξίαρχοι were also ten in number,[l] each tribe electing one, and commanded next under the στρατηγοί.[m] They had the care of marshalling the army,[n] and of appointing by public orders the marches, and the provisions with which every soldier should furnish himself. They had also power to cashier any of the common soldiers who were convicted of misdemeanours;[o] but their jurisdiction extended over the infantry only.

Ἵππαρχοι were two in number,[p] and had the chief command of the cavalry under the στρατηγοί.[q]

Φύλαρχοι were ten,[r] and were nominated by the ten tribes. They were subordinate officers to the ἵππαρχοι, and were invested with authority to discharge horsemen, and fill up vacancies as occasion required.[s]

The inferior officers derived their titles from the squadron or number of men under their command; as λοχαγοὶ,[t] χιλίαρχοι, ἑκατόνταρχοι, δεκάδαρχοι, πεμπάδαρχοι, οὐραγοὶ,[u] &c.

From the Athenian we proceed to the Spartan officers. The supreme command of the army was vested in one person; for the Lacedæmonians, however fond of aristocracy in civil affairs, found by experience that, in war, the government of one was preferable to that of many.[v] On extraordinary occasions, however, when the safety of the state was in danger, they were so prudent as to transgress the law which had been enacted, that not more than one person should have the command of the army at a time.[w]

Some say that the general's title was βάγος,[x] which others assert was common to all military officers. He was usually one of the kings of Sparta, it being appointed by a law of Lycurgus that this honor should belong to the kings; but in cases of necessity, as in the minority of the kings, a protector or viceroy, whom they called πρόδικος, was substituted for the management of military as well as civil affairs.[y]

Though the king's power was limited at home, yet he was supreme and absolute in the army, it being appointed by a particular law that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his commands.[z] However, he was not left solely to his own guidance in the prosecution of measures, but was usually attended by some of the magistrates called ephori, who assisted him with their advice.[a] To

[k] Id. de Epitrierch. Plut. Phocione.
[l] Demosth. Philipp. i.
[m] Xenoph. Memor. iii. 1.
[n] Lysias pro Mantith. Aristoph. Av. v. 352.
[o] Lysias κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου Ἀστρατείας.
[p] Harpocr. in Ἵππαρχος.
[q] Demosth. de Coron. Xenoph. Memor. iii. 3. seg. 1.
[r] Poll. viii. 9. seg. 87. et 94.
[s] Harpocrat. in Φύλαρχος; Xenoph. in Ἵππαρχ. Lys. pro Mantith.
[t] Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 1073.
[u] Poll. i. 10. seg. 128.
[v] Isocrat. ad Nicoclem; Herodot. lib. v. cap. 75.
[w] Thucyd. lib. v.
[x] Hesych.
[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Lycurgo; Herodot. Thucyd. Corn. Nep. Pausan.
[z] Plut. Agesilao.
[a] Xenoph. Ἑλληνικῶν lib. ii.

these, on some occasions, were added other counsellors, who held no offices in the army.[b]

The general was guarded by three hundred valiant Spartans, who were called *ἱππῆες*, horsemen, and who fought about his person.[c] They who had obtained prizes in the sacred games, fought before him; and this was considered as one of the most honorable posts in the army.[d]

The chief of the subordinate officers was called *πολέμαρχος*.[e] The titles of the rest will be easily understood from the names of the troops under their command; as *λοχαγωγοὶ*, *πεντηκοστῆρες*, *ἐνωμοτάρχαι*, &c.

CHAP. V.

The Divisions, Forms, and Distinctions of the Grecian army.

The whole army, consisting of both horse and foot, was called *στρατία*. The front of the army was denominated *μέτωπον*;[f] or *πρῶτος ζυγὸς*;[g] the right-hand man of the front, and also in other places, *πρωτοστάτης*; the wings were called *κέρατα*;[h] the soldiers of the wings and their leader, *παραστάται*; those in the middle ranks, *ἐπιστάται*; the rear was termed *ἔσχατος ζυγὸς*,[i] or *οὐρὰ*;[k] and the person who brought up the rear, *οὐραγὸς*, or *ὀπισθοφύλαξ*.[l] The same names were common to those who filled like situations in lesser bodies.

Πεμπτὰς, *πεντὰς*, or *πεμπὰς*, was a party of five soldiers,[m] and its leader was denominated *πεμπάδαρχος*; *δεκὰς*, of ten, and its leader *δεκάδαρχος*.

Λόχος consisted of eight, of twelve, or of sixteen soldiers, which last constituted a complete *λόχος*; though some think it to contain twenty-four or twenty-five soldiers.[n] It is sometimes termed *στίχος* or *δεκανία*; and its leader was called *λοχαγός*.

Διμοιρία, or *ἡμιλοχία*, was a half *λόχος*; and its leader was denominated *διμοιρίτης*, or *ἡμιλοχίτης*.

Συλλοχισμὸς was a conjunction of several *λόχοι*: sometimes it is termed *σύστασις*, which consisted of four half, or two complete *λόχοι*, containing thirty-two men.

Πεντηκονταρχία, though the name imports only fifty, was commonly a double *σύστασις*, consisting of four *λόχοι*, or sixty-four men; whence its leader was called not only *πεντηκόνταρχος*, but *τετράρχης*; and instead of *πεντηκονταρχία*, we sometimes meet with *τετραρχία*.

Ἑκατονταρχία, which was sometimes called *τάξις*, consisted of two of the last, and contained one hundred and twenty-eight men; but its

[b] Xenoph. *Ἑλληνικῶν* lib. v. Plut. Ages.
[c] Thucyd. lib. v.
[d] Plut. Lycurg.
[e] Thucyd.
[f] Schol. Aristoph. ad Av. v. 352.
[g] Poll. i. 10. seg. 127. Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 68.
[h] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 71. Poll. lib. i. cap. 10. seg. 126.
[i] Phavorin. in *στρατός*.
[k] Xenoph. Hellenic. iv.
[l] Orbicius.
[m] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10. seg. 127.
[n] Ælian. Tact. Arrian. Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 1073.

number was not always the same.[o] Its commander was anciently denominated *ταξίαρχος*, but afterwards *ἑκατόνταρχος*. To every *ἑκατονταρχία* were assigned five necessary attendants, who were called *ἔκτακτοι* from their not being reckoned in the ranks with the soldiers, and who were as follows:—1. *στρατοκήρυξ*, the crier, who conveyed aloud the words of command, and was usually a man of strong lungs;[p] 2. *σημειοφόρος*, the ensign, who gave by signs the officer's commands to the soldiers, and was useful in making known matters not to be publicly divulged, and when the noise of war drowned the voice of the crier; 3. *σαλπιγκτὴς*, the trumpeter, who signified to the soldiers the will of their commanders, when dust and noise rendered the two former useless, and also animated them in the battle; 4. *ὑπηρέτης*, a servant, who waited on the soldiers to supply them with necessaries; 5. *οὐραγὸς*, the lieutenant, who brought up the rear, and took care that none of the soldiers deserted, or were left behind: the first four were placed next to the foremost rank.

Σύνταγμα, *παράταξις*, *ψιλαγία*, or *ξεναγία*, was composed of two *τάξεις*, and consisted of two hundred and fifty-six men. The commander was called *συνταγματάρχης*.

Πεντακοσιαρχία, or *ξεναγία*, contained two *συντάγματα*, or five hundred and twelve men. The name of the commander was *πεντακοσιάρχης*, or *ξεναγός*.

Χιλιαρχία, *σύστρεμμα*, or, as some think, *ξεναγία*, was double of the last, and consisted of one thousand and twenty-four men. The commander was called *χιλίαρχος*, *χιλιοστὸς*, or *συστρεμματάρχης*.

Μεραρχία, by some denominated *τέλος*, and by others *ἐπιξεναγία*, contained twice the number of the last, or two thousand and forty-eight men. The name of the commander was *μεράρχης*, *τελάρχης*, or *ἐπιξεναγός*.

Φαλαγγαρχία, which was sometimes called *μέρος*, *ἀποτομὴ κέρατος*, *στίφος*, and by the ancients *στρατηγία*, was composed of two *τέλη*, and contained four thousand and ninety-six, or, according to others, four thousand and thirty-six men. The commander was denominated *φαλαγγάρχης*, and *στρατηγός*.

Διφαλαγγία, *κέρας*, *ἐπίταγμα*, or, as some think, *μέρος*, was nearly double of the last, and consisted of eight thousand one hundred and thirty-men. The commander's title was *κεράρχης*.

Τετραφαλαγγαρχία contained about two *διφαλαγγίαι*, or sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four men. The commander was called *τετραφαλαγγάρχης*.

Φάλαγξ signifies sometimes a party of twenty-eight men, and sometimes of eight thousand; but a complete *φάλαγξ* is said to be the same as *τετραφαλαγγαρχία*. Several other numbers are denoted by this word, which is frequently taken for the whole body of infantry, and as frequently for any company of soldiers. Indeed, the Grecian armies were usually ranged into an order peculiarly termed *φάλαγξ*,[q] which was so strong as to resist any shock, how violent soever. The

[o] Arrian. Ælian. c. ix. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. ii. 1. 25.

[p] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 784.

[q] Poll. lib. i. cap. 10. seg. 127. Ælian. cap. ix. Arrian. Eustath. ad Hom. Il. δ'. v. 254.

Macedonians were most famous for this mode of embattling. Their phalanx was a square battalion of pikemen, consisting of sixteen in flank, and five hundred in front. The soldiers stood so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank extended three feet beyond the front of the battalion. The rest, who were too far distant from the front to render any service with their pikes, couched them on the shoulders of those who stood before them; and locking their pikes together in file, they pressed forward to support and push on the foremost ranks; by which means the attack was rendered more violent and irresistible.[r] The commander was called *φαλαγγάρχης*.

Μῆκος φάλαγγος was the length or first rank of the phalanx, reaching from the extremity of one wing to that of another.[s] It is the same as *μέτωπον, πρόσωπον, στόμα, παράταξις, πρωτολοχία, πρωτοστάται, πρῶτος ζυγὸς*, &c. The ranks behind were called, according to their order, *δεύτερος, τρίτος ζυγὸς*, &c.

Βάθος or *πάχος φάλαγγος*, which was also sometimes called *τοῖχος*, was the depth of the phalanx, consisting of the number of ranks from front to rear.[t]

Ζυγοὶ φάλαγγος were the ranks taken according to the length of the phalanx.

Στίχοι, or *λόχοι*, were the files measured according to the depth.

Διχοτομία φάλαγγος was the distribution of the phalanx into two equal portions, which were termed *πλευραὶ, κέρατα*, &c. wings: the left of these was called *κέρας εὐώνυμον*, and *οὐρὰ*; the right, *κέρας δεξιὸν, κεφαλὴ, δεξιὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιὰ ἀρχὴ*, &c.

Ἄραρος, ὀμφαλὸς, συνοχὴ φάλαγγος, was the body or middle part of the phalanx, between the wings.

Λεπτυσμὸς φάλαγγος was the lessening of the depth of the phalanx by cutting off some of its files.

Ὀρθία, ἑτερομήκης, or *παραμήκης φάλαγξ*, was the horse, in which the depth exceeded the length.

Πλαγία φάλαγξ differed from the last in being broad in front and narrow in flank; whereas the other was narrow in front and broad in flank.[u]

Λοξὴ φάλαγξ was when one wing was advanced near the enemy to begin the battle, and the other remained at a convenient distance.

Ἀμφίστομος φάλαγξ was when the soldiers were placed back to back, that they might face the enemy on every side: this form of battalia was used when they were in danger of being surrounded.

Ἀντίστομος φάλαγξ differed from the last, in that it was formed in length, and engaged at both flanks; whereas the former engaged in front and rear.

Ἀμφίστομος διφαλαγγία was when the leaders were placed in both fronts, and the *οὐραγοὶ*, who followed the rear, transferred into the middle, so that the enemy was fronted on all sides.

Ἀντίστομος διφαλαγγία was contrary to the last: it had the *οὐραγοὶ* and their rear on the two sides, and the rest of the commanders, who were placed at other times in the front, in the midst, facing each

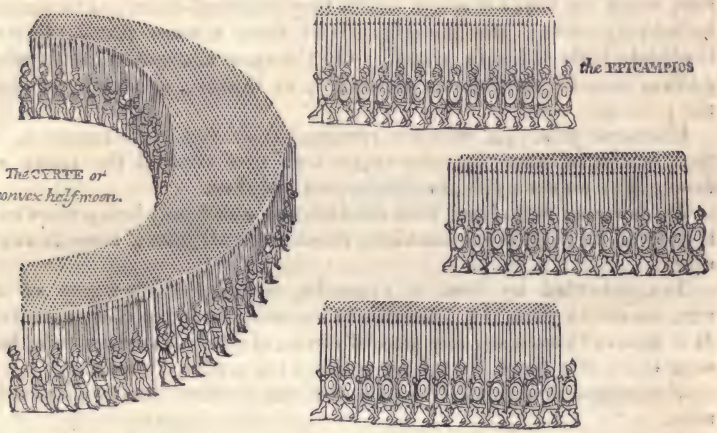
[r] Polybius.
[s] Ælian. Tact. cap. vii.
[t] Ælian. ibid. Arrian.
[u] Ælian. Tact.

other; in which form, the front opening in two parts so closed again that the wings succeeded in its place, and the last ranks were transferred into the former place of the wings.

Ὁμοιόστομος διφαλαγγία was when both the phalanxes had their officers on the same side, one marching behind another in the same form.

Ἑτερόστομος διφαλαγγία was when the commanders of one phalanx were placed on the right flank, in the other on the left.

Πεπλεγμένη φάλαγξ was when the form of the phalanx was changed, as the way required through which it marched.



Ἐπικαμπὴς φάλαγξ represented a half moon, the wings being turned backwards, and the main body advanced towards the enemy; or the reverse. The same was called κυρτὴ and κοίλη, being convex and hollow.

Ἐσπαρμένη φάλαγξ was when the parts of the battalia stood at an unequal distance from the enemy.

Ὑπερφαλάγγισις was when both wings were extended beyond the front of the adverse army; ὑπερκέρωσις, when only one was so extended.

Ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ, which was also called σφηνοειδὴς, was a battalia with four equal, but not rectangular sides, representing the figure of a diamond. This figure was used by the Thessalians, having been contrived by their countryman Jason; and most of the common forms of battalia in Greece, Sicily, and Persia, seem to have been devised after this or some other square.*

Ἔμβολον, a wedge, was a rhombus divided in the middle, having three sides, and representing the figure of a wedge, or the letter Δ,

* Ælian. Tact.

The design of this form was to pierce and enter forcibly into the army of the enemy.[w]

Κοιλέμβολον, a hollow wedge, was the wedge transversed, and wanting the basis: it represented the letter V, and seems to have been designed for receiving the wedge.[x]

Πλινθίον, or πλινθία, a brick, was an army drawn up in the figure of a brick or tile,[y] with four unequal sides; its length was extended towards the enemy, and exceeded the depth.

Πύργος, a tower, was the brick inverted, being an oblong square, in the form of a tower,[z] with the small end towards the enemy.

Πλαίσιον had an oblong figure,[a] approaching nearer to a circle than to a quadrangle.

Τερηδὼν was an army extended in length, with a very few men in a line, when the roads through which they marched could not be passed in broader ranks: the name is derived from a worm that insinuates itself into little holes in wood. On the same account we meet with φάλαγξ ξιφοειδὴς, which was so ranged, as it were, to pierce through the passages.

Πύκνωσις φάλαγγος was the ranging of soldiers close together, so that, whilst in other battalia every man was allowed the space of four cubits on each side, in this he had only two.

Συνασπισμὸς was closer than the last, one cubit only being allowed: it derived its name from bucklers, which were all joined close to each other.

Ἴλη, invented by Ilion of Thessaly, represented the figure of an egg, in which form the Thessalians commonly ranged their cavalry.[b] It is generally used for any part of horse, of what number soever, but sometimes in a more limited sense for a troop of sixty-four.

Ἐπιλαρχία contained two ἴλαι, or one hundred and twenty-eight men.

Ταραντιναρχία was double the last, and consisted of two hundred and fifty-six men; for the Greeks commonly used a sort of horsemen called ταραντῖνοι, or ἱππαγωνισταὶ, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons, being unable to sustain a close fight by reason of their light armor. There was also another sort of Tarentine horsemen, who, after discharging their missive weapons, engaged their enemies in close fight. Their name was derived from Tarentum in Italy, which furnished horsemen of these descriptions.

Ἱππαρχία contained two of the last, or five hundred and twelve men.

Ἐφιππαρχία was a double ἱππαρχία, and consisted of one thousand and twenty-four men.

Τέλος was the last doubled, and contained two thousand and forty-eight men.

Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being composed of four thousand and ninety-six men.

[w] Suid. in Ἔμβολον; Ælian. Tact. cap. 47.
[x] Suidas in verb. Ælian.
[y] Arrian. Ælian. cap. 41.
[z] Eustath. ad Il. δ'. Hom. Il. μ'. v. 43.
[a] Arrian. Ælian. cap. 48. Lucian. Dial. Meretr.
[b] Ælian. Tact. qui ubique in hoc capite consulendus.

The divisions of the Lacedæmonian army had peculiar names, which were as follows :—

The whole army was divided into μόραι, regiments.[c] What number of soldiers was contained in each is uncertain : some make them five, some seven, and others nine hundred ;[d] but at the first formation of the commonwealth, they seem not to have exceeded four hundred, who were all infantry. Over every μόρα was a commander, called πολέμαρχος,[e] to whom was added a subordinate officer denominated συμφορεὺς ;[f] the former was colonel, and the latter his lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth part of a μόρα ;[g] and though some say that there were five λόχοι in every μόρα,[h] yet the former account seems more agreeable to the ancient state of the Spartan army ; for we are assured[i] that in every μόρα were four λοχαγωγοί.

Πεντηκοστὺς was the fourth part, or, as others say, the half of a λόχος, and contained fifty men. The commander was called πεντηκοντὴρ, πεντηκοντατὴρ, or πεντηκοστὴρ ; and of these were eight in every μόρα.[k]

Ἐνωμαρία was the fourth part, or, as others say, the half of πεντηκοστὺς, contained twenty-five men, and derived its name from the soldiers in it being bound by a solemn oath upon a sacrifice,[l] to be faithful to their country. The commander was called ἐνωμοτάρχης or ἐνωμόταρχος. Of these there were sixteen in every μόρα ;[m] and hence it appears that the ancient μόραι consisted each of four hundred men only ; but as, in succeeding ages, the Spartans augmented their forces, the ancient names were still retained, and the eighth part of a μόρα, though containing perhaps several fifties, was still termed πεντηκοστύς.

Among the Greeks were several other military terms, an explanation of some of which follows :—

Πρόταξις was the placing of any company of soldiers before the front of the army ; as πρόταξις ψιλῶν, when the light-armed men were drawn up before the rest, to begin the fight at a distance with missive weapons.

Ἔπίταξις was contrary to the last, and signified the ranging of soldiers in the rear.

Πρόσταξις was when to one or both flanks of the battle part of the rear was added ; the front of those who were added being placed in the same line with the front of the battle.

Ὕπόταξις was when the wings were doubled by bestowing the light-armed men under them in a leaning posture, so that the whole figure resembled a triple door.

Ἔνταξις, παρένταξις, or προσένταξις, was the placing together of different sorts of soldiers ; as when light-armed men were ordered between the heavy-armed companies.

[c] Aristot.
[d] Plut. Pelopid.
[e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[f] Id. Hellen. lib. vi.
[g] Xenoph.
[h] Hesych.
[i] Xenophon.
[k] Idem.
[l] Hesychius.
[m] Xenophon.

Παρεμβολὴ differed from the last, and denoted the filling up of vacant spaces in the files by soldiers of the same sort.

Ἐπαγωγὴ was a continued series of battalions in marches, drawn up behind each other in the same form, so that the front of the latter was extended to the rear of the former: whence this term is sometimes used for the rhetorical figure induction, by which certain consequences are inferred, in an evident manner, from the concession of some antecedents.

Παραγωγὴ differed from ἐπαγωγὴ in that the phalanx proceeded not by file, but by rank, the leaders marching not directly in front, but on one side: when towards the left, it was called εὐώνυμος παραγωγὴ; when towards the right, δεξιὰ παραγωγή.

Ἐπαγωγὴ and παραγωγὴ were distinguished into four sorts: when they marched to meet the enemy, and were prepared on one side only, they were called ἐπαγωγὴ or παραγωγὴ μονόπλευρος; when on two sides, δίπλευρος; when on three sides, τρίπλευρος; and when every side was ready for an attack, τετράπλευρος.

The motions of the soldiers at the command of their officers were termed κλίσεις.[n] Thus κλίσις ἐπὶ δόρυ signified a movement to the right, because they managed their spears with their right hands; ἐπανάκλισις, the retrograde motion; and κλίσις ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, to the left, because their bucklers were held in their left hands.

Μεταβολὴ was a double movement to the same hand, by which their backs were turned on what they before fronted.[o] It consisted of two sorts: 1. μεταβολὴ ἐπ' οὐρὰν, by which they turned from front to rear, termed οὐρὰ, which was always effected by turning to the right, and by which their backs were towards their enemies, whence it was called μεταβολὴ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων; 2. μεταβολὴ ἀπ' οὐρᾶς, or ἐπὶ πολεμίων, from rear to front, by which they turned their faces towards their enemies, by moving twice to the left.[p]

Ἐπιστροφὴ was when the whole battalion, closely joined man to man, made one turn either to the right or left.

Ἀναστροφὴ was opposed to ἐπιστροφὴ, and was the return of such battalion to its former station.

Περισπασμὸς was a double ἐπιστροφὴ, by which their backs were turned to the place of their faces, the front being transferred to the rear.

Ἐκπερισπασμὸς was a triple ἐπιστροφὴ, or three wheelings.

Εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀποδοῦναι, or ἐπ' ὀρθὸν ἀποκαταστῆσαι, signified to turn about to the places in which they were at first.

Ἐξελιγμὸς, ἑξελισμὸς, or ἐξέλιξις, was a countermarch, by which every soldier, one marching after another, changed the front for the rear, or one flank for another; whence there were two sorts of countermarches, κατὰ λόχους, and κατὰ ζυγὰ, one by files, the other by ranks. Each of them was also farther divided into three sorts:—

1. Ἐξελιγμὸς Μακεδὼν κατὰ λόχους, invented by the Macedonians, was as follows:—first, the leaders of the files having turned to the

[n] Arrian. Ælian. cap. xix. xxiii. Polyb. lib. x.

[o] Arrian. Ælian. cap. xxiv.

[p] Suidas in Μεταβολή.

right or left, the next rank passed through by them on the same hand, and occupying the distant spaces, placed themselves behind the leaders of their files, and turned their faces the same way. In like manner the third and fourth ranks, and all the rest, till the bringers up were last, and having turned about their faces, again occupied the rear of the battle. By this motion the army was removed into the ground before the front, and the faces of the soldiers were turned backward. It appeared so like a retreat, that Philip of Macedon, instead of it, used the following movement.

2. Ἐξελιγμὸς Λάκων κατὰ λόχους, invented by the Lacedæmonians, was contrary to the last; that occupied the ground before the phalanx, this the ground behind it, and the faces of the soldiers turned the contrary way; in the former the movement was from rear to front, but in this from front to rear. This evolution was performed in two ways: one was, when those in the rear first turned about their faces, the next rank turned theirs, and began the countermarch, every man placing himself directly before his bringer up; the third rank did the same, and the rest, till the leaders of the rank and file were first. The other method was, when the leaders of the files began the countermarch, every one in their files followed them in order; by this means they were brought nearer to the enemy, and represented a charge.

3. Ἐξελιγμὸς Περσικὸς, or Κρητικὸς, κατὰ λόχους, was used by the Persians and Cretans. It was sometimes termed χορεῖος, because managed like the Grecian chori, which being ordered into files and ranks, like soldiers in battle array, and moving forward toward the brink of the stage, when they could pass no farther, retired, one through the ranks of another; the whole chorus keeping all the time the same ground of which they were before possessed; and in this particular this countermarch differed from the former two, in both which the phalanx changed its place.

Ἐξελιγμὸς κατὰ ζυγὰ, countermarch by rank, was contrary to countermarch by file: in the countermarch by file, the motion was in the depth of the battalia, the front moving towards the rear, or the rear towards the front, and succeeding into each other's place. In this the motion was in length of the battalia flankwise, the wing marching either into the midst, or quite through the opposite wing. In doing this, the soldiers who were last in the flank of the wing moved first to the contrary wing, the rest following in their order. It was also performed three ways:—

1. The Macedonian countermarch began its motion at the corner of the wing nearest the enemy, and removing to the ground on the side of the contrary wing, resembled a flight.

2. The Lacedæmonian countermarch, beginning its movements in the wing farthest distant from the enemy, seized the ground nearest to them, by which an attack was represented.

3. The Chorean countermarch maintained its own ground, only removing one wing into the place of the other.

Διπλασιάσαι was to double or increase the battalia, which was effected in two ways: sometimes the number of their men was augmented, remaining still on the same space of ground; sometimes the

soldiers, continuing the same in number, were so extended by thinning their ranks or files, that they occupied a much larger space than before. These augmentations of men or ground, either in length or depth, occasioned four sorts of διπλασιασμοὶ, which were made by countermarches.

1. Διπλασιασμὸς ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ζυγὰ, or κατὰ μῆκος, was when fresh men were inserted into the ranks, the length of the battalia being still the same, but the soldiers drawn up closer than before.

2. Διπλασιασμὸς ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους, or κατὰ βάθος, was when the files were doubled by ranging them close to each other, their ground being of no greater extent than before.

3. Διπλασιασμὸς τόπου κατὰ ζυγὰ, or κατὰ μῆκος, was when the length of the battalia was increased, without the accession of new forces, by placing the soldiers at greater distances from each other.

4. Διπλασιασμὸς τόπου κατὰ λόχους, or κατὰ βάθος, was when the depth of ground occupied by an army became greater, not by adding new files, but by separating the old to a greater distance.

It is observable that the Greeks were well skilled in the method of embattling armies, and maintained professors called τακτικοὶ, who exercised the youth in this art before they were admitted into the field.

CHAP. VI.

The Ambassadors of the Greeks; the Manner of making Peace and proclaiming War, &c.

Before the Greeks engaged in war, it was usual to publish a declaration of the injuries which they had received, and to demand reparation by ambassadors.[q] It appears that, previously to the commencement of the Trojan war, which was attended with such great hazard and loss to both parties, Ulysses and Menelaus were dispatched on an embassy to Troy to demand restitution;[r] but that their proposal was rejected by the Trojans, through the persuasion of Antimachus, whom Paris had engaged in his cause by a large sum of money.[s] Invasions, indeed, without previous notice, were considered rather as robberies than legitimate wars; and hence the Ætolians, who were accustomed to attack their neighbours without any previous and public declaration, were deemed outlaws and robbers.[t]

Ambassadors were usually persons of great worth or high station, who, by their quality and deportment, might command attention and respect; and their character, whatever injuries or affronts had been received, was held sacred by all.[u] Whence ambassadors derived the sacredness with which their character was invested, has been matter of dispute. Some deduce it from the honor paid by the ancients to the κήρυκες, heralds, who were either ambassadors them-

[q] Stat. Theb. lib. ii. v. 368.
[r] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 205.
[s] Hom. Il. λ'. v. 134.
[t] Polyb. lib. iv.
[u] Herodot. Polymn. cap. 134.

selves, or accompanied them, and who were held sacred on account of their origin, which they derived from Ceryx, the son of Mercury, who was fabled to be honored with the same employment in heaven, as these obtained on earth.[v] They were also under the care and protection of Mercury and Jupiter;[w] and hence they were sometimes called the messengers not only of men, but of Jupiter:—

Χαίρετε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.[x]

Hail! ye messengers of great Jove and men.

These honors, however, seem to have been conferred on them chiefly on account of their office; and in the most rude ages, ambassadors of every description were treated with civility, and dismissed with safety.[y]

The Athenian heralds were all of one family, being descended from Ceryx the son of Mercury, and Pandrosus, daughter of Cecrops, king of Athens.

The Lacedæmonian heralds were descended from Talthybius, the herald of Agamemnon, who was honored with a temple and divine worship at Sparta.[z] They carried in their hands a staff of laurel or olive, called κηρύκιον, around which were folded two serpents, without erected crests, as an emblem of peace and concord.[a] Instead of this, the Athenian heralds frequently made use of the εἰρεσιώνη, which was a token of peace and plenty, being an olive branch covered with wool, and adorned with the various fruits of the earth.

Κήρυκες, heralds, are thought by some to differ from πρέσβεις, ambassadors, inasmuch as the latter were employed in treaties of peace, and the former in declaring war;[b] but this distinction was not constant, the κήρυκες being frequently persons appointed to accommodate differences.[c] Ambassadors were of two sorts: one had a limited commission which they were not to exceed; the other were invested with full powers of determining matters according to their own discretion, and were therefore called πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες, plenipotentiaries.

It is observable that the Lacedæmonians, whose customs in general differed from those of the other Greeks, made choice of ambassadors between whom there did not exist a good understanding, and who might thence be supposed disinclined to trust each other in a conspiracy against the commonwealth; and for the same reason, it is probable, they commonly appointed three persons to one embassy. It was also considered good policy in that state to excite dissensions between the two kings.[d] Their leagues were of three sorts: 1. σπονδὴ, συνθήκη, εἰρήνη, peace, by which both parties were obliged to cease from all acts of hostility, and not to molest the confederates of either; 2. ἐπιμαχία, by which they were bound to assist each other in case of invasion; 3. συμμαχία, by which they engaged to assist each other as well when they invaded others, as when they themselves

[v] Eustath. in Il. α'.
[w] Id. Il. κ'.
[x] Hom. Il. α'.
[y] Stat. Theb. lib. ii. v. 371.
[z] Herodot. Polymn. cap. 134. Pausan. Lacon.
[a] Plin. lib. xxix. cap. 3.
[b] Suidas.
[c] Eustath. in Hom. Il. α'.
[d] Aristot. Politic. lib. ii.

were invaded, and to have the same friends and enemies.[e] These treaties, which were solemnly confirmed by mutual oaths, were engraven on *στήλαις*, columns, or square pillars of stone, which were fixed up in some public or sacred place, to perpetuate the memory of the covenants, and render them universally known and observed.[f] Others exchanged certain *σύμβολα*, tokens, which might be produced as evidences of the agreement; and the covenant itself was also called by the same name.[g] It was likewise usual for states in alliance with each other interchangeably to send ambassadors, who on some appointed day openly repeated, and by mutual consent confirmed, their former treaty.

The manner of declaring war was by sending a herald, who ordered the persons that had injured them to prepare for an invasion, and who sometimes threw a spear towards them in token of defiance. The Athenians frequently let loose a lamb into the territories of their enemies; by which they intimated, that what was then a habitation for men should be laid waste and desolate, and become a pasture for sheep.[h] Hence *ἄρνα προβάλλειν* was a proverbial expression for entering into a state of war.

This was seldom done without the advice and encouragement of the gods: the soothsayers and diviners were consulted; the oracles enriched with presents; and no labor or expense was spared to engage heaven in their cause.[i] When the Greeks were determined to commence war, they offered sacrifices, and made large vows which were to be paid upon the success of their enterprise. After all these preparations, it was considered no less impious than dangerous to march against their enemies till the season favored their design; for being extremely superstitious in the observance of days and omens, till these were fortunate they durst not make any attempts. An eclipse of the moon, or any other unlucky omen, was enough to deter them from marching; and even if all other matters appeared favorable, the expedition was deferred till the arrival of some day deemed fortunate. The Athenians could not be persuaded to march *ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης*, before the seventh day;[k] and hence persons who commenced any business unseasonably, and before the proper time, were said to do it *ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης*.[l] Of all the Greeks, however, the Lacedæmonians were the most scrupulous in these observances; their lawgiver having commanded them to pay a sacred and inviolable obedience to the celestial predictions, and to regulate all their proceedings, both in civil and military affairs, by the appearances of the heavenly bodies. Among the rest, they were obliged by a particular precept never to march before the full moon;[m] for that planet was believed to have a particular influence on their affairs, and when at the full, to prosper their undertakings; and the Lacedæmonians entertained so strong an opinion of this, that the greatest necessity could not induce them to act otherwise than their lawgiver had directed.[n]

[e] Suidas; Xenophon; Thucydides.
[f] Isocrat. Panegyric. Thucyd. de Bello Peloponnes.
[g] Harpocrat. in *Σύμβολον*.
[h] Suidas.
[i] Herodot. lib. i.
[k] Aristoph. Schol. Equit. Hesychius.
[l] Zenob. Cent. iii. Prov. 79.
[m] Lucian. Astrolog.
[n] Herodot. lib. vi.

CHAP. VII.

The Camps, Guards, and Military Course of Life of the Greeks.

OF the form of the Grecian camps nothing certain can be advanced, because they were varied according to the custom of different states, or to suit the conveniences of time and place. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, are said to have been prescribed a constant method of encampment by their lawgiver, who thought a spherical figure the best for defence.[o] The same people also frequently moved their camps, being accustomed to prosecute all their enterprises with vigor, and utterly averse from passing their time without action.[p]

Of the rest of the Grecian camps it may be observed, that the most valiant of the soldiers were placed at the extremities, the other in the middle; in order that the stronger might be a guard to the weaker, and sustain the first onset of the enemy.[q] Hence Achilles and Ajax were posted at the ends of the Grecian camp before Troy, as bulwarks on each side of the other princes, who had their tents in the middle:—

Ἦ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίης Τελαμωνιάδαο
Ἠδ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, τοί ῥ' ἔσχατοι νῆας ἔἰσας
Εἴρυσαν, ἠνορέῃ πίσυνοι, καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν.[r]

Thence his voice
Might reach the most remote of all the line
At each extreme, where Ajax and the son
Of Peleus, fearless of surprise, and strong
In conscious valor, flank'd the tented field. COWPER.

When the Greeks intended to continue long in their encampments, they contrived a place in which altars were erected to their gods, and the several parts of divine worship solemnly performed. When the general had any thing to communicate to his men, public assemblies were convoked in the same place, and courts of justice held, in which all disputes among the soldiers were decided, and criminals sentenced to suffer punishment:—

—— κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο
Ἷξε θέων Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε, θέμις τε
Ἦην, τῇ δὴ καί σφι θεῶν ἐτετεύχατο βωμοί.[s]

Soon as he came, where, on the crowded strand,
The public mart and courts of justice stand;
Where the tall fleet of great Ulysses lies,
And altars to the guardian gods arise. POPE.

When they were in danger of having their camp attacked, they usually fortified it with a trench and rampart, on the sides of which they erected turrets, from which they annoyed their enemies with missive weapons.[t]

[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[p] Plutarch. Apophtheg. Laconic.
[q] Sophocl. Ajax, ejusque Schol. Triclin. v. 4.
[r] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 222.
[s] Id. ib. λ'. v. 806.
[t] Id. ib. η'. v. 436.

The manner of living in camps depended on the disposition of the generals, some of whom allowed their soldiers all sorts of excess and debauchery; whilst others obliged them to the strictest rules of temperance and sobriety.[u] The Lacedæmonians were free from all kinds of excess, pomp, and luxury: the young men, when not upon duty, were always employed in some exercise or manly study; and the old were occupied in giving instructions; and their leisure hours were spent in rallying each other after the Laconic manner. Yet their lawgiver allowed them greater liberty in the camp than in the city.[v] The same people were likewise permitted to have costly arms and fine clothes; and they frequently perfumed themselves, and curled their hair in the camp.[w]

It was also customary at Athens for the soldiers of the cavalry to encourage their hair to grow.[x] This custom seems to have been derived from the primitive times, as the Greeks in Homer are frequently called *καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί*. Afterwards, besides several other changes in the military discipline of the Athenians, they were forbidden by a law to nourish their hair and to live delicately.[y]

The guards of the Greeks may be divided into *φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναὶ* and *νυκτερινα*ὶ; the former being upon duty by day, and the latter by night. At several hours in the night, certain officers, called *περίπολοι*, walked round the camp, and visited the watch; and to know whether any of them were asleep, they carried a little bell, denominated *κώδων*, at the sound of which the soldiers were to answer.[z] Hence to go this circuit was termed *κωδωνίζειν* and *κωδωνοφορεῖν*; and hence also *κωδωνίζειν* signifies to try or prove,[a] and *ἀκωδώνιστος*, untried or unproved.[b]

The Lacedæmonian guards were not allowed to have their bucklers, in order that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be cautious of falling asleep.[c] The rest of the Spartan soldiers were obliged to sleep in their armor, that they might be prepared for battle upon an alarm.[d] It may be also noticed of the Spartans, that they kept a double watch: one within their camp to observe their allies, lest they should suddenly desert; the other upon some eminence, or other place, where they might perceive the motions of their enemies.[e]

How often the guards were relieved does not appear. Indeed, the word *φυλακή*, which denotes a watch, is frequently taken for the fourth part of the night; but it has this signification rather from the Roman than the Grecian watches, the former of which were changed four times every night, that is, every third hour, computing the night from six to six, or rather from sun to sun; for the time between the two suns was divided into twelve equal parts, which were not always the same as our hours, but greater or less according to the season of the year.

[u] Polybius.
[v] Plutarch. Cleomene.
[w] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 208 et 209.
[x] Aristoph. Nub. act. i. scen. 1. Equit. act. iii. scen. 2.
[y] Aristoph. Schol. ad Equit.
[z] Suidas; Thucyd. lib. iv.
[a] Aristoph. *Βατράχοις*.
[b] Idem Lysistratæ.
[c] Tzetz. Chil. ix. Hist. 276.
[d] Xenophon.
[e] Idem.

CHAP. VIII.

Battles, Signals, Standards, and Manner of terminating War by single Combat.

BEFORE the soldiers engaged, they always refreshed themselves with victuals.[f] The commanders then marshalled the army in order of battle, and drawing it up into one front, trusted the event to a single force. We find, however, that in the Trojan war Nestor placed a body of horse in the front; behind these, the weakest of the foot; and, last of all, such as excelled the rest in strength and valor.[g] After the army was marshalled, the general made a speech to his soldiers, in which he exhorted them to exert their utmost vigor against their enemies; and such was the effect that attended these speeches, that the soldiers were frequently animated with fresh courage, and repulsed the enemy by whom perhaps they had before been defeated.[h]

Before the Greeks engaged, they endeavoured by prayers, sacrifices, and vows, to obtain the assistance of heaven; and they sang a hymn to Mars, called *παιὰν ἐμβατήριος*, as that to Apollo after a successful battle was termed *παιὰν ἐπινίκιος*.[i] The Lacedæmonians had a peculiar custom of sacrificing to the Muses, which was designed to soften their anger, and render them cool and sedate;[k] or it was intended to animate them to the performance of great and noble exploits, which might deserve to be transmitted to posterity by those goddesses.[l] The soothsayers inspected all the sacrifices, to foretel the success of the battle; and till the omens proved favorable, the Greeks chose rather tamely to resign their lives to the enemy, than to defend themselves. The Spartans, especially, were greatly addicted to this superstition.[m]

The signals of the Greeks are commonly divided into *σύμβολα* and *σημεῖα*.

Σύμβολα were of two kinds, either *φωνικὰ*, those pronounced by the mouth, or *ὁρατὰ*, those visible to the eye:[n] the first are termed *συνθήματα*; the latter, *παρασυνθήματα*.

Σύνθημα was *the word* communicated by the general to the subordinate officers, and by them to the whole army, as a mark of distinction to know friends from foes.[o] It commonly contained some good omen, or the name of some deity worshipped by their country, from whom they expected success in their enterprises.[p] Thus Cyrus used *Ζεὺς σύμμαχος*, *ἡγεμὼν*, or *σωτήρ*.[q] This custom, however, often proved of

[f] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 155.
[g] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 297. Plutarch. de Homero.
[h] Pausan. Messen. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. Justin. lib. iii.
[i] Thucyd. Schol. lib. i. &c.
[k] Plut. *περὶ ἀοργησίας*.
[l] Id. Lycurgo.
[m] Id. Aristide.
[n] Ælian. cap. 34. Arrian.
[o] Thucyd. lib. iv. 112. Polyæn. i. 11. Xenoph. Anab. i. 8. 16.
[p] Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Valerius Maxim. lib. i. cap. 5.
[q] Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii.

fatal consequences; for by frequently questioning each other, they bred confusion among themselves, and also discovered the word to their enemies.[r]

Παρασύνθημα was a visible character of distinction, as nodding the head, waving the hand, clashing the weapons, or the like.[s]

Σημεῖα were ensigns or flags, the elevation of which was a signal to join battle,[t] and the depression to desist.[u] Of these there were different sorts, several of which were adorned with images of animals, or of other things that peculiarly related to the cities to which they belonged: the Athenians had on their ensigns an owl,[v] as being a bird sacred to Minerva, the protectress of their city; and the Thebans a sphinx,[w] in memory of the famous monster overcome by Œdipus.

The σημεῖον was frequently a purple coat upon the top of a spear.[x] The ancient Grecian signals were lighted torches thrown from both armies by men called πυρφόροι or πυροφόροι, who were priests of Mars, and therefore held inviolable, and who, having cast their torches, had a safe retreat.[y] Hence of battles fought with great fury, in which no quarter was given, it was usual to say, Οὐδ' ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη, Not even a torch-bearer escaped. To this custom there are frequent allusions in the Greek and Latin poets:[z]

> Ἔχθρα δὲ πυρσὸν ἦραν ἠπείροις διπλαῖς.[a]
> They raised envenom'd Discord, who then shook
> Her baleful torch within two continents.

These being laid aside, they used κόχλους, shells of fishes,[b] sounded in the manner of trumpets, which in those days were not invented, and which, though mentioned by Homer, were unknown in the time of the Trojan war.[c]

Afterwards, the Greeks used trumpets, of which there were six sorts.[d] 1. The first was invented by Minerva, the patroness of almost all arts; and hence she was called Σάλπιγξ.[e] Some, however, are of opinion that this trumpet was invented by a son of Hercules, called Tyrrhenus, whose son Hegelaus, in memory of the invention, and from gratitude to the goddess, gave her this surname.[f] 2. The second was the Egyptian trumpet, called χνούη, which was the invention of Osiris. Its shape was round; and it was used at sacrifices to assemble the people.[g] 3. The third was invented in Gallia Celtica, where it was termed κάρνυξ. It gave a shrill sound, but was not large. It was cast in a mould, and had its mouth adorned with the figure of some animal. They had a pipe of lead, through which they blew into the trumpet when they sounded. 4. The fourth was first used

[r] Thucyd. lib. vii. Polyæn. lib. i.
[s] Ornosand. Strateg. cap. 26.
[t] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 49 et 63.
[u] Suidas.
[v] Plutarch. Lysandro.
[w] Plut. Pelopida; Corn. Nep. Epaminonda.
[x] Polyb. lib. ii. Polyæn. i. 43. Plut. Cleomene.
[y] Euripid. Schol. in Phœniss. v. 1386. Lycophr. Schol. v. 250.
[z] Stat. Theb. iv. v. 5. Claudian. de Rapt. Proserpin. lib. i.
[a] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 1295.
[b] Theocrit. Idyll. κβ'. v. 75, Lycophr. v. 249. Ovid. Met. lib. i.
[c] Tzetz. in Lycophr. v. 250. Eustath. Il. ξ'. Schol. in Il. σ'. v. 219. φ'. v. 388.
[d] Eustath. Il. σ'.
[e] Lycophr. Cassand. v. 915. Hesych. Phavorin. Eustath. Il. σ'.
[f] Pausan. Corinth.
[g] Eustath. loc. cit.

in Paphlagonia, and called *βόϊνος*, from *βοῦς*, the figure of an ox upon its orifice: it had a deep bass sound. 5. The fifth was invented in Media, had also a deep note, and was sounded by the help of a pipe composed of reeds. 6. The sixth was called *σάλπιγξ Τυῤῥηνικὴ*, because invented by the Tyrrhenians, from whom it was communicated to the Greeks by Archondas, who came to assist the Heraclidæ, or posterity of Hercules.[h] Others attribute the invention of it to Tyrrhenus, the son of Hercules.[i] Its orifice was cleft, and sent forth a loud and shrill sound, not unlike the Phrygian flute, whence it was of all others the most proper for engagements. To it Ulysses in Sophocles compares the voice of the goddess Minerva:—

Ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
Ὡς εὐμαθές σου κἂν ἄπoπτος ᾖς, ὅμως
Φώνημ' ἀκούω, καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ,
Χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.[k]

Ye accents of Minerva, of the gods
Most friendly to me! Well, O queen, I know
Thy voice, though thou not seen; it strikes my sense
Clear as the Tuscan trumpet's brass-tuned notes. POTTER.

In this passage, as the scholiast observes, the voice of Minerva is likened to the Tyrrhenian trumpet, because it was easily known by its loudness, as that trumpet excelled all others, from which it was easily to be distinguished.

These were the most common and remarkable trumpets; there were, indeed, others of less note, and less frequently used.[l]

Several other instruments were used in sounding alarms: as, the *σύριγξ*, pipe, in Arcadia; and the *πηκτὶς*, sometimes termed *μάγαδις*, in Sicily. The Cretans were called to battle by the sound of *αὐλοὶ*, flutes;[m] some, by that of lutes or viols;[n] and others, of harps.[o] He who sounded the alarm was called by the Cretans *ἴβριος*; and by others *ἰβυκτὴρ*,[p] from a sort of trumpet denominated *ἴβυξ*.

The Lacedæmonians were particularly remarkable for beginning their engagements with a concert of flutes.[q] Agesilaus, being asked the reason of this, said, that it was to distinguish cowards, who on account of their consternation were unable to keep time with their feet to the music; and Thucydides assures us that the intention was to render the soldiers cool and sedate, that they might advance towards their enemies with composed minds and settled countenances. The Lacedæmonian army being drawn up in order of battle, and the enemy at hand, the king sacrificed a she-goat, and commanded the soldiers to adorn their heads with garlands, and the musicians to play on the flutes *Καστόρειον μέλος*, the tune of Castor's hymn; whilst he advancing forward began the *ἐμβατήριος παιὰν*, alarm. This was at once a delightful and terrible sight, to see men marching and keeping

[h] Sophocl. Schol. Ajac. v. 17. Suid. Diod. Sic. lib. v.
[i] Hygin. Fab. 274.
[k] Sophocl. Ajac. v. 16.
[l] Suidas; Sophocl. Schol. Ajac.
[m] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 70. Polyb. lib. iv.
[n] A. Gellius lib. i. cap. 2. Martian. Capell. lib. ix.
[o] Athenæ. lib. xii. et xiv. Eustath. Il. ψ'. Plut. de Music.
[p] Hesych.
[q] Polyb. lib. iv. Xenoph. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. xii. et xxi. Quintil. i. 16. Thucyd. lib. v. Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 6. Lucian. de Saltat.

pace to the tune of flutes, without disturbing their order or confounding their ranks, the music leading them into danger cheerful and unconcerned. Men thus disposed were not likely to be possessed with fear, or transported with rage; but they proceeded with a deliberate valor, full of hope and good assurance, as if sensibly assisted by a divine power.[r]

The rest of the Greeks advanced to battle with eagerness and fury, and in the beginning of the engagement gave a general shout to encourage and animate themselves, and strike the enemy with terror. This shout was called ἀλαλαγμὸς, from the soldiers repeating ἀλαλὰ;[s] and ἀλαλητὸς;[t] and by some the soldiers are said to have cried ἐλελεῦ.[u] The first author of this shout was Pan, who was the general of Bacchus in his Indian expedition; in which being encompassed in a valley by an army far superior in number, he advised the god to order his men in the night to give a general shout, which so surprised the enemy that they immediately fled from their camp. Hence all sudden fears, without any just reason, were called by the Greeks panic terrors.[v]

This custom of shouting was used by almost all nations; and it was so common among the Greeks,[w] and so necessary to a battle, that φύλοπις, ἀϋτὴ, and βοὴ, are employed by Homer as equivalent terms for μάχη; and when he commends his heroes for being βοὴν ἀγαθοὶ, he often means no more than μάχην ἀγαθοὶ, excellent warriors.[x] Among other beautiful descriptions of this kind, the poet, in the following passage, compares the military noise to torrents rolling with impetuous force from mountains into the vallies below:—

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χείμαῤῥοι ποταμοὶ, κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες,
Ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄμβριμον ὕδωρ,
Κρουνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης,
Τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δοῦπον ἐν οὔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμὴν·
Ὡς τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε, φόβος τε.[y]

As torrents roll, increased by numerous rills,
With rage impetuous down their echoing hills;
Rush to the vales, and, pour'd along the plain,
Roar through a thousand channels to the main;
The distant shepherd trembling hears the sound:
So mix both hosts, and so their cries rebound. Pope.

It was also very desirable that a commander should have a strong and loud voice, which might enable him to give his orders with proper effect, and likewise inspire the enemy with terror.[z]

In the wars of the heroic ages, generals fought at the head of their armies;[a] and hence they are frequently called πρόμαχοι and πρόμοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ προμαχίζειν τῷ στρατῷ, from fighting before the army.

Τρωσὶν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής.[b]
Leading the Trojans god-like Paris fought.

Afterwards, this practice was laid aside; and the generals, consider-

[r] Plut. Lycurgo.
[s] Polyæn. i. 2. Poll. i. 10.
[t] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 436.
[u] Suidas; Xenoph. Anab. i. 8. 18.
[v] Polyæn. lib. i.
[w] Hom. Il. π'. v. 267. 276.
[x] Idem ib. β'. v. 408.
[y] Idem ib. δ'. v. 452.
[z] Eustath. Il. β'. γ'. λ'. Plut. Coriolano.
[a] Hom. Il. π'. v. 218.
[b] Idem ib. γ'. v. 16.

ing how much the event of the battle depended on their preservation, usually chose a place of safety.

The retreat and other commands seem usually to have been sounded on the same instrument with which the alarm was given; but where the alarm was sounded by soft music, the retreat and other orders were signified by louder instruments.[c]

The Lacedæmonians, when their enemies fled from the field of battle, were not allowed to prosecute their victory, or pursue them to any great distance.[d] The strict order of discipline observed by this people induced them to suffer their enemies to escape, rather than, by breaking their ranks, to overtake them;[e] and the Spartans also considered it base and unmanly to kill men who had ceased to resist them.[f]

It was frequent among the Greeks to end their quarrels by single combat, or by two or more champions on each side; and their kings and great commanders were so eager in the pursuit of glory, and so sparing of the lives of their soldiers, that they frequently challenged their rivals to decide their cause by single fight.[g]

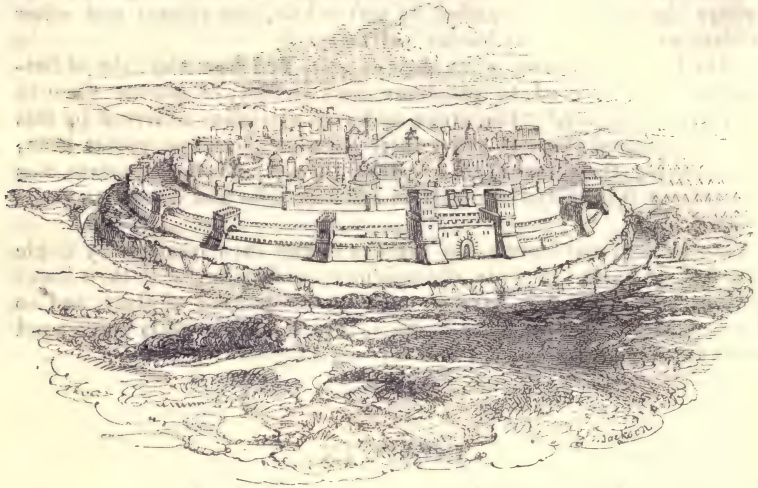
CHAP. IX.

Sieges, and the Engines employed in them.

THE early Greeks were unacquainted with the art of besieging towns.[h] Their cities were not fortified with walls; and the inhabitants, once vanquished in the open field, became an easy prey to an invading army, which compelled them to remove their habitations.[i] Nor were the Greeks of later ages very expert in managing sieges. The Lacedæmonians, however, were the most unskilful in this kind of warfare.[k] Indeed, their lawgiver obliged them, by a particular injunction, not easily to engage in besieging towns; and to lose their lives in such undertakings was accounted inglorious and unworthy of a Spartan.[l]

[c] Polyb. lib. ii.
[d] Thucyd. lib. v. Polyæn. i.
[e] Pausan. Messeniac.
[f] Plut. Lycurg. Apoph. Lacon.
[g] Polyæn. i. 19. Plut. Parall.
[h] Hom. passim.
[i] Thucyd. lib. i.
[k] Herodot. ix. 69.
[l] Plut. Sylla; Hom. Il. χ'. v. 360.

CIRCUMVALLATION OF A TOWN.



When the Greeks endeavoured to possess themselves of a town or castle, they usually attempted it first by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it on all sides at once; which they called *σαγηνεύειν*. When they intended to lay close siege to a place, they commenced the *ἀποτειχισμὸς* or *περιτειχισμὸς*, work of circumvallation, which sometimes consisted of a double wall or rampart made of turfs, called *πλίνθοι* and *πλινθία*. The interior fortification was designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the town, and to deprive it of all possibility of succour from without; and the exterior fortification, to secure them from foreign enemies who might come to the relief of the besieged. When the Peloponnesians invested Platæa, they raised a double wall; the space between each wall was sixteen feet, and was occupied with lodges for guards and sentinels, which were built at regular distances from each other, and between every tenth of which was a large tower, extended from wall to wall.[m]

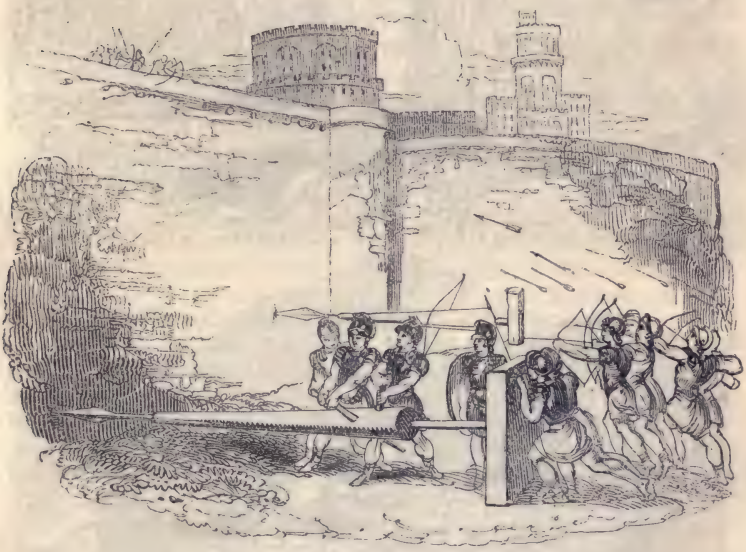
Engines were first called *μάγγανα*,[n] and afterwards *μηχαναί*.[o] Like other inventions of art, they were introduced from the eastern nations, and were unknown in Greece till after the Trojan war. Homer, indeed, speaks of *κρόσσαι*, which some ancient interpreters understand to signify *κλίμακες*, scaling ladders,[p] but which may probably denote the pinnacles of towers.[q] Others affirm that ladders were used in the

[m] Thucyd. vi. 1. 20. vii. 2. 2.
[n] Hesych.
[o] Lips. Poliorcet. i. 3. Xenoph. Cyrop.
[p] Hom. Il. μ'. v. 444.
[q] Idem ib .v. 258.

Theban war.[r] However, the different sorts of ladders were afterwards invented, when some were πηκταὶ, folded,[s] and others διαλυταὶ, to be taken in pieces,[t] for the convenience of carriage. The materials of which they were composed were also very different, being not only wood, but ropes, leather, &c.

Other engines were of a later date. The ram, indeed, is said to have been invented in the Trojan war, and to have given rise to the fable of the wooden horse, built by Epeus;[u] but this seems only conjecture, and to rest on no certain foundation. This engine, however, was very ancient, though the time of its invention has not been determined.[v]

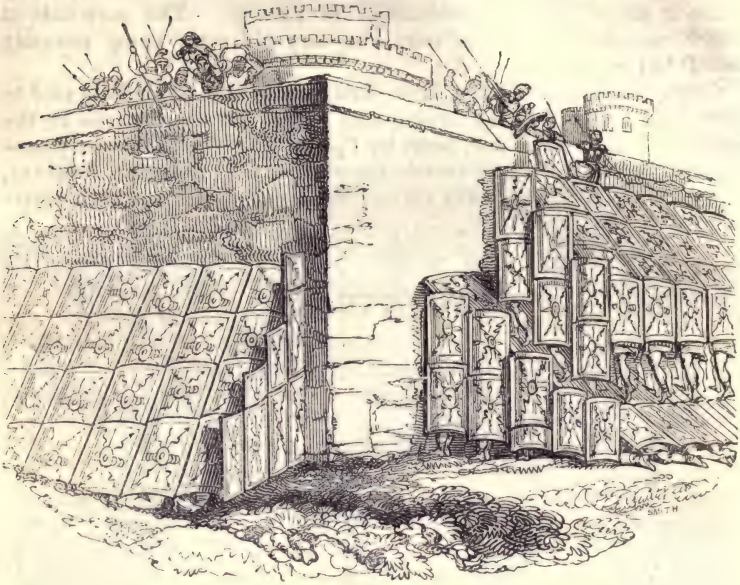
THE TRYPANA.

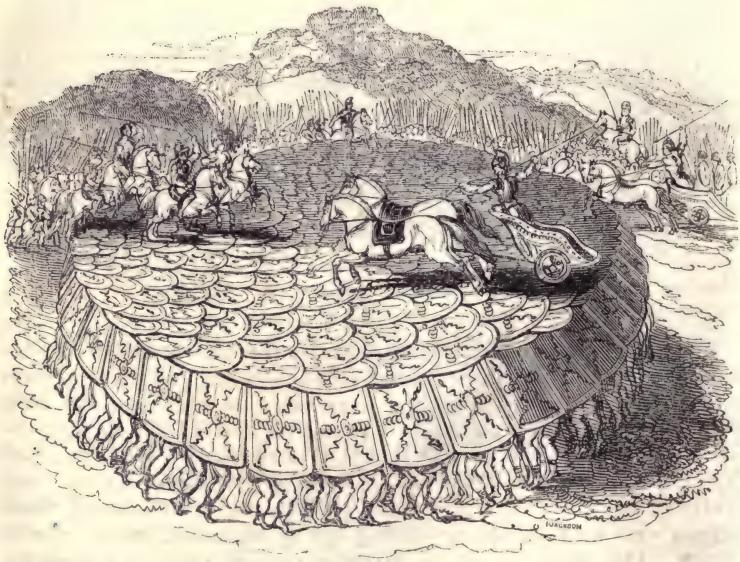


The only constant instruments used by the ancient Greeks in demolishing walls were those called τρύπανα, which were long irons with sharp ends. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that their most famous engines were invented about the time of the Peloponnesian war, in which it is evident that they were used.[w] Some say that Pericles, with the assistance of Artemon, an artificer of Clazomenæ, contrived rams, tortoises, &c.;[x] but others assert that some of these engines were used in the preceding age by Miltiades, at the siege of Paros.[y] The principal of the Grecian engines employed in sieges were these which follow:—

[r] Diod. Sic. iv. 67.
[s] Appian.
[t] Plut. Arato.
[u] Plin.
[v] Athenæ. lib. iv. fine.
[w] Thucyd.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Plut. Pericle.
[y] Corn. Nepos.

THE TESTUDO.





Χελώνη, a testudo or tortoise, which was so called from its covering or sheltering the soldiers, as a tortoise is covered by its shell.[z] There were several sorts of it; as,

1. **Χελώνη στρατιωτῶν**, the military testudo, sometimes called *συν-*

[z] Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 39. xliv. cap. 9. Athen. Lips. Poliorcet.

ασπισμὸς, was when the soldiers were drawn up close to each other, and the rear ranks bowing themselves placed their targets above their heads. The first rank stood erect, and the rest stooped lower by degrees, till the last rank kneeled on the ground; the men in the front and on the sides held their targets before their bodies, and the rest covered the heads of those who were placed before them; so that the whole body resembled a pent-house or roof covered with tiles, down which the missive weapons of the enemy easily glided, without injuring the soldiers underneath. This practice was sometimes used in open battles, but more frequently in surprising cities before the besieged were prepared for defence, and served to protect the besiegers in approaching the walls.

2. Χελώνη χωστρὶς was square, and its chief design, as the name imports, was to guard the soldiers in filling ditches, and casting up mounts.

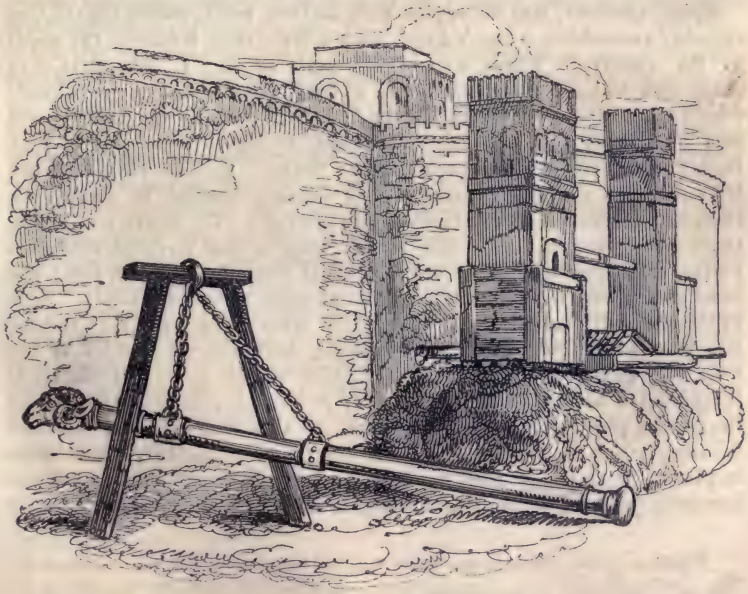
3. Χελώνη ὄρυξ was triangular, having its front shelving downwards for the protection of pioneers, who undermined walls.

4. Testudo arietaria, by which those who battered the walls were protected.

Γέρρα were wicker hurdles, which the soldiers held over their heads, and which resembled the Roman vineæ.

Another engine of boards, like the Roman pluteus, was used by the soldiers of Alexander.[a]

MOUNT, TOWERS, AND BATTERING RAM.



Χῶμα was a mount, which was raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the besieged walls. The sides were walled in with bricks or

[a] Quint. Curtius.

stones, or secured with strong rafters, to prevent it from falling. The fore-part only, which was to be advanced gradually nearer the walls, remained open. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, stones, &c.; and into the middle were cast wickers and twigs of trees, to fasten and cement the other parts.[b]

Πύργοι were moveable towers of wood, usually placed upon the mount. They were driven upon wheels, which were fixed within the bottom planks to secure them from the enemy;[c] and hence they called them φορητοὺς πύργους,[d] and πύργους ἐπτυγμένους.[e] Their size was not always the same, but proportioned to the towers of the city which was besieged. The front, and, in latter times, also the sides, were usually covered with tiles; and their tops with raw hides and other shrouds, to preserve them from fire-balls and missive weapons. They were formed into several stories, which were able to carry engines as well as soldiers.[f] The first contrivance of them is ascribed by some to certain artificers of Sicily, about the time of Dionysius the Tyrant; by some to Polyidus, a Thessalian, who was engineer to Philip, king of Macedon;[g] and by others to Diades and Chæreas,[h] who were instructed by Polyidus, and accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition. It would seem, however, that, as mention is made of wooden towers in the reign of Dionysius the Elder,[i] Diades and Chæreas improved, rather than invented them; and it might be that to these persons belonged the contrivance of making πύργους φορητοὺς, portable towers, so as to be taken in pieces and carried with the army.

Κριὸς, the ram, was an engine with an iron head, called κεφαλὴ,[k] or ἐμβολὴ,[l] resembling a ram's head, with which they battered the walls of the enemy.[m] There were three sorts of it. 1. The first was plain and without art, being only a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove with force against the wall. 2. The second was hung with ropes to another beam, by the help of which they thrust it forwards with much greater force. 3. The third differed from the last in being covered with a χελώνη, shroud, to guard the soldiers; whence it was called testudo arietaria. The beam was sometimes one hundred and twenty feet in length, and covered with iron plates, lest those who defended the walls should set it on fire; the head was armed with as many horns as were thought proper. One of the rams of Vespasian, the length of which was only fifty cubits, less than several of the Grecian rams, had a head as thick as ten men, and twenty-five horns, each as thick as one man, and placed at the distance of a cubit from the rest; the weight, as usual, hung on the hinder part, and was not less than one thousand and five hundred talents: when it was removed from one place to another, if not taken in pieces, it required one hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, or three hundred pairs of horses and mules, to draw it; and fifteen hundred

[b] Thucyd. ii. 75. Suid. Lips. Poliorcet. Lucan. lib. iii.
[c] Diod. Sic. xiv. 52. Xenoph. Cyrop. vi. 1. 52. vii. 1. 34.
[d] Athenæ.
[e] Appian. Bell. Civil. iv.
[f] Sil. Ital. lib. xiv.
[g] Athenæ. Mechanicis.
[h] Heron. cap. 16.
[i] Diod. Sic.
[k] Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. iii. 9.
[l] Suidas in Κριός.
[m] Virg. Æn. xii. v. 706.

men employed their utmost strength in forcing it against the walls.[n] Sometimes these rams were driven upon wheels.

Ἑλέπολις was invented by Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who, having taken Rhodes and several other towns by the help of this machine, obtained the surname of Πολιορκητής.[o] It was a machine of vast bulk, not unlike the ram covered with a shroud, but of much greater size and force; and it was driven both with ropes and wheels, and contained several other smaller engines, from which stones and other missile weapons were cast.[p]

Καταπέλται denote sometimes arrows,[q] and sometimes engines from which arrows were cast;[r] in the latter of these significations they are called ὀξυβελεῖς[s] and βελοστάσεις.[t] The invention of these engines is ascribed by some to the Syrians,[u] and by others to the Sicilians, about the time in which Dionysius the Elder engaged in the war with Carthage.[v]

Engines to cast stones were of several sorts: some for smaller stones only, as σφενδόναι, slings; others for those of a larger size, called sometimes by the general names of μάγγανα and μαγγανικὰ ὄργανα,[w] which denoted all sorts of engines, or ἀφετήρια ὄργανα,[x] those designed for casting missile weapons; and sometimes by more peculiar titles, as λιθοβόλοι,[y] πετροβόλοι,[z] the word μηχαναὶ being understood, and πετροβόλα[a] and πετροβολικὰ ὄργανα, which, nevertheless, are names so general as to comprehend all engines that cast stones. The famous engine which the Romans called ballista, and by which stones, not less than mill-stones, were thrown with such force as to destroy whole houses at once,[b] though used in Greece, does not appear to have any proper denomination.

On the approach of the enemy, the besieged gave notice to their confederates to hasten to their assistance: in the day, this was done by raising a great smoke; and in the night, by fires or lighted torches, called φρυκτοὶ and φρυκτωρίαι; whence to signify the coming of enemies was denominated φρυκτωρεῖν.[c] These torches were termed φρυκτοὶ πολέμιοι, to distinguish them from those called φρυκτοὶ φίλιοι, which were lighted on the approach of friends: the latter were held firm and unmoved; the former were waved in the air.

The walls were guarded with soldiers, who, with stones and other missile weapons, assaulted the invaders; and the καταπέλται and other engines of that kind, being planted within the town, played upon them. Many other methods were used. The Tyrians, heating brass bucklers red-hot, filled them with sand and lime, which they poured on the soldiers of Alexander, and which, getting between their armor and flesh, burned them very much, and obliged them to strip

[n] Joseph. de Bell. Judaic.
[o] Plut. Demetrio.
[p] Diod. Sic. xx. 49. Plut. Demetr. Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii.
[q] Appian. de Bell. Punic.
[r] Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 159.
[s] Diod. Sic. xx. 84.
[t] Id. xx. 86.
[u] Plin.
[v] Diod. Sic. xiv. Plut.
[w] Lips. Poliorcet. iii. 3.
[x] Suidas.
[y] Diod. Sic. xx. 92.
[z] Id. xx. 86.
[a] Suidas.
[b] Lucan. lib. iii.
[c] Theognid. Schol. Hom. Schol. Il. ϝ.

off their armor, so that the besieged wounded them without receiving any injury themselves. The mines of the besiegers were sometimes rendered ineffectual by countermines; their mounts were undermined; their towers and engines were burned with fire-balls; and the besieged defended themselves with skins, woolpacks, and whatever would ward off stones and other missile weapons. They broke off the heads of battering rams with great stones from the walls; or they rendered them useless by cutting with long scythes the ropes by which they were governed. If there remained no hope of defending the walls, they sometimes raised new ones and forts within. Many other contrivances were used by the besieged.

When the Greeks got possession of a city, they sometimes put to the sword all who were found in arms, demolished the walls and buildings, and reduced the rest of the inhabitants to slavery; sometimes they received them into favor, requiring only a tributary acknowledgment. The Athenians were wont to send colonies to inhabit the places which they had depopulated, and which they divided by lots among some of the commonalty, when met in a public assembly.[d]

When the Greeks demolished a city, they pronounced dreadful curses against those who should rebuild it; and this, as some think, was the reason that Troy, which had been devoted to irreparable ruin by Agamemnon, could not be raised out of its ashes, though attempted by several persons.[e]

CHAP. X.

Treatment of the Slain, and Military Funerals.

The ancient Greeks treated their dead enemies in a very indecent and barbarous manner, by disfiguring and stabbing them, and exposing them to ignominy and scorn. This cruel and inhuman practice was not entirely abolished in the Trojan war; for, among other instances, Hector lay unburied many days, was dragged around the walls of Troy and the sepulchre of Patroclus, and suffered indignities of every kind.[f] It was also customary for the conquerors to hinder their enemies from interring their dead, till they had paid large sums of money for their ransom: thus, Hector's body was redeemed from Achilles;[g] and that of Achilles from the Trojans, for the same price.[h] If the bodies were not ransomed, they frequently remained unburied.

> Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
> Ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δ' ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν,
> Οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι.[i]
>
> That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
> The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain,
> Whose limbs, unburied on the naked shore,
> Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore. Pope.

[d] Schol. Aristoph. Nub.
[e] Eustath. Il. δ'.
[f] Hom. Il. χ'. v. 398 et 367.
[g] Idem. ib. ω'.
[h] Lycophron. Cassandra v. 289.
[i] Hom. Il. α'. v. 3.

This custom, however, was not so common as in more early times;[k] and in succeeding ages it was wholly discontinued.

The Athenians were superstitiously careful to procure an honorable interment for the bodies of their own soldiers, who had valiantly lost their lives in fighting for their country;[l] and the neglect or omission of this rite was deemed highly criminal.[m]

When the Greeks carried their arms into distant countries, they reduced the bodies of their dead to ashes, that they might be conveyed to their relations and deposited in the tombs of their ancestors.[n] This we find practised in the Trojan war:—

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς
Βουσὶ καὶ ἡμιόνοισιν· ἀτὰρ κατακήομεν αὐτοὺς
Τυτθὸν ἄπο πρὸ νεῶν, ὥς κ' ὀστέα παισὶν ἕκαστος
Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὖτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.[o]

Then we will haste with oxen, mules, and wains,
To wheel these bodies down toward the fleet,
Where we will burn them, that the bones of each
May be deliver'd safe at our return
To his own children. COWPER.

The Lacedæmonians considered this as an useless labor, and therefore buried their dead in the country where they died; only their kings they embalmed with honey, and conveyed them home.[p]

All the soldiers attended at the funeral solemnities with their arms reversed; it being customary for mourners to act in a manner contrary to what was usual at other times.[q] The tombs were adorned with inscriptions of their names, and sometimes of their parentage and exploits. This honor the Spartan lawgiver granted only to women who died in childbed, and to soldiers who lost their lives in battle.[r] These last were buried with green boughs, and honored with an oration. Such of the Spartans as excelled the rest, and were esteemed complete warriors, were interred in their red coats;[s] and their arms were fixed upon their tombs. This latter custom was not peculiar to Sparta, but prevailed in every part of Greece, where, besides their arms, it was usual to add the badge of whatever other profession they had borne. Elpenor, appearing to Ulysses in the shades below, entreats him to fix upon his tomb the oar with which he used to row, and to cast his arms into the funeral pile.[t] On the grave of Misenus, the trumpeter of Æneas, his arms, oar, and trumpet were fixed.[u]

It was customary for the Spartan matrons, when an engagement had taken place near home, to examine the dead bodies of their sons; and those who had received more wounds behind than before were conveyed away privately, or left in the common heap; but those who had a greater number of wounds in their breasts were carried away with triumph, to be buried among their ancestors.[v] They were conveyed home upon their bucklers;[w] and hence that famous command of the

[k] Hom. Il. ξ'. v. 414. η'. v. 408. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 27. Plut. Theseo.
[l] Plut. Nicia; Diod. Sic. xv.
[m] Xenoph. Græc. Hist. lib. i.
[n] Hom. Schol. Il. α'. v. 52.
[o] Hom. Il. η'. v. 332.
[p] Plut. Agesilao.
[q] Virg. Æn. xi. 92. Stat. Theb. vi.
[r] Plut. Lycurgo.
[s] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 6.
[t] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 74.
[u] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 232.
[v] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 21.
[w] Auson. Epigram. 24.

mother to her son, Ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς, Bring this (buckler) home with you, or be brought upon it.[x]

The Athenians used to place the bodies of their dead in tents three days before the funeral, that the people might have an opportunity of finding their relations, and paying them the last honors. On the fourth day, a coffin of cypress was sent from every tribe to convey the bones of their own relations; after which went a covered hearse, in memory of those whose bodies could not be found. All these, accompanied by the whole body of the people, were carried to the public burial place, called Ceramicus, and there interred. One oration was spoken in commendation of them all; and their monuments were adorned with pillars, inscriptions, and all other ornaments which decorated the tombs of the most honorable persons. The oration was pronounced by the fathers of those who had behaved most valiantly;[y] and on the anniversary of the solemnity, the same oration was constantly repeated every year.[z] As an exception to the ordinary practice at Athens, it is observable, that the brave men who were slain in the battle of Marathon were interred in the place where they fell, to perpetuate the memory of that wonderful victory.[a] It may be also observed, that in their lists the names of the soldiers deceased were marked with the letter θ, the initial of θανόντες, which signifies dead; those of the living with τ, the initial of τηρούμενοι, which denotes preserved. The same custom was afterwards adopted by the Romans.[b]

CHAP. XI.

Military Booty, Offerings to the Gods after Victory, Trophies, &c.

Military booty consisted of prisoners and spoils. The prisoners who could not ransom themselves were made slaves, and either sold, or employed in the service of their conquerors:[c] they were called αἰχμάλωτοι,[d] and δορυάλωτοι.[e]

The spoils were commonly distinguished by two names, being taken either from the dead, and termed σκῦλα,[f] or from the living, and called λάφυρα;[g] but sometimes they were denominated ἔναρα,[h] which included those taken from the dead as well as from the living.[i] These spoils consisted of garments, arms,[k] standards, and, in general, of whatever moveables belonged to the conquered,[l] whose whole property by the laws of war passed to the conquerors.[m]

In early times, heroes or great commanders, who fought in chariots,

[x] Plut. Apophthegm.
[y] Polem. in Argum. τῶν ἐπιταφίων λόγων.
[z] Cicero de Oratore.
[a] Thucyd. lib. iii.
[b] Ruffin. in Hieronym. Isidor. Hispal. lib. i. cap. 23.
[c] Pausan. viii. 47. ix. 15. Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 427.
[d] Xenoph. in Agesil.
[e] Poll. vii. 33. seg. 156.
[f] Suidas.
[g] Id. in Λάφυρα.
[h] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 68.
[i] Eustath. ad Il. α'.
[k] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 458.
[l] Xenoph. Cyropæd. iii.
[m] Plato de Leg. lib. i.

no sooner gained a victory over their rivals than they seized their armor.[n] Common soldiers were not permitted such liberty, but gathered the spoils of the dead after the battle was ended; and if they attempted to collect them before, they were considered as deficient in discipline.

Μήτις νῦν ἐνάρων ἐπιβαλλόμενος, μετόπισθε
Μιμνέτω, ὥς κεν πλεῖστα φέρων ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηται·
Ἀλλ' ἄνδρας κτείνωμεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἕκηλοι
Νεκροὺς ἀμπεδίον συλήσετε τεθνειῶτας.[o]

No son of Mars descend for servile gains,
To touch the booty, while the foe remains.
Behold yon glittering host, your future spoil!
First gain the conquest, then reward the toil. POPE.

The same method was followed in succeeding ages. The Lacedæmonians, however, were forbidden to take the spoils of those whom they had conquered;[p] and the reason assigned for this prohibition was, that it was unworthy of a Lacedæmonian to be enriched by them.[q] In order, therefore, to prevent their soldiers from seizing the spoils, the Spartans had always three hundred men appointed to observe their actions, and to put the law in force against delinquents.[r]

The whole booty was brought to the general,[s] who first made choice of that which pleased him best,[t] gave to those, who had signalized themselves in the battle, according to their merits,[u] and divided the remainder in equal portions among the rest.[v] Hence Achilles complains of Agamemnon, that he had always the best part of the booty; whilst he himself, who sustained the burden of the war, was content with a small pittance.[w] Whenever any booty of great value was taken, the soldiers reserved it for a present to their general, or to the commander of their party.[x]

Before the spoils were distributed, the Greeks considered themselves obliged to make an offering of the best of them to the gods, to whose assistance they were indebted for them all. Those selected for this purpose were called *ἀκροθίνια*, as if *ἀκροσίνια*, *παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλοὺς*, because the war, in which they were collected, had destroyed many;[y] or *ἀπὸ τοῦ θινὸς*, because after naval engagements they were exposed on the shore; or rather *ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ θινὸς*, from the top of the heap, because all the spoils being collected into one heap, the first fruits were offered to the gods:[z] in allusion to this custom, the word *ἀκροθινιάζεσθαι* signifies to choose the best of any thing.[a]

The gods to whom this honor was paid were not only those whom they considered as having a peculiar concern in military affairs, as Mars, Minerva, &c. but several others, as Jupiter, Juno, and any to

[n] Hom. passim.
[o] Id. Il. ζ'. v. 68.
[p] Ælian. lib. vi. cap. 6.
[q] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.
[r] Eustath. Il. ζ'. v. 66.
[s] Hom. Il. ι. v. 331.
[t] Id. ib. λ'. v. 703.
[u] Id. ib. ι. v. 334.
[v] Id. ib. λ'. v. 703.
[w] Id. ib. α'. v. 163.
[x] Herodot. Calliop. Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 298.
[y] Eustath. Odys. δ'.
[z] Suid. Sophocl. Schol. Trachin.
[a] Eurip. Hercul. Fur. v. 476.

whom they thought themselves obliged for success, and especially those who were the protectors of their city or country.

The Greeks had several methods of consecrating spoils: sometimes they collected them into a heap and consumed them with fire, and sometimes they made presents, which were hung up in temples.[b] It was very common to dedicate the armor of the enemy, and to suspend it in temples; but the Lacedæmonians were forbidden this; and the reason assigned was, that offerings taken from cowards ought not to be exposed to the eyes of the gods, or to those of youth.[c] This custom, however, was very ancient,[d] and almost universally adopted.[e]

It was also usual to dedicate to the gods their own weapons, when they retired from the noise of war to a private life; and this seems to have been performed as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods, by whose protection they had been delivered from dangers.[f] Lest, however, these arms should fall into the hands of malecontents in tumults and insurrections, they were rendered unfit for service; and hence the bucklers were hung up without handles.

As a farther expression of their gratitude to the gods, it was customary to offer solemn sacrifices, and return public thanks to them. It is observable that the Lacedæmonians, for their greatest success by force of arms, offered only a cock to the god of war; but when they obtained a victory by stratagem and without bloodshed, they sacrificed an ox:[g] by this they intimated to their generals that policy, as well as valor, was requisite in a warrior, and that those victories were to be preferred, in which they suffered the least. It may also be proper to add, that the Greeks had a custom which resembled the Roman triumph: the conquerors, crowned with garlands, repeating hymns and songs, brandishing their spears, attended by their captives, and exposing all their spoils to public view, made a procession through the middle of their city; and this was called *θεατρίζειν*.[h]

Trophies were denominated by the ancient Athenians *τροπαῖα*, and by succeeding ages, *τρόπαια*.[i] They were dedicated to some of the gods, especially to Jupiter, surnamed *Τρόπαιος* and *Τροπαιοῦχος*;[k] and to Juno who shared in her husband's title, and was called *Τροπαία*.[l] The manner of adorning trophies was by hanging up all sorts of arms taken from the enemy.[m]

> ———*Τρόπαια ἱδρύεται*
> *Παντευχίαν ἔχοντα τῶν πολεμίων.*[n]
> All sorts of arms that from the foe he took,
> He hung about the trophy which he rais'd.

To these were commonly added the names of the god to whom they were dedicated, of the conquerors and the conquered; with an ac-

[b] Herodot. lib. ix.
[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon.
[d] Eustath. in Il. *η'*. v. 81.
[e] Hom. Il. *η'*. v. 81. Virg. Æn. vii. v. 183. 1 Sam. xxi. 9.
[f] Hor. lib. i. epist. i. v. 4. Ovid. Trist. lib. iv.
[g] Plut. Instit. Lacon.
[h] Phavorinus.
[i] Aristoph. Schol. Plut. v. 453.
[k] Pausan. Lacon. Plut. Parall. Phurnutus.
[l] Phavorin. Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 1328.
[m] Juvenal. Sat. x. v. 133
[n] Euripid. Heraclid. v. 786.

count of all the spoils and other remarkable occurrences of the war. This inscription was called ἐπιγραφὴ or ἐπίγραμμα, and was frequently engraven, whence ἐπὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ ἐγκολάψαι, to engrave on the trophy;[o] and sometimes it was written with ink, whence Othryades, the Lacedæmonian, just surviving his victory over the Argians, caused a trophy to be erected, upon which, whilst supported by his spear, he inscribed with his own blood, instead of ink, Διὶ Τροπαιούχῳ.[p]

The spoils were hung upon the trunk of a tree; and the olive was frequently used for this purpose, on account of its being the emblem of peace, which is a consequence of victory. Several other trees were also honored in the same manner, especially the oak, which was consecrated to Jupiter.[q] It was likewise customary to erect trophies upon eminences, that they might be more conspicuous.[r] Instead of trees, succeeding ages erected pillars of stone or brass to preserve the memory of their victories; and to raise these was called ἱστάναι τρόπαιον, an expression that was also applied to the erection of trees; for if the place which was chosen was destitute of trees fit for the purpose, it was usual to supply that defect by erecting one.[s]

To demolish trophies was considered unlawful and sacrilegious, because they were all consecrated to some deity. Nor was it deemed a less crime to pay them divine adoration, or to repair them when decayed, which was a means of reviving past injuries. For the same reason, those Greeks who first introduced the custom of erecting pillars as trophies, incurred a severe censure from the age in which they lived.[t]

The Macedonians never erected trophies, to which they were obliged by a law observed from the reign of Caranus, one of whose trophies was devoured by wolves;[u] and for this reason Alexander the Great, how vain soever in other instances, never raised a trophy.

After trophies fell into disuse, the Greeks still raised monuments to preserve the memory of their victories, and to testify their gratitude to the gods. Even before the disuse of trophies, statues were sometimes erected to the gods, especially to Jupiter:[v]

——Διὸς τρόπαιον ἱστάναι βρέτας.[w]

Sometimes the same god was honored with a temple on the same account.[x] Sometimes they erected towers, which they adorned with the spoils of their enemies.

It was also customary to raise altars to the gods; of which we have an instance in Alexander, who, returning from his Indian expedition, erected altars scarcely inferior to the most lofty towers in height, and exceeding them in breadth.[y]

[o] Lucian.
[p] Plut. Parall. Stobæus; Tit. de Fortuna.
[q] Sidon. Panegyr. Stat. Thebaid.
[r] Virg. Æn. xi. v. 4.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Plut. Rom. Quæst.
[u] Pausanias.
[v] Herodot. lib. ix.
[w] Eurip. Phœniss.
[x] Pausan. Laconicis.
[y] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. lib. v.

CHAP. XII.

Military Punishments and Rewards, and the Manner of conveying Intelligence.

The Greeks had no certain method of correcting their soldiers, but left that to the discretion of their commanders. In a few cases, indeed, the laws made provisions.

Αὐτομόλοι, runaways, suffered death.[z]

Ἀστράτευτοι, they who refused to serve in war, or who quitted their ranks, were obliged, by a law of Charondas, to sit three days in the public forum in women's apparel.[a] At Athens ἀστράτευτοι, they who refused to serve in war; λειποτάκται, they who deserted their ranks; and δειλοὶ, cowards, were not permitted to wear garlands, nor to enter the ἱερὰ δημοτελῆ, public temples:[b] they were also obliged by the undecemviri to appear in the court called Heliæa, where a fine was imposed, or other punishment inflicted, according to their demerit; and if a fine was imposed, the criminal was imprisoned till payment was made.[c] Among these may be reckoned ῥιψάσπιδες, they who lost their bucklers, which was deemed a mark of extreme cowardice; and hence a law was enacted, that whoever charged another falsely with this crime should be fined.[d] But the Lacedæmonians inflicted the severest punishments on all such offenders; for their laws obliging them either to conquer or die, they who quitted their bucklers were as much disgraced as if they had forsaken their ranks. Among the same people, fugitives or runaways were deprived of all honors, and it was reckoned a disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met them in the streets had liberty to beat them, and they were not permitted to resist in their own defence; and to render them more remarkable, they were obliged to wear a dirty habit, to have their gowns patched with different colors, and their beards half shaven and half unshaven.[e] Their reproach was likewise extended to their whole family; and therefore their mothers frequently atoned for their crime by stabbing them at their first meeting. Demaratus, being asked why they punished with such severity those who quitted their bucklers, when the loss of the helmet or coat of mail was deemed less disgraceful, replied, that these were only intended for the defence of single persons, whilst bucklers were serviceable to the whole army; and Archilochus, the poet, was banished from Sparta for triumphing in an epigram at the loss of his buckler.[f]

To pawn their arms was also accounted a crime among the Greeks, and was forbidden by a law at Athens.[g]

As rewards of valor, the private soldiers were invested with office,

[z] Ulpian. ad Timocrat.
[a] Diod. Sicul. xii. 16.
[b] Æschin. in Ctesiph. Demosth. in Timocrat.
[c] Æschin. in Ctesiph. Demosth. in Timocrat.
[d] Lys. Orat. α'. in Theomnest.
[e] Plut. Agesil.
[f] Strab. xii. Plut. Instit. Lacon.
[g] Aristoph. Plut. act. ii. sc. iv.

and the subordinate officers honored with higher commands.[h] It was also customary for the general to reward with large gifts those who had signalized themselves.[i] Hence Agamemnon encourages Teucer to conduct himself bravely, by assuring him of a considerable reward when the city should be taken:

> Πρώτῳ τοὶ μετ' ἐμὲ πρεσβήϊον ἐν χερὶ θήσω,
> Ἢ τρίποδ', ἠὲ δύω ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν,
> Ἠὲ γυναῖχ', ἣ κέν τοι δμὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνοι.[k]
>
> Whatever treasures Greece for me design,
> The next rich honorary gift be thine;
> Some golden tripod, or distinguish'd car,
> With coursers dreadful in the ranks of war;
> Or some fair captive whom thy eyes approve,
> Shall recompense the warrior's toils with love. POPE.

Sometimes crowns were presented, on which were inscribed the names and actions of the persons who had merited them.[l] Some were honored with permission to raise pillars or erect statues to the gods, with inscriptions declaring their victories.[m] This, however, was an honor which neither Miltiades nor Themistocles could obtain; for in the primitive ages rewards were distributed more sparingly than in succeeding times, when the road to honor became easier, and men were rewarded for actions which were only of an ordinary nature.[n]

At Athens, another honor conferred on the valiant was, to have their arms deposited in the citadel, and to be called Cecropidæ, citizens of the true ancient blood.[o] Some were presented with a *πανοπλία*, complete suit of armor.[p] Others were praised in songs of triumph,[q] and in funeral speeches;[r] and Demosthenes composed *ἐπιτάφιον λόγον*, a funeral oration, on those who fell at Chæronea.[s] The rewards of valor were denominated *ἀριστεῖα*,[t] *ἔπαθλα*, *νικητήρια*, and *ἐπινίκια*.

They who lost any of their limbs in the war, and were called *ἀδύνατοι*, were maintained at the public charge, provided they had not an estate of three Attic pounds yearly; on which account they were examined by the senate of five hundred. Their allowance was an obolus a day: some say that they had two oboli every day; and others, that they received nine drachmæ, or fifty-four oboli, every month.[u]

The children of those who valiantly sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the Athenian commonwealth,[v] were educated at the public charge till they arrived at years of maturity. They were then presented with a *πανοπλία*, complete suit of armor,[w] and brought forth before the people, when one of the ministers proclaimed before them as follows: "In remembrance of their fathers' merits the republic has hitherto educated these young men, but now dismisses them thus armed, that they may thank their country by imitating their fathers' examples." As a farther encouragement they had

[h] Xenoph. Hipparch. Memorab. iii. 4. 1.
[i] Virg. Æn. ix. v. 263.
[k] Hom. Il. θ'. v. 289.
[l] Demosth. adv. Androt.
[m] Plutarch. Cimone.
[n] Æschin. in Ctesiphont.
[o] Demosth. Funebr.
[p] Plut. Alcibiade.
[q] Plut. Lysandro.
[r] Thucyd. ii. 34. Lucian. de Luctu.
[s] Demosth. Opp.
[t] Ælian. Var. Hist. v. 19.
[u] Plut. Solone; Lysias *περὶ ἀδυνάτου*; Harpocrat. Suid. v. *Ἀδύνατοι*.
[v] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[w] Aristid. in Panath.

the honor of *προεδρία*, the first seats at shows and at all public meetings.

The laws of Solon provided also for the parents of those who died in war; it being reasonable that those who had lost, in the service of the commonwealth, their sons, the comfort and support of their declining age, should be maintained at the public charge.[z]

The Greeks conveyed intelligence by different means, and by different sorts of messengers. The *ἡμεροδρόμοι* were lightly armed with darts and hand grenadoes, or with bows and arrows;[y] one of whom was Phidippides, famous in the history of Miltiades for his vision of Pan.[z] But the contrivance of all others, the most celebrated for close conveyance of intelligence, was the Lacedæmonian *σκυτάλη*, which was a white roll of parchment wrapped round a black stick, and which was about four cubits in length,[a] and derived its name from *σκύτος*, a skin. The manner and use of it was as follows:—when the magistrates commissioned any general or admiral, they took two round pieces of wood, equal to each other in size: one of these they kept, and delivered the other to the commander, to whom when they had any thing of importance to communicate, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it upon their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business upon it; then taking it off, they despatched it to the commander; and he applying the parchment to his own staff, the folds exactly corresponded with each other, as at the writing; and the characters, which before were confused and unintelligible, became very plain, and attested the authenticity of the magistrates' command.[b]

CHAP. XIII.

The different Sorts of Ships.

They who ventured themselves on the sea made their first attempts in shallow water, and trusted not themselves at any considerable distance from the shore; but being emboldened by frequent trials, they proceeded farther by degrees, till at length they took courage, and launched into the main ocean.[c]

To whom the world is indebted for the invention of ships is uncertain. Several persons pretend to this honor, as Prometheus, Neptune, Janus, Atlas, Hercules, Jason, Danaus, Erythræus, &c.; but common fame assigns it to Minerva, the mother of all the arts and sciences. Some, who, leaving these antiquated fables of the poets, endeavour to proceed with more certainty, ascribe the invention to the Æginensians, Phœnicians, and other inhabitants of the sea coasts.[d]

It is supposed by some that the Athenians were the first Grecians

[z] Plat. Menexeno; Diog. Laert. Solon.
[y] Suidas.
[z] Corn. Nepos Miltiade.
[a] Pindar. Schol. Olymp. Od. vi.
[b] Plut. Lysandr. Aristoph. Schol. in Av. A. Gellius.
[c] Claudian. Præfat. in Rap. Proserpinæ.
[d] Plin. lib. v. cap. 12. Strab. lib. xvi. Mela lib. i. cap. 12.

that made use of ships.[e] The inhabitants of the isle of Ægina addicted themselves early to navigation, the invention of which, as has been already observed, has been attributed to them.[f] The inhabitants of Salamis also excelled, in the heroic times, in the knowledge of navigation. To these may be added the Argives;[g] but none of these people could be compared with the Cretans, who are said to have possessed the empire of the sea.[h] The Lacedæmonians must also have addicted themselves at an early period to maritime affairs;[i] though they were afterwards by a law forbidden navigation.[k] It was not till a later period, that the Corinthians became so powerful at sea. It is observable, that the wood which the Greeks used in building ships was alder, poplar, or fir,[l] which being hard and light were most proper for the purpose.

The first ships were built without art, and possessed neither strength nor ornament; but they consisted only of planks laid together, and so compacted as to keep out the water.[m] In some places they were nothing more than hulks of trees made hollow, which were called πλοῖα μονόξυλα, from their consisting of one piece of timber only.[n] In later ages, also, the same were used at some places, and were called σκάφη in the proper acceptation of that word,[o] from σκάπτεσθαι, because they were made by hollowing a tree. Nor was wood alone applied to this purpose, but any other materials that floated on the water without sinking; as the Egyptian reed papyrus, or leather, of which in ancient times ships were frequently composed, and from which they were called πλοῖα διφθερινὰ or δερμάτινα. These were sometimes surrounded with wickers, and sometimes made only of leather, or hides sewed together.[p] Of this last kind was the infernal boat of Charon.[q]

When ships were brought to rather more perfection and increased in size, the sight of them struck the ignorant people with terror and amazement; for it occasioned no small surprise to behold floating castles full of men, and with expanded wings flying on the sea.[r] From this originated the fiction of the flight of Perseus to the Gorgons, who, as we are expressly told, was carried in a ship;[s] the story of Triptolemus, who was feigned to ride upon a winged dragon, because that in a time of dearth at Athens he sailed to more fruitful countries in order to supply the necessities of his people; the fable of the winged horse Pegasus, who, as several mythologists report,[t] was only a ship of that name with sails, and on that account said to be the offspring of Neptune, the emperor of the sea;[u] and the stories of griffins, or of ships transformed into birds and fishes, which are frequently met with in the ancient poets. So acceptable to the first

[e] Pausan. lib. i. cap. 31. Athen. lib. ix.
[f] Hesiod. Fragm.
[g] Apollod. lib. ii. Plin. lib. vii. seg. 57.
[h] Thucyd. lib. i. Herodot. lib. iii. Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Strabo lib. x.
[i] Hom. Il. β'. v. 94.
[k] Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[l] Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 239. Plat. de Leg. lib. iv.
[m] Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 40. Isidorus.
[n] Virg. Georg. i. v. 136.
[o] Polyæn. lib. v.
[p] Lycophr. Cassandr. ejusque Schol. v. 75.
[q] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 414.
[r] Apollon. ejusque Schol.
[s] Aristoph. Thesmophor.
[t] Palæphat. Artemidorus.
[u] Voss. Idol. lib. iii. cap. 94.

ages of the world were inventions of this nature, that whoever made any improvements in the art of navigation, built ships after new forms, or rendered them more commodious by additional contrivances, or discovered unknown countries, were numbered among the deified heroes, and had their inventions and discoveries consecrated and fixed in the heavens. Hence the signs of Aries and Taurus, which were only two ships; the former of which carried Phryxus from Greece to Colchos, and the latter Europa out of Phœnicia into Crete. Hence also Argo, Pegasus, and Perseus's Whale, were new kinds of ships, which being held in great admiration by the ignorant people, were, in memory of their inventors, translated among the stars, and changed into constellations.

At first, all ships, for whatever use designed, were of the same form; but afterwards they were constructed and equipped in a different manner, and consisted chiefly of three sorts: ships of war, of burden, and of passage.

Ships of passage were distinguished by several names, which were usually taken from what they carried: those which served for carrying men were called by the general names of *πόρια* and *ἐπιβάδες*; those filled with armed men, by the particular titles of *ὁπλιταγωγοὶ* and *στρατιώτιδες*; and those in which horses were transported were named *ἱππηγοὶ*, *ἱππαγωγοὶ*, &c.

Ships of burden were called *ὁλκάδες*,[v] *φορτηγοὶ*,[w] and *πλοῖα*, to distinguish them from ships of war, which were properly termed *νῆες*. They were usually of a round form,[x] and were large and capacious that they might contain a great quantity of victuals, provisions, and other necessaries with which they were laden; and hence they were sometimes called *στρογγυλαὶ*;[y] as, on the contrary, ships of war were named *μακραὶ*,[z] because they were longer than the former. They agreed in part with the transport vessels, which were of a form between the ships of war and of burden, and were exceeded by the latter in capaciousness, and by the former in length. There was also another difference: ships of war, though not entirely destitute of sails, were chiefly rowed with oars, that they might be able to tack about and approach the enemy on his weakest side; and hence ships of war were usually called *ἐπίκωποι* and *κωπήρη*, because managed by oars. On the contrary, vessels governed by sails were at the mercy of the winds, and could not be conducted with so much steadiness; and ships of burden were commonly governed with sails, and those of transport often towed with cords; but in both these, the three modes of government, by sails, oars, and cords, were occasionally used.

Ships of war are said to have been first rigged out by Parhalus, or Samyres; some say, by Semiramis, and others,[a] by Ægæon. They were farther distinguished from other sorts of ships by various engines and buildings; some of which were intended to defend their own sol-

[v] Thucyd. vi. 30.
[w] Plut. Pompeio.
[x] Thucyd. ii. 97.
[y] Schol. Thucyd. loc. cit.
[z] Ulpian. in Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinum.
[a] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. ult.

diers, and others to annoy the enemy. They were also distinguished from each other in later ages by several orders or banks of oars, which were not placed on the same level in different parts of the ship; but the seats being fixed at the back of each other, ascended gradually in the manner of stairs. The most usual number of these banks was three, four, and five; and hence there is such frequent mention of *νῆες τριήρεις*,[b] *τετρήρεις*,[c] and *πεντήρεις*,[d] trireme, quadrireme, and quinquireme gallies, which exceeded one another by a bank of oars, and consequently being built more high, rowed with greater strength. In the primitive times the long ships had only one bank of oars, whence they are sometimes termed *μονήρεις*, and *κέλητες*, from the name of a single horse; but when we find them called *πεντηκόντοροι*, and as far as *ἑκατόντοροι*, we are not to understand that they were rowed with 50 or 100 banks, but only with 50 or 100 oars. One of these was the ship Argo, which was invented by Jason in the year before Jesus Christ 1253, was rowed with 50 oars, and was the first of the long ships that sailed out of the ports of Greece;[e] for till that time all vessels were of a form more inclining to oval. Others[f] carry the invention of long ships rather higher, and refer it to Danaus, who, they say, sailed from Egypt into Greece in a ship of fifty oars; and even if Jason introduced long ships into Greece, he cannot be considered as the contriver of them, but rather as the imitator of the Egyptian or African model, the latter of which had been composed by Atlas some time before, and was much used in those parts. The Erythræans were the first that employed a double bank of oars;[g] this was farther enlarged with the accession of a third, by Aminocles of Corinth[h] or by the Sidonians;[i] Aristotle, a Carthaginian, added a fourth; Nesicthon of Salamis,[k] or Dionysius the Sicilian,[l] a fifth; Xenagoras the Syracusan, a sixth; Nesigiton increased the number to ten; Alexander the Great, to twelve; Ptolemy Soter, to fifteen; Philip, the father of Perseus, to sixteen;[m] Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, to thirty; and Ptolemy Philopater, to forty.[n] The last mentioned ship appeared at a distance like a floating mountain or island, and, at a nearer view, resembled a great castle on the water: it contained four thousand rowers, four hundred mariners employed in other services, and almost three thousand soldiers; but this and such like fabrics were rendered unwieldy by their bulk, and were more for show and ostentation than for real use. The common names by which they were known were Cyclades, or Ætnæ, islands or mountains,[o] to which they seemed almost equal in size; and they consisted, as it is said, of as many materials as were sufficient for the construction of at least fifty triremes.

[b] Pollux i. 9. seg. 119. Lysias in *Ἀπολογ. Δωροδοκίας.*
[c] Diod. Sic. xix. 62. Athen. v. 8.
[d] Athen. ibid.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Plin. lib. vii. seg. 57.
[f] Apollodor. lib. ii.
[g] Plin.
[h] Herodot. Thucyd. Diod. Sic.
[i] Clem. Alex. Strom. i.
[k] Plin.
[l] Diod. Sic.
[m] Polyb. Fragm. Liv.
[n] Plut. Demetrio; Athen. lib. v.
[o] Athenæus.

Besides those already mentioned, there were other ships with half banks of oars; as ἡμιολία or ἡμίολος, which was between an unireme and bireme, and consisted of a bank and a half; and τριημιολία, which was between a bireme and trireme, and had two banks and a half. These, though perhaps built in other respects after the model of the long ships, or ships of war, are seldom comprehended under that name, and are sometimes mentioned in opposition to them. There were several other ships, which differed from those already enumerated, and which were appropriated to particular uses, or fitted for certain seas. These were employed on urgent necessities in naval battles, but more commonly as ὑπηρετικαὶ, tenders, and victualling ships, to supply the main fleet with provisions; and sometimes they were built for expedition to carry expresses, and observe the motions of the enemy, without danger of being taken by the heavier and armed vessels. They were distinguished from the former by the manner of their construction and equipment, being partly like ships of war, and partly like ships of burden; and in some respects differing from both, as the various exigencies in which they were employed seemed to require.

CHAP. XIV.

The Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

The principal parts of which ships consisted were three; the body, the prow, and the stern. These were again composed of several smaller parts.

1. In the body, or middle part of the ship, was τρόπις,[p] the keel, which was composed of wood, and therefore, from its strength and firmness, called στείρη.[q] It was placed at the bottom of the ship to cut through the waves,[r] and was, therefore, narrow and sharp; and hence it is observable that not all ships, but only the μακραὶ, whose bodies were strait and of a small circumference, were provided with keels, the rest having usually flat bottoms.[s] Round the keel were placed pieces of wood to save it from damage when the ship was first launched, or when it bulged against rocks; and these were denominated χελεύσματα, wedges,[t] and were the same as those now called bilgeways.

Next to the τρόπις was φάλκις,[u] called by the moderns the limber, within which was contained the ἀντλία, pump, through which water was conveyed out of the ship.[v]

After this was δευτέρα τρόπις, second keel, called by the moderns the kelson, which was placed beneath the pump, and called λέσβιον, χαλκήνη, κλειτοπόδιον:[w] by some it is erroneously supposed to be the same as φάλκις.

[p] Hom. Odys. μ'. v. 421 et 438. et Schol. minor. ad h. l.
[q] Hom. Il. α'. v. 482. et Schol. minor. ad h. l.
[r] Schol. Hom. Odys. μ'.
[s] Isidor. lib. xxi. cap. 1.
[t] Ovid. Met. xi. v. 516.
[u] Pollux.
[v] Aristoph. Schol. Equit.
[w] Pollux.

Above the pump was a hollow place called *κοίλη τῆς νηὸς*,[x] the hold of the ship, or *κύτος* and *γάστρα*,[y] because it was large and capacious, and in the form of a vessel or belly. This was surrounded with ribs, which were pieces of wood rising from the keel upwards, and called *νομεῖς*,[z] and *ἐγκοίλια*,[a] the belly of the ship being contained within them; upon these were placed certain planks, which the Greeks denominated *ἐντερονείας*[b] or *ἐντερωνίδα*.

The *πλευραὶ*,[c] sides of the ship, denominated by the moderns the top timbers, which encompassed all the former parts, were composed of large rafters extended from prow to stern, and called *ὑποζώματα*,[d] *ζωστῆρες*,[e] and *ζωμεύματα*,[f] because by them the whole ship was girded or surrounded. These rafters are now denominated wales.

In both these sides the rowers had their places, which were called *τοῖχοι* and *ἑδώλια*,[g] and were situated above one another: the lowest was called *θάλαμος*,[h] and those who labored in it were denominated *θαλάμιοι*; the middle *ζυγὰ*,[i] and the men *ζύγιοι*; and the uppermost *θράνοι*,[k] and the rowers *θρανῖται*. In these were spaces through which the rowers put their oars, and which, being sometimes one continued vacuity, were called *τράφηξ*. They were, however, more commonly distinct holes, each of which was intended for a single oar; these holes were denominated *τρήματα*, *τρυπήματα*,[l] and *ὀφθαλμοὶ*,[m] because they were not unlike the eyes of living creatures; and all of them were, by a more general name, termed *ἔγκωπα*, from their containing the oars.[n] Ἔγκωπὸν signified the spaces between banks of oars on each side, in which passengers were placed. Upon the top of all these was a passage or place to walk on, called *πάροδος*, and *παράθρανος*, from its being joined to the *θράνοι*, uppermost bank of oars, and was the same as the gangway.

2. Πρώρα, the prow, foredeck, or forecastle, was sometimes called *μέτωπον*, the forehead,[o] and *ἔμβολον*, the beak of the ship.[p] Mention is made of ships which had two prows and two sterns. It was customary to beautify the prow with gold, and with various sorts of colors. In the primitive ages red was the prevailing color; and hence ships were commonly designated *μιλτοπάρηοι* and *φοινικοπάρηοι*, red-faced.[q] Blue, or sky-color, as resembling the color of the sea, was also frequently used; and hence ships were sometimes called *κυανόπρωροι*[r] and *κυανέμβολοι*.[s] The Greeks likewise employed several other colors, which were often annealed by wax melted in the fire, that neither the sun, the wind, nor the water, could efface them. This art was called from the wax *κηρογραφία*; and from the fire

[x] Herodot.
[y] Pollux.
[z] Hesych.
[a] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. iv. 3.
[b] Aristoph. Schol. Equit. v. 1182.
[c] Poll. i. 9. seg. 88. Athen. v. 11.
[d] Plat. de Rep. x. Athen. v. 9.
[e] Heliodor. Ethiopicis.
[f] Aristoph. Schol. Equit. v. 279.
[g] Herodotus lib. i.
[h] Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 161.
[i] Poll. i. 9. seg. 87.
[k] Id. ibid.
[l] Aristoph. Pac. v. 1233.
[m] Aristoph. Schol. Acharn. v. 97.
[n] Athen. lib. v.
[o] Schol. Thucyd. ii. Suid. in v.
[p] Athen. v. 8.
[q] Homer.
[r] Idem.
[s] Aristoph. Equit. v. 551.

ἐγκαυστική.[t] In these colors the various forms of gods, animals, plants, &c. were usually described, and were also often added as ornaments to other parts of the ship.

The sides of the prow were termed πτερὰ, wings, and παρία, or rather παρειαὶ, cheeks. The top of these, and also of the stern, was called παρεξειρεσία,[u] because void of rowers.

3. Πρύμνη, the stern, or quarter-deck, was sometimes denominated οὐρὰ, the tail,[v] from its being the hindmost part of the ship. It was of a more circular form than the prow, the extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the water; it was also higher than the prow, and was the place in which the pilot sat to steer. The bow of it was called ἐπισείων, and the planks of which that was composed were denominated τὰ περιτόνεια. Rather below the top was another place called ἀσάνδιον, the interior part of which was termed ἐνθέμιον.

The ornaments, with which the extremities of the ship were decorated, were called by the general name of ἀκρόνεα,[w] or νεῶν κορωνίδες;[x] and those of the prow were also denominated ἀκροστόλια,[y] from being placed at the end of the στόλος, which was a long plank at the head of the prow, and therefore sometimes termed περικεφαλαία.[z] The form of them sometimes resembled helmets, and sometimes living creatures, but most frequently winded into a circular form; and hence they were commonly named κορύμβαι or κόρυμβα,[a] and κορωνίδες.

To the ἀκροστόλια in the prow answered the ἄφλαστα,[b] quarter-badges, in the stern, which were often of a circular form, or fashioned like wings; to which a little shield, called ἀσπιδεῖον or ἀσπιδίσκη, was frequently affixed. Sometimes a piece of wood was erected, upon which ribbands of different colors were hung, and served instead of a flag[c] to distinguish the ship, and of a weathercock to signify the quarters of the wind. This was the ensign-staff.

Χηνίσκος was so called from χὴν, a goose, the figure of which it resembled, because geese were considered as fortunate omens to mariners, from their swimming on the surface of the water.[d] This ornament, according to some, was fixed at the bottom of the prow, where it was joined to the foremost part of the keel, and was the part to which anchors were fastened when cast into the sea; but others say that it was placed at the other end of the ship, and fixed at the extremity of the stern.[e]

Παράσημον was the flag by which ships were distinguished from one another.[f] It was placed in the prow just below the στόλος, being sometimes carved, and frequently painted, and representing the form of a mountain, tree, flower, &c. In this it was distinguished from that called tutela, the safeguard of the vessel, which always represented some of the gods, to whose care and protection the ship

[t] Vitruv. lib. vii. cap. 9. Ovid. Fast. lib. iv.
[u] Thucyd. Scholiastes.
[v] Lucian. in Votis; Athen. lib. v.
[w] Suidas.
[x] Hesych. in Κορωνίδες; Eustath. ad Il. α'.
[y] Athen. lib. v. Eustath. Hom. Il. ο'.
[z] Pollux.
[a] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 241.
[b] Id. ib. ο'. v. 717. Athen. lib. v.
[c] Pollux; Eustathius.
[d] Schol. Lucian. Jove Tragædo, et in Votis.
[e] Etymolog. Auctor.
[f] Stanlei ad Æschyl. Sept. Theb. v. 214.

was recommended; for which reason the tutela was held sacred, and was a refuge and sanctuary to those who fled to it. Prayers also and sacrifices were offered, and oaths confirmed before the tutela, as the abode of the tutelary and presiding deity of the ship. Sometimes, indeed, it was taken for the παράσημον;[g] and perhaps in some instances the images of gods were represented upon the flags. By some the tutela is placed in the prow; but most authors of credit assign it to the stern.[h] The tutela and παράσημον are frequently distinguished in express words;[i] the former being always signified by the image of a god, and the latter usually by that of some creature, or feigned representation. The ship in which Europa was conveyed from Phœnicia into Crete had a bull for its flag, and Jupiter for its tutelary deity; and this gave rise to the fable of her being ravished by that god in the shape of a bull. It was customary for the ancients to commit their ships to the protection of those deities whom they thought most concerned for their safety, or to whom they bore any relation or affection. The whole fleet of Theseus, consisting of sixty sail, were under the care of Minerva, the protectress of Athens;[k] the navy of Achilles was committed to the Nereids, or sea nymphs, because he was related to them by his mother Thetis, who was one of their number; and the Bœotian ships had for their tutelary god Cadmus, represented with a dragon in his hand, because he was the founder of Thebes, the principal city in Bœotia. Single ships also were recommended to certain deities, who were the reputed protectors of their country or family, or who presided over the business in which they were engaged; thus merchants committed themselves and their ships to the care of Mercury, soldiers to Mars, and lovers to Venus and Cupid.[l]

On the prow of the ship, about the στόλος, was a round piece of wood called πτυχὶς, and sometimes ὀφθαλμὸς, the eye of the ship, because it was fixed on the foredeck.[m] This was the head; and on it was inscribed the name of the ship, which was usually taken from the flag:[n] hence occurs the frequent mention of ships denominated Pegasi, Scyllæ, Bulls, Rams, Tigers, &c. which the poets represented as living creatures that transported men from one country to another; and, according to some, there was no other foundation for the well-known fictions of Pegasus, of the winged horse Bellerophon, and of the Ram that is said to have carried Phryxus to Colchos.

The lower parts of the ship, which were under water, were called by the general name of ὕφαλα; and the higher parts which were visible, by that of ἕξαλα.[o]

The whole being completed, the ship was fortified with pitch to secure the wood from the water; and hence ships were frequently denominated μέλαιναι, black.[p] The first that used pitch were the inhabitants of Phæacia,[q] afterwards called Corsica. For the same

[g] Servius Æn. v. Lactant. i. 1.
[h] Ovid. Epist. ad Parid.
[i] Ovid. de Tristibus.
[k] Euripid. Iphigenia.
[l] Ovid. Epist.
[m] Eustath. Pollux. Apollon. Schol. Argon. lib. i. v. 1089.
[n] Ovid. Epist. ad Parid.
[o] Lucian. in Jove Tragædo.
[p] Homer.
[q] Suidas v. Ναυσίκαα.

purpose wax was employed,[r] which was sometimes mixed with rosin and other materials; and hence the colors of ships being various, the poets distinguished them by various epithets.

Lastly, the ship being decked with garlands and flowers, and the mariners adorned with crowns, it was launched into the sea with loud acclamations and other expressions of joy;[s] and being purified by a priest with a lighted torch, an egg, and brimstone,[t] or in some other manner, it was consecrated to the god whose image it carried.

CHAP. XV.

Naval Instruments.

The instruments used in navigation were of different sorts, being either necessary to all kinds of navigation, or only to some particular form of it, as that by sails, oars, &c. The principal of the former were these which follow:—

Πηδάλιον,[u] the rudder, was placed on the hindmost deck, and by it the pilot directed the course of the ship. The several parts of the rudder were οἴαξ,[v] φθεὶρ,[w] πτερύγιον,[x] αὐχὴν,[y] and κάμαξ.[z] The ancient Greeks used only one rudder,[a] which was fortified on both sides with hurdles made of the branches of sallow or osier, that it might resist the impetuosity of the waves.[b] Afterwards, in their greatest ships they employed two rudders,[c] and sometimes three or four. The places of these are uncertain, and perhaps were not always the same; but it seems probable that, when only two rudders were used, one was fixed to the foredeck, the other to the hindmost; and hence we meet with νῆες ἀμφίπρυμνοι, ships with two sterns. When four rudders were employed, one was probably fixed on each side of the vessel.

The anchor was called ἄγκυρα, and εἰνὴ;[d] and hence the phrases, ἀναστπᾶν, to draw out the anchor;[e] αἴρειν ἄγκυραν, to raise the anchor.[f] The invention of the anchor is by some ascribed to the Tuscans,[g] and by others to Midas, the son of Gordius, whose anchor was preserved in one of the temples of Jupiter;[h] and as there were different sorts of anchors, it is not improbable that both had a just claim to part of the invention. The most ancient anchors were only large stones bored through the middle;[i] or were made of wood, to which a great quantity of lead was commonly fixed; and in some places

[r] Ovid. Epist. Œnon. v. 42.
[s] Athen. lib. v.
[t] Apuleius Asin. lib. xi.
[u] Ælian. Var. Hist. ix. 40.
[v] Isidorus.
[w] Poll. i. 9. seg. 89.
[x] Id. ibid. Hesych. in Πτέρυγες.
[y] Heliodor. Æthiopic. v.
[z] Lucian. in Votis.
[a] Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 255.
[b] Id. ibid. v. 256 et 257.
[c] Ælian. ix. 40.
[d] Hom. Il. α'. v. 436. Eustath. in loc.
[e] Lucian. Dialog. Mort. Pollux i. 9. seg. 104.
[f] Plut. Apophth.
[g] Plin. lib. viii. cap. ult.
[h] Pausan. Atticis.
[i] Hom. Odys. ν'. v. 77. Apollon. Argon. Arrian. in Peripl. Pont. Euxin.

baskets full of stones,[k] and sacks filled with sand, were employed for the same purpose: all these were suspended by cords into the sea, and by their weight impeded the course of the ship. Afterwards, anchors were made of iron, and furnished with teeth, which fastening to the bottom of the sea kept the vessel immoveable; and hence ὀδόντες, teeth, frequently signifies anchors. At first there was only one tooth, whence anchors were called ἑτερόστομοι;[l] but in a short time a second was added by Eupalamus,[m] or by Anacharsis the Scythian philosopher;[n] and the anchors with two teeth were denominated ἀμφίβολοι, or ἀμφίστομοι. Every ship had several anchors, one of which exceeding the rest in size and strength was peculiarly termed ἱερὰ, and was never used except in extreme danger; and hence βάλλειν ἄγκυραν ἱερὰν, to cast the sacred anchor, was proverbially applied to such as were forced to their last refuge.[o]

Ἔρμα,[p] θεμέλιος, ἔρισμα, was ballast, with which ships were poised; and hence it is called ἀσφάλισμα πλοίου, the stability of the ship; and hence ἀνερμάτιστον πλοῖον, a ship without ballast. It was usually of sand, and sometimes of any other heavy materials.[q] It is also sometimes denominated κεφαλὸς and κεφαλόν.[r]

Βόλις, sometimes called καταπειρητηρίη,[s] was an instrument with which they sounded the depth of the sea, and discovered whether the bottom was firm and commodious for anchorage, or dangerous by reason of quicksands or other obstructions. It was commonly of lead or brass, or other weighty metal, and suspended by a chain into the deep. Hence βολίζειν signifies to sound the depth of the sea with this instrument.[t]

Κοντοὶ, sometimes denominated πλῆκτρα,[u] were long poles used to sound the depth of shallow water, to thrust the vessel from rocks and shelves, and to impel it forwards in fords and shallows, where the water was not sufficiently strong to carry it.

Ἀποβάθραι,[v] ἐπιβάθραι,[w] ἀναβάθραι,[x] or κλίμακες, were little bridges or stairs, which joined the land to ships, or ships to one another.

Ἀντλίον, ἄντλον, was an engine or machine by which filth and impure water were drawn out of the ship.[y]

To some of the above-mentioned instruments certain ropes were required, which were distinguished according to their several uses:—

Πείσματα were cables with which anchors were cast into the sea,[z] and which were sometimes denominated κάμιλοι,[a] or κάμηλοι.[b] Hence, when Christ, speaking of the difficulty of a rich man's entering into heaven, tells his disciples that it is harder than for a camel to pass

[k] Joseph. Suid. v. Ζεῦγμα.
[l] Pollux.
[m] Plin. lib. vii. cap. ult.
[n] Strabo lib. x. ex Ephoro.
[o] Lucian. Jove Tragœdo; Poll. i. 9. seg. 93.
[p] Eustath. ad Hom. Il. β'. v. 154. Aristoph. Av. v. 1429.
[q] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 618.
[r] Hesychius.
[s] Herodot. Euterpe.
[t] Act. Apost. cap. 27.
[u] Sophocl. Pollux i. 9. seg. 94. Hom. Odys. α'. v. 487.
[v] Schol. Thucyd. iv. 12. Lucian. Dialog. Mort.
[w] Diod. Sic. xii. 62.
[x] Lucian. loc. cit.
[y] Aristoph. Equit. v. 433. Pac. v. 17. Eustath. ad Odys. μ'. v. 411.
[z] Hom. Odys. ζ'. v. 268. Eustath.
[a] Aristoph. Schol.
[b] Suidas.

through the eye of a needle, Theophylact and some others interpret the word *κάμηλος*, not of the animal called a camel, but a cable.[c]

Ῥύματα,[d] ὁλκοὶ, or *σπεῖραι*, were ropes by which ships were towed, and were such as are now denominated hawsers.

Ἀπόγεια, *ἐπίγεια*, *πείσματα*,[e] *πρυμνήσια*,[f] were cords with which ships were tied to the shore. In most harbours stones were erected for this purpose, which were bored through like rings, and thence called *δακτύλιοι*, and to which cords cast from the stern were fastened ;[g] but in harbours not exposed to the violence of the winds and waves, ships remained loose and untied :

> Ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὔορμος, ἵν' οὐ χρεὼ πείσματός ἐστιν.[h]
> So still the port, there was no need of ropes.

The instruments used in rowing were the following :—

Κῶπαι, oars, received their denomination from Copas, who is said to have invented them ; they were also called *ἐρετμοί*. Πλάτη was the blade or broad part of the oar, which was usually covered with brass that it might with greater force and strength repel the waves, and last longer. There were several banks of oars placed gradually above each other : the oars of the lowest bank were shorter than the rest, and called *θαλάμιαι*, or *θαλαμίδιαι* ; those of the middle banks were termed *ζύγιαι* ; and those of the uppermost *θρανητικαὶ* and *θρανίτιδες*, and were the longest, being at the greatest distance from the water ; and, therefore, that the rowers might be more able to manage them, it was customary to fix lead to the handles of these last,[i] lest the bottom should outweigh the top.

Σκαλμοὶ were round pieces of wood, on which the rowers hung their oars when they rested ; hence *ναῦς τρίσκαλμος* denoted a ship with three rows of scalmi, or a trireme.

Τρόποι,[k] *τροπωτῆρες*,[l] were leathern thongs with which the oars were hung on the scalmi, and with which the rudder was also bound.* Leather and skins of animals were applied to several other uses, as to cover the *σκαλμοὶ*, and the holes through which the oars were put, to preserve them from wearing.[m] Under the rowers also were placed skins called *ὑπηρέσια*, and sometimes *ὑπαγκώνια* or *ὑποπύγια τῶν ἐρετῶν*, from guarding the elbows or breeches of the rowers.

Ἑδώλια, *σέλματα*, *ζυγὰ*, were the seats of the rowers.

Various terms are applied to oars and rowers : as, *τῆς κώπης ἐπιλαβέσθαι*, to take the oar ;[n] *τροποῦσθαι*, to be bound by the cord to the oar ;[o] *ἄσκωμα*, the skin with which the sides of the spaces were covered through which they put the oars ;[p] *ἐρέσσειν*, to row ;[q] *ἐρείδειν*,[r]

[c] Matthæi Evangel. cap. xix.
[d] Polyb. i.
[e] Hom. Odys. *κ'*. v. 96 et 127.
[f] Hesych. et Suid. in voc. Poll. i. 9. seg. 93. Hom. Il. *α'*. v. 436.
[g] Ovid. Met. xv. v. 695.
[h] Hom. Odys. *ι'*. v. 136.
[i] Athen. v.
[k] Hom. Odys. *δ'*. v. 782.
[l] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 548.
[m] Suidas v. *Διφθέρα*.
[n] Lucian. Dialog. Mort. Poll. i. 9. seg. 81.
[o] Lucian. in Catapl. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 552.
[p] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. v. 367.
[q] Pollux i. 9. seg. 98.
[r] Suidas in *ἐρείδειν*.

* The French and some other nations use the *τρόποι*.

and ἐλαύνειν,[s] to ply the oar; σχάσαι, to restrain the oar;[t] δικωπίαν ἔλκειν, to pull two oars;[u] ὁμορρόθειν, to assist a rower;[v] μετεωροκοπεῖν, to row in vain;[w] ταρσὸς, the broad part of the oar.[x]

The instruments used in sailing were as follows:—

Ἱστία, φώσσωνες, ἄρμενα,[y] ὀθόναι,[z] φάρη,[a] λαίφη,[b] sails, are said by some to have been invented by Dædalus, and to have given rise to the fable of his using wings; but others refer this invention to Icarus, and to Dædalus the contrivance of the masts and sail-yards.[c] At first there was only one sail in a ship; but afterwards more were found convenient; and their names were as follows:—

Ἀρτέμων was the top or main-sail, which hung upon the top of the mast.[d]

Ἀκάτια were the great sails, or courses.[e]

Δόλων was the small sail, or sprit-sail, on the foredeck:[f] some think that δόλων and ἀκάτιον were the same.

Ἐπίδρομος was the mizzen-sail, which was larger than the last, and hung in the hind-deck.[g]

Sails were commonly made of linen;[h] sometimes of any other materials capable of receiving and repelling the wind; sometimes of leather;[i] and at other times of garments: hence the fable of Hercules, who is said to have sailed with the back of a lion, because he used no other sail than his garment, which was the skin of a lion.[k]

The phrases στέλλειν ὀθόνην, στέλλειν ἱστία,[l] and συστέλλειν ἱστία,[m] signify to contract or shorten the sails; and ἁπλοῦν ἱστία, and πετᾶν ἱστία,[n] to expand or loosen the sails.

Κεραῖαι, κέρατα, the sail-yards, were pieces of wood fixed upon the mast, to which the sails were tied.[o] The name signifies a horn; and hence its extremities were called ἀκροκέραια; and its arms inclining to a circular figure were termed ἀγκύλαι. It had other parts close to the mast called ἄμβολα and σύμβολα, by which it was moved, and which were the halyards.

Ἱστὸς was the mast of the ship. Every ship had several masts; but we are told that at first there was only one mast,[p] which being fixed in the middle of the ship, the hole in which it was inserted was called μεσόδμη.[q] When they landed, the mast was taken down and placed on an instrument denominated ἱστοδόκη,[r] which was a case in which the

[s] Ælian. Var. Hist. ii. 9.
[t] Pindar. Pyth. Od. x. epod. γ'. v. 3.
[u] Lucian. Schol. Thucyd. iv. 67.
[v] Schol. Aristoph. Av. v. 852.
[w] Aristoph. Pac. v. 91.
[x] Pollux i. 9. seg. 90.
[y] Hesych.
[z] Poll. i. 9. seg. 103.
[a] Eustath. ad Odys. ω'. v. 146. Hesych. in Ἐπίδρομον.
[b] Eustath. ad Odys. ν'. Hesych. in Λαῖφος.
[c] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.
[d] Act. Apost. xxvii. 40.
[e] Hesych. in Ἀκάτια; Poll. i. 9. seg. 91.
[f] Suid. in Δόλων; Isidor.
[g] Hesych. Isidor. Poll. i. 9. seg. 91.
[h] Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 258. β'. v. 426.
[i] Dio. lib. xxxix.
[k] Serv. Æn. viii.
[l] Hom. Odys. π'. v. 353.
[m] Aristoph. Ran. v. 1030.
[n] Lucian. Dialog. Mort. Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 269.
[o] Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 254. Hom. Schol. Il. σ'. Athen. v. 11. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut. i. v. 566.
[p] Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 254. Aristot.
[q] Schol. Hom. Odys. β'. v. 424. Apollon. Rhod. Argon. i. v. 563.
[r] Hom. Il. α'. v. 434.

mast was deposited,[s] but which, some say,[t] was only a piece of wood against which it was reared. Hence, when the mast was set or erected, it was termed *ὀρθοῦσθαι*.[u] The parts of the mast were these:—*πτέρνα* or *πτέρνη*, the heel or foot, was the lower part of the mast;[v] *λινὰς*, *λινὸς*,[w] or *τράχηλος*,[x] nearly the middle part of the mast, to which the sail was fixed; *καρχήσιον*, the highest part of the mast, and the pulley by which the ropes were turned round;[y] *θωράκιον*, the poop, built in the manner of a turret, upon which soldiers stood to cast darts; above this was a piece of wood called *ἰκρίον*, the extremity of which was termed *ἠλακάτη*, upon which hung a ribband called *ἐπισείων*, from its continual motion with the wind: this last was that which is now termed the dogvane staff.

The names of the ropes necessary for the above-mentioned parts were the following:—

Ἐπίτονοι were the ropes with which the sails were bound to the main-mast.[z] Some say that they were the cables by which the sail-yards were governed, so that one part of the sails might be raised, and the other lowered,[a] according to the will of the pilot. Others think that the cord with which the sail-yards were tied to the mast was termed *κάλων*; and that by which they were contracted or dilated, *ὑπέρα*.[b]

Πόδες were cords, or braces, at the corners of the sails,[c] which were managed by them as occasion required. *Πρόποδες* were small cords, or clew-lines, below the *πόδες*, which could be loosed and contracted by them. The use of both was to contract, dilate, or change the sails, as occasion seemed to require. Sometimes *πόδες* signified the same as the modern shrouds.[d]

Μεσουρίαι were stays by which the mast was erected or let down;[e] but others suppose that they belonged to the sails.

Πρότονοι were cords, or back-stays, which passing through a pulley at the top of the mast were tied on one side to the prow, and on the other to the stern, to keep the mast steady and immoveable, Some say that they were used in raising or letting down the sails.[f]

The materials of which these and other ropes were made were at first leathern thongs; but afterwards they employed flax, hemp, broom, and, in short, all the different plants and barks of trees which could serve for that purpose.[g] The ancient Greeks, however, preferred cables of rushes or sea-willow, which they procured from Egypt.[h]

[s] Suidas.
[t] Eustath. ad Il. *α'*. v. 434.
[u] Lucian. in Catapl.
[v] Schol. Apollon. Rhod. Argon. i. v. 564. Macrob. Sat. v. 21.
[w] Athen.
[x] Macrob. loc. cit.
[y] Athen. v. 11.
[z] Schol. Apollon. Rhod. Argon. i. v. 566. Suidas.
[a] Phavorinus.
[b] Suidas; Isidorus.
[c] Aristoph. Schol. Equit. act. i. scen. i. Apollon. Schol.
[d] Hom. Odys. *ε'*. v. 260.
[e] Apollon. Schol.
[f] Eustath. in Il. *α'*. v. 434.
[g] Hom. Il. *β'*. v. 135. Odys. *β'*. v. 426. A. Gell. lib. xvii. cap. 3.
[h] Hom. Odys. *φ'*. v. 390 et 391. Strabo lib. xvii.

CHAP. XVI.

Naval Instruments of War.

THE parts and construction of ships have been treated of in general terms; and it remains to give a short account of what was necessary in the equipment of a vessel of war.

Ἔμβολον was a beak of wood fortified with brass, whence it was called χάλκωμα νεῶν;[i] and ships are sometimes designated by the epithets χαλκέμβολοι and χαλκεμβολάδες.[k] One or more of these was always fastened to the prow to annoy the ships of the enemy; and the whole prow was sometimes covered with brass to guard it from rocks and assaults. These beaks were first used by Pisæus an Italian;[l] for as they are never mentioned by Homer, it is very probable that the primitive Greeks had no knowledge of them. Æschylus, indeed, gives to the ship of Nestor the epithet of δεκέμβολος, armed with ten beaks;[m] and Iphigenia, as we have already noticed, speaks of brazen beaks;[n] but it may be justly questioned whether the description of them is not taken from the practice of later times. These beaks were at first long and high; but afterwards they were made short and firm, and placed so low as to pierce the enemy's ships under water.[o] Above the beak was another instrument called προεμβολίς. Beaks were usually adorned with various figures of animals, &c.

Ἐπωτίδες were pieces of wood placed on each side of the prow,[p] to guard it from the beaks of the enemy; and as prows were usually compared to faces, these were thought to resemble ears, whence their name seems to have been derived.

Καταστρώματα,[q] σανιδώματα, hatches, were sometimes called καταφράγματα; and hence we meet with νέες πεφραγμέναι and κατάφρακτοι, covered ships, or vessels of war, which are frequently opposed to ships of passage or burden, denominated ἄφρακτοι, uncovered, or without hatches. This covering was of wood, and erected on purpose for the soldiers, who, standing as it were upon an eminence, levelled their missive weapons with greater force and certainty against their enemies. In the primitive ages, and in particular about the time of the Trojan war, the soldiers fought upon the foremost and hindmost decks;[r] and, therefore, when Homer makes mention of ἱκρία νηός, which his scholiasts have interpreted hatches, we must understand him to intend only the parts that were covered in those days:[s]

———νηῶν ἱκρι' ἐπῴχετο, μακρὰ βιβάσθων.[t]

He march'd upon the hatches with long strides.

The other parts of the ship were first covered by the Thasians.[u]

Besides the coverings of ships already mentioned, and denominated

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. xx.
[k] Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1320.
[l] Plin. vii. 56.
[m] Æschyl. Μυρμιδόσιν.
[n] Euripid. loc. cit.
[o] Diod. Sic. xiii.
[p] Athen. v. Thucyd. vii. 62.
[q] Athen. v.
[r] Thucyd. lib. i.
[s] Hom. Odys. μ'.
[t] Idem Il. ο'. v. 676.
[u] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 57.

καταφράγματα, there were other coverings to guard the soldiers from their enemies, which were called παραφράγματα, περιφράγματα, παραπετάσματα, παραβλήματα, προκαλύμματα, &c. These were commonly hides and such like materials, which were hung on both sides of the ship to prevent the waves from beating overboard, and to receive the darts cast from the adverse ships, that under them the soldiers might annoy their enemies without danger.

Δελφὶν was a machine consisting of a massy piece of lead or iron, which was cast into the form of a dolphin, and hung with cords and pulleys to the sail-yards or mast; and being thrown with violence into the adverse ships, it shattered them very much, or by its weight and force sunk them to the bottom of the sea.[v]

Another difference between ships of war and other vessels was, that the former had commonly a helmet engraven on the top of their masts.[w]

CHAP. XVII.

The Mariners and Sea Forces.

The ancients observed no difference of rank among seamen; but the same person was employed in those duties, which, in latter ages, were performed by different men, to whom they gave the several names of rowers, mariners, and soldiers.[x] At first, all these were the same persons, who laid down their arms to labor at the oar, or perform what was necessary to the government of their ships, and who, when occasion required, resumed their arms to assault their enemies. This appears every where in Homer:

> ———ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πεντήκοντα
> Ἐμβέβασαν τόξων εὖ εἰδότες.[y]
> Each ship had fifty rowers that were skill'd
> Well in the shooting art.

These were called αὐτερέται.[z] This was the practice of those times in which no great preparations were made for equipping ships of war; but the same vessels were thought sufficient for transportation and fight. Afterwards, when the art of naval warfare began to be improved, it became customary to furnish ships of war with the three following sorts of men:—

Ἐρέται, κωπηλάται,[a] were rowers, who were also called οἱ ὑπάρχοντες,[b] and τὰ πληρώματα;[c] though we are told that this last was a name of great extent, comprehending not only those who rowed, but all other persons in the ship, and was sometimes also applied to whatever the vessel contained.[d] When ships had several banks of oars, the uppermost rowers were called θρανίται, and their bank was deno-

[v] Aristoph. Schol. Suidas.
[w] Gyrald. de Navigat.
[x] Thucyd.
[y] Hom. Il. β'. v. 719.
[z] Suid. Poll. i. 9. Thucyd.
[a] Hesych. in voce.
[b] Polyb. lib. x.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. Polyb. i. Xenoph. Hist. lib. i.
[d] Schol. Thucyd.

minated θράνος;[e] the lowest, θαλάμιοι, θαλαμῖται, and θαλάμακες, and their bank θάλαμος; those in the middle, ζυγῖται and μεσοζύγιοι, and their banks, how many soever in number, ζυγά. Every one had a distinct oar, for, except in cases of necessity, one oar was never managed by more than one person; but their labor and pay were not the same, for they who were placed in the uppermost banks, by reason of their distance from the water and the length of their oars, underwent more toil and labor than those in the inferior banks, and were therefore rewarded with greater wages. The rowers in ships of burden were denominated στρογγυλοναῦται;[f] those in triremes, τριηρέται; and the rest obtained appellations from the names of the ships in which they labored. They who were foremost in their respective banks, and sat nearest the prow, were called πρόκωποι; and on the other side, they who were placed next the stern were denominated ἐπίκωποι,[g] as being behind their comrades. Their work was esteemed most laborious and servile, and therefore the most notorious malefactors were frequently condemned to it; for, besides their incessant toil in rowing, their rest was very uneasy, and they had no other place for reposing their wearied bodies than the seats on which they had labored all the day.[h] The rest of the ship's crew usually slept in the same manner; but the commanders[i] and persons of superior rank were permitted to have clothes spread under them:

> Κάδ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ στόρεσαν ῥῆγός τε, λίνον τε
> Νηὸς ἐπ' ἰκρίοφιν γλαφυρῆς (ἵνα νήγρετον εὕδῃ)
> Πρύμνης, ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβήσατο, καὶ κατέλεκτο
> Σιγῇ.[k]
>
> Upon the deck soft painted robes they spread,
> With linen cover'd, for the hero's bed:
> He climb'd the lofty stern, then gently prest
> The swelling couch, and lay composed to rest. POPE.

They who would not submit to this provision were considered effeminate, and unable to endure the toils and hardships of war; and Alcibiades was censured by the Athenians for having a bed hung upon cords.[l]

Ναῦται, mariners, were exempted from laboring at the oar; but they performed all other duties in the ship, and, to prevent confusion, each executed his appropriate office; one being employed in rearing the mast, another in fitting the sail-yards, another in hoisting the sails, and the rest in different parts of the ship, every one in his proper place.[m] Hence they were designated by different names: they who were appointed to govern the sails were called ἀρμενισταὶ, from ἄρμενα, sails; they who ascended the ropes to descry distant countries or ships were denominated σχοινοβάται, &c. There was a sort of men inferior to the former, and called μεσοναῦται, who were not confined to any certain place or duty, but who were ready on all occasions to attend on the rest of the seamen, and supply them with whatever they

[e] Suidas; Pollux; Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 161.
[f] Pollux lib. vii.
[g] Idem i. 9. seg. 95.
[h] Senec. Agamem. v. 437. Virg. Æn. v. 836.
[i] Theophrast. περὶ ἀνελευθερίας.
[k] Hom. Odys. ν'. v. 74.
[l] Plut. Alcibiade.
[m] Cic. de Senect. vi.

wanted.[n] The crew of the ship were usually wicked and profligate fellows, without any sense of religion or humanity.[o]

The soldiers who served at sea were denominated *ἐπιβάται, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβαίνειν*, from ascending the ships, or the hatches where they fought. They were armed in the same manner as the land forces, only there was among them a greater number of heavy-armed men:[p] and their whole armor, though in form usually the same as that employed on land, exceeded the latter in strength. They had also some new instruments of war never used on shore, the principal of which were the following:—

Δόρατα ναύμαχα[q] were spears of an unusual length, sometimes exceeding twenty cubits; and hence they were called *ξυστὰ ναύμαχα* and *μακρὰ*:[r]

> Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὕψι μελαινάων ἐπιβάντες,
> Μακροῖσι ξυστοῖσι, τὰ ῥά σφ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκειτο
> Ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα.[s]
> With spears that in the vessels ready lay,
> These strove to make the enemy give way;
> Long spears, for sea fights only made, composed
> Of several pieces.

Δρέπανον,[t] *δορυδρέπανον*,[u] or *δρεπανηφόρος κεραία*,[v] was an engine of iron, crooked like a sickle, and fixed to the top of a long pole. With this instrument they cut in sunder the cords of the sail-yards; and thus letting the sails down, they disabled the light ships of the enemy. Not unlike this was another instrument, which was armed at the end with a broad iron head, edged on both sides, and which was used in cutting the cords that tied the rudder to the ship.

Κεραῖαι[w] were engines to cast stones into the ships of the enemy.

Upon the main-mast hung another instrument, which resembled a battering ram, and which consisted of a long beam and a head of iron, and was pushed with great violence against the sides of hostile ships.

Χεὶρ σιδηρὰ was a grappling iron, which was cast from an engine into the ships of the enemy, and which is said to have been first used in Greece by Pericles the Athenian.[x] Different from this were the *ἅρπαγες*, which were hooks of iron hanging upon the top of a pole, and which being fastened with chains to the mast, or other high part of the ship, and then cast with great force into the vessel of the enemy, caught it up into the air. In order to avert the mischief of these weapons, which are said to have been invented by Anacharsis,[y] the Scythian philosopher, the ships were covered with hides, which repelled or blunted the stroke of the iron.[z]

The dominion of the sea was not confined to any one of the Grecian states. They were constantly striving for empire, which some by various turns of fortune sometimes obtained, and of which, in a few months or years, they were again dispossessed. The people that

[n] Cœl. Rhod. xxxv. 49.
[o] Juvenal. Sat. viii.
[p] Plut. Themistocle.
[q] Herodotus.
[r] Hom. Il. o'. v. 677.
[s] Idem ibid. v. 387.
[t] Pollux.
[u] Appian.
[v] Diod. Sic. lib. xxii.
[w] Id. lib. xii. Athen.
[x] Plin. lib. vii. cap. 61.
[y] Idem ib. cap. 56.
[z] Thucyd. lib. viii. Pollux.

enjoyed it longest, and maintained it with the greatest fleet after Greece had arrived at the height of its glory, were the Athenians, who first began seriously to apply themselves to naval affairs about the time of the invasion of Xerxes. Themistocles interpreted the oracle, which advised to defend themselves with walls of wood, to signify that they should trust themselves to a navy, and prevailed on them to convert their whole time and treasure to the building of a fleet. The money employed on this design was the revenue of the silver mines at Laureotis, which had formerly been distributed among the people, who, through the persuasion of Themistocles, were induced to part with their income, in order to provide for the public security. With this a hundred triremes were fitted out against the numerous fleet of Xerxes, over which, with the assistance of their allies, they obtained a complete victory. Afterwards, the number of their ships was increased to four hundred;[a] and the Athenian navy consisted of twice as many as those of all the rest of Greece.[b] Demosthenes restored to the people their ancient revenues, and maintained the fleet by dividing the rich citizens into *συμμορίαι*, companies, who were obliged to contribute largely from their substance. The allies either furnished a proportionate number of ships, or sent their quota in money.[c] The cities, also, which the Athenians conquered, were obliged either to furnish money, or to supply them with ships of war;[d] and thus the greatest part of the Grecian cities contributed to augment the Athenian greatness.

The fleet of the inhabitants of Corinth and Corcyra is said to have been the most ancient; but the Cretans were the first that acquired the sovereignty of the sea.[e] Prohibited by their lawgiver from building vessels, or employing seamen, it was not till the Peloponnesian war that the Lacedæmonians were taught the necessity of possessing a navy.[f]

CHAP. XVIII.

Naval Officers.

IN all fleets there were two sorts of officers, of whom one governed the ships and mariners; the other was entrusted with the command of the soldiers, but had also authority over the masters and crews of the ships. The latter were as follows:—

Στόλαρχος,[g] *ναύαρχος*,[h] or *στρατηγὸς*, was the admiral, whose commission varied according to the exigency of times and circumstances; the office being sometimes executed by one person, and sometimes by two or three, who were invested with equal authority. Their continuance in command was also regulated by the people, who prolonged

[a] Plutarch.
[b] Isocrat. Panegyr.
[c] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. vi.
[d] Thucyd. vii. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. i. Diod. Sic. xiii.
[e] Pausan. Lacon.
[f] Plut. Lycurgo.
[g] Hesych.
[h] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. ii. v. Hesych. Suid.

or shortened it at pleasure; and hence Epaminondas,[i] seeing that his country would be in great danger on the resignation of his office, held it four months longer than he was commissioned, and in that time gave a new turn to the Theban affairs, but was afterwards tried for disobedience, and narrowly escaped the punishment of death; for it was feared that such a precedent might at some time be the means of enslaving the commonwealth. The Lacedæmonians also were so jealous of their liberties, that by an express law no person was allowed to be admiral more than once;[k] and in consequence of this law, they were frequently obliged to commit their fleet to inexperienced commanders.

Ἐπιστολεὺς,[l] sometimes called ἐπιστολιαφόρος, was vice-admiral, or commander-in-chief under the admiral.

Τριήραρχος was captain of a trireme,[m] who commanded all the other soldiers in it. The captains of other ships of war were dignified with titles derived from the vessels which they commanded; as πεντηκόντορος, &c.

The officers who had the care of the ships were the following:—

Ἀρχικυβερνῆται[n] were they who were entrusted with the management of all marine affairs, and who provided commodious harbours, directed the course of the fleet, and ordered all other things respecting it, except those which related to war.

Κυβερνήτης[o] was the master or pilot, who had the care of the ship, and the government of the seamen in it, and who sat at the stern to steer.[p] All matters were conducted according to his direction; and it was therefore necessary that he should possess an exact knowledge of the art of navigation, which was called κυβερνητικὴ τέχνη, and consisted chiefly in these three things:—1. in the proper management of the rudder, sails, and all the instruments used in navigation; 2. in the observation of the winds, and of the motions of the celestial bodies; 3. in the knowledge of commodious harbours, of rocks, and quicksands.[q] The heavenly bodies were observed by sailors, as foretelling the seasons, and directing their course. The principal stars observed by seamen in foretelling were Arcturus, the Dog-star, Aræ, Orion, Hyades, Hœdi, Castor and Pollux, Helena, &c. It was also customary to notice the various omens offered by sea-fowls, fishes, and other things; as, the murmuring of floods, the shaking and noise of trees in the neighbouring woods, and the dashing of billows on the shore, in all which good pilots were well skilled. The first that practised the art of navigation, being unacquainted with the motions of the other heavenly bodies, steered all the day by the course of the sun, and at night betook themselves to some safe harbour, or rested on the shore.[r] Afterwards, the Phœnicians, to whom some ascribe the invention of the art of navigation, discovered the motions of certain stars,[s] and

[i] Corn. Nep. Epaminonda.
[k] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. ii. Plut. Lysandr.
[l] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. ii. et v. Pollux lib. i. cap. 9.
[m] Hesych.
[n] Diod. Sic. xx. 51.
[o] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. vi. 2.
[p] Athen. v. 11. Ælian. ix. 40.
[q] Ovid. Met. iii. v. 592.
[r] Virg. Æn. v. v. 508.
[s] Plin. lib. vii. Propert. lib. ii. v. 990.

were directed by Cynosura, or the Lesser Bear,[t] which, some say, was first observed by Thales the Milesian, who was of Phœnician extraction;[u] whilst the mariners of Greece and other nations steered by the Greater Bear, called Helice,[v] for the first observation of which they were obliged to Nauplius, or to Tiphys, the pilot of the ship Argo;[w] but of these two the former was said to be the more secure guide, and was therefore followed by the Phœnicians, who excelled all other nations, and even the Greeks themselves, in the skill of sea affairs.

Πρωρεὺς,[x] or πρωράτης, was the boatswain, and next under the pilot, and, as the appellation imports, had his place upon the prow. To his care were committed the tackle of the ship,[y] and the rowers, whose places were assigned by him.[z] He assisted the pilot at consultations regarding the seasons, places, and other matters.[a]

Κελευστὴς is by some interpreted the purser, and by others the boatswain. His office was to signify the word of command to the rowers,[b] and to distribute to all the crew their daily portion of food.[c]

Τριηραύλης was a musician, who by the harmony of his voice and instrument revived the spirits of the rowers, when weary with labor and ready to faint.[d] Another, and probably the chief use of music was to direct the rowers in keeping time, that they might proceed in a regular and constant motion, and not retard the course of the ship by an uncertain impulse of their oars.[e] This music was called νίγλαρος,[f] or τὸ τριηρικὸν μέλος.

Δίοποι, ναυφύλακες, were quarter-masters, and took care that the ship received no damage by bulging against rocks, or in any other way;[g] and hence they were frequently employed, especially in the night, in sounding, and in directing the ship with long poles:

> Ὡς ναυφύλακες νυκτέρου ναυκληρίας
> Πλήκτροις ἀπευθύνουσιν οὐρίαν τρόπιν.[h]
>
> As those, who sail with caution in the dark,
> Guide and direct with poles the wand'ring bark.

Τοίχαρχοι were carpenters, who had charge either of the τοῖχοι τῆς νηὸς, sides of the ship,[i] or of the τοῖχοι, or στοῖχοι τῶν ἐρετῶν, the banks of rowers.

Ταμίας, the purser, distributed to every man his share of victuals, and usually performed the same office as the κελευστὴς, though in some respects he might be distinct from that officer:

> Καὶ ταμίαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δοτῆρες.[k]
>
> And officers there came, on whom the care
> Devolved, to give each man his stated fare.

[t] Eustath. Il. α'. Arrian. Expedit. Alexandri lib. vi.
[u] Hygin. lib. ii. Eustath. Il. σ'. Theon. in Aratum.
[v] Aratus.
[w] Flaccus Argon. i.
[x] Xenoph. Œconom. viii. seg. 14.
[y] Id. ib. lib. v.
[z] Athen. lib. xv.
[a] Suidas; Plut. Agide; Pollux; Xenoph. Œconom. lib. v.
[b] Arrian. Exped. Alex. vi. 3. Ovid. Met. iii. v. 618.
[c] Suidas.
[d] Stat. Theb. v. v. 343. Demosth. de Coron.
[e] Maxim. Tyr. Disser. xxiii. Stat. Theb. vi. v. 361. Val. Flac. Argon.
[f] Aristoph. Schol. Ran. act. ii. scen. 5.
[g] Ulpian. lib. liii. cap. 7. 8. Poll. vii. 31. Eustath. Il. β'.
[h] Sophocl. Ἀχαιῶν συλλόγῳ.
[i] Poll. i. 9. seg. 95.
[k] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 44.

Ἐσχαρεὺς[l] was a person who was employed *περὶ τὴν ἐσχάραν*, about the fire, and is therefore supposed by some to have been the cook; and by others, the priest who offered sacrifices.

Λογιστὴς, or *γραμματεὺς*, was the bursar or clerk, who kept the accounts, and registered all the receipts and expenses of the ship.[m] By some he was also called *φόρτου μνήμων*.[n]

CHAP. XIX.

Voyages, Harbours, &c.

When it was intended that the fleet should put to sea, the signal being given by the admiral, the mariners hauled the ships into the water;[o] for it was customary, when they entered a harbour, to draw their ships upon land:[p]

> ——— stant littore puppes.[q]
> The sterns stand on the shore.

Seamen frequently applied their shoulders to the ships, and thrust them into the sea;[r] and this was sometimes performed by levers and spars of wood, over which vessels were rolled into the deep, and which were called *φάλαγγες*, *φαλάγγια*,[s] and *μοχλοὶ*:

> Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρα τήνγε κατείρυσεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.[t]
> The heavy ship into the sea they thrust
> With levers.

To obviate the trouble and difficulty of these methods, Archimedes the Syracusan contrived an engine which was called helix, and by which ships were removed from the shore with great facility.[u] To do this was called *τὴν πρύμναν κινεῖν*, or *νῆας κατερύειν εἰς ἅλα*.

Before they embarked, the ships were adorned with flowers and garlands, which were tokens of joy and mirth,[v] and omens of future prosperity. Because no success could be expected in any enterprise without the divine blessing and assistance, they offered prayers and sacrifices to the gods, especially to Neptune,[w] to those who possessed any authority over the sea, and to the winds and tempests. Nor was it enough that they themselves petitioned the gods for safety and success; but all the people who assembled on such occasions joined them in fervent prayers for their deliverance from the dangers which they were about to encounter.[x]

[l] Poll. loc. cit.
[m] Eustath. Hom. Od. θ'. v. 163.
[n] Hom. loc. cit.
[o] Hom. Il. α'. v. 308. Odys. β'. v. 389. κ'. v. 2. Hesiod. Op. et Di. v. 631.
[p] Hom. Il. α'. v. 485. Odys. κ'. v. 20. Strab. lib. iv.
[q] Virg. Æn.
[r] Val. Flac. Argon. i.
[s] Hesych. Poll.
[t] Hom. Odys. ο'.
[u] Plut. Marcello; Athen.
[v] Aristoph. Schol. Acharn. act. ii. scen. 5.
[w] Virg. Æn. iii. v. 118.
[x] Diod. Sic. xiii.

After this they usually let fly a dove,[y] which was considered as an omen of their safe return, because that bird, when forced from its habitation, delights to return. They then put to sea, the signal being given by a shout, by sound of trumpet, or by other means: in the night the signal was usually made by torches in the admiral's galley.[z] The ships were commonly ranged in the following order:—in the front went the lighter vessels; next succeeded the ships of war led on by the admiral, whose ship was usually distinguished from the rest by the richness of its ornaments;[a] and last of all followed the vessels of burden. If the winds were high, or the seas dangerous, they were extended in length, and sailed one by one; but at other times they went three or more in a breast.

When they arrived at any port where they intended to land, they ran their ships backwards upon their hind-decks, that they might tack about; and this they called ἐπὶ πρύμναν, or πρύμναν κρούεσθαι,[b] a phrase elegantly applied to those who retreated fighting and facing their enemies.[c] They then tacked about, which they termed ἐπιστρέφειν, turning the heads of their ships to the sea:

Obvertunt pelago proras.[d]
To the sea they turn their prows.

The rowers now ceased from their labors, and rested their oars; which the Greeks called ἐπέχειν τὴν ναῦν. The oars were hung upon pins[e] on the sides of the ship,[f] where they were in no danger of being broken by the floods.

Being safely landed, they discharged the vows which they had made to the gods; and they also usually offered a sacrifice, called ἀποβατήριον, to Jupiter surnamed Ἀποβατήριος, for enabling them ἀποβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, to leave their ships and regain the land. Their devotions were sometimes paid to Nereus, Glaucus, Ino and Melicertes, the Cabiri, and other gods of the sea, and more especially to Neptune,[g] who was thought to have a peculiar care of all that travelled within his dominions. They who had safely landed after tempestuous weather, or had escaped any other danger at sea, were more particularly obliged to offer a present to the gods in testimony of their gratitude. To this they sometimes added the garment in which they had escaped, and a tablet containing an account of their deliverance.[h] If nothing else remained, they at least cut off their hair, which they consecrated to their protectors:[i]

Γλαύκῳ, καὶ Νηρῆϊ, καὶ Ἰνοῖ, καὶ Μελικέρτῃ,
Καὶ βυθίῳ Κρονίδῃ, καὶ Σαμόθρηξι θεοῖς,
Σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λουκίλλιος, ὧδε κέκαρμαι
Τὰς τρίχας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχω.[k]

Harbours were places rendered commodious either by nature or art

[y] Schol. Apollon. Rhod.
[z] Senec. Agamem. v. 427.
[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Aristoph. Schol. Vesp.
[c] Thucyd.
[d] Virgil.
[e] Stat. Theb. v. 344.
[f] Ovid. Met. xi. v. 25.
[g] Hom. Odys. γ. v. 4.
[h] Horat. lib. i. od. v.
[i] Petron. Arbit. cap. 63.
[k] Anthol. lib. vi. cap. 21. epigr. 1.

for the reception of ships, and to defend them from the winds and waves. The former were usually at the mouth of a river, or in a creek of the sea, under some high promontory. The latter were huge piles, or mounds of earth and other materials, thrown up in the form of a semicircle, with arms of a great length extended into the sea; these were piers, and were called χηλαὶ,[l] from their resemblance to the claws of crabs, ἄκραι τοῦ λιμένος,[m] or ἀκταί.[n] For the security of ships, it was usual to fix to the two ends great chains or booms;[o] and it was not uncommon to guard them with pales fortified against the water with pitch: hence harbours are sometimes termed κλείσεις.[p] On both sides of the mole were strong towers, which were defended in the night, and in all times of danger, with garrisons of soldiers.[q] Not far distant was a watch-tower, with lights to direct mariners; this was called pharos, from the name of a small island at the mouth of the Nile, where the first of these towers was built.

The second part of the harbour was termed στόμα, from its being the mouth or entry between the arms of the semicircle.

Μυχὸς, which has been interpreted a wharf, was the inmost part of the harbour, nearest to the shore, and most secure from the waves; and in it ships were frequently left loose. It was distinguished into several partitions by walls erected chiefly of stone, under the covert of which vessels were protected: these places were called ὅρμοι,[r] and ναύλοχοι; and, collectively, they composed what was denominated ναυσταθμός. Here also were the docks, in which ships were built or careened, and dragged to land, and which were called νεώσοικοι,[s] ἐπίσπια,[t] νεώρια,[u] &c.

The adjacent places were filled with inns and houses of promiscuous resort.[v] Most harbours were adorned with temples or altars, where sacrifices were offered to the tutelary deities of the place, and presidents of the sea.[w]

Some are of opinion that the stations of ships were different from these, in which ships were not laid up for any considerable time, but remained only till they had been supplied with water or other necessaries. They had several names, as ὅρμοι,[x] ὕφορμοι,[y] ἐνορμίσματα,[z] σάλοι,[a] κατάρσεις;[b] and as they were frequently at some distance from the shore, ὁρμᾷν is interpreted by ἀποσαλεύειν,[c] which imports their being among the waves, and by ἄγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν,[d] which signifies nearly the same as to ride at anchor.

In times of war, the Greeks fortified their fleet towards the land with a ditch and parapet, or wall built in the form of a semicircle, and extended from one point of the sea to another. This was sometimes defended with towers, and adorned with gates, through which

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Thucyd. Schol. Homeri Scholiast.
[m] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. v.
[n] Hom. Odys. ν'.
[o] Frontin. Strateg. lib. i.
[p] Thucyd. lib. ii.
[q] Thucyd. Curtius; Polyænus.
[r] Eustath. Odys. ο'. Il. α'.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. Suidas.
[t] Hom. Odys. ο'.
[u] Demosth. Schol. de Corona; Suidas;
[v] Poll. lib. ix. cap. 5.
[w] Homer. Odys. ν'. v. 103.
[x] Hesychius.
[y] Strabo lib. viii.
[z] Appian. lib. v.
[a] Polyb. lib. i.
[b] Thucyd. lib. iv. ejusque Scholiast.
[c] Plut. Pompeio.
[d] Thucydides.

they issued to attack their enemies. Homer has given a remarkable description of the Grecian fortifications in the Trojan war:

—— ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν,
Πύργους θ' ὑψηλοὺς, εἶλαρ νηῶντε, καὶ αὐτῶν·
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἁρμονίας
Ὄφρα δ' αὐτάων ἱππηλασίη δδὸς εἴη·
Ἔκτοσθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην· ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.[e]

Then to secure the camp and naval powers,
They raised embattled walls with lofty towers:
From space to space were ample gates around
For passing chariots, and a trench profound,
Of large extent; and deep in earth below
Strong piles infix'd stood adverse to the foe. POPE.

Towards the sea, or within it, they fixed great pales of wood, similar to those in harbours, before which the vessels of burden were placed in such order as to protect those within;[f] but this was done only when the enemy was considered superior in strength, and excited great apprehensions of danger. At other times they used only to appoint a few of their ships to observe the motions of the enemy: these were termed προφυλακίδες;[g] and the soldiers πύρσουροι, or πυρσουρίδαι, from πυρσὸς, a torch, by which they gave notice of the approach of the hostile vessels. When their fortifications were deemed sufficiently strong to secure them against the assault of the enemy, it was customary to drag the ships on shore, which the Greeks called ἐνωλκεῖν. Around the ships the soldiers placed their tents;[h] but this seems to have been done only in winter, when the fleet of the enemy was laid up, and could not attack them; or in long sieges, and when they were in no danger from their enemies by sea. At other times the ships only lay at anchor, or were tied to the shore, that upon any alarm they might be ready to receive the enemy.

CHAP. XX.

Naval Engagements.

IN preparing for an engagement at sea, the Greeks disburdened their ships of war of all provisions, and of other matters that were not necessary for the action. When the enemy appeared, they took down their sails, lowered their masts, and secured whatever might expose them to the winds, choosing rather to govern the ship by oars, which they could manage at pleasure.[i] Their order of battle was varied according to the circumstances of time and place. Sometimes it was formed like a half-moon, and called στόλος μηνοειδὴς, the horns being extended nearest the enemy, and containing the ablest men and ships; and sometimes, on the contrary, its belly was nearest the enemy, and its horns were turned backwards, whence it was termed κυρτὴ

[e] Hom. Il. η'. v. 436.
[f] Thucydides.
[g] Id. lib. i.
[h] Hom. Thucyd. lib. vi.
[i] Polyæn. lib. v.

παράταξις. It was also usual to range their vessels in the form of a circle, which they called κύκλον τάττειν; and in the figure of the letter V, with the horns extended in a direct line, and meeting at the end: this last order was termed ἐπικαμπὴς παράταξις, and was encountered by the enemies ranged in the same form inverted; by which they resembled the figure of a wedge or beak, and were enabled to penetrate into the body of the adverse squadron.

Before the battle commenced, each party invoked the assistance of the gods by prayers and sacrifices; and the admirals going from ship to ship, exhorted the men to fight valiantly. All things being prepared, the signal was given by hanging from the admiral's galley a gilded shield,[k] or a garment or banner;[l] and this was termed αἴρειν σημεῖα. During the elevation of this signal, the battle continued; and by its depression, or inclination to the right or left, the rest of the ships were directed in what manner to attack their enemies, or to retreat from them. To this was added the sound of trumpets, which commenced in the admiral's galley,[m] and continued round the whole fleet.[n] It was also usual for the soldiers, before the battle, to sing a pæan or hymn to Mars;[o] and after the fight, another to Apollo.

The battle was usually commenced by the admiral's galley.[p] Not only the ships engaged each other, and with their beaks and prows, and sometimes their sterns, endeavoured to shatter and sink those opposed to them; but the soldiers also annoyed their enemies with darts and slings, and, on their nearer approach, with swords and spears.[q] Nor is it to be wondered that the hostile fleets approached so near to each other, when we find that it was usual to link their vessels together with chains or grappling irons;[r] and that sometimes, for want of irons, they so fixed their oars as to prevent their enemies from retreating.[s]

When a town was besieged by sea, they environed its walls and harbour with ships ranged from one side of the shore to the other, and so closely united by chains and bridges, on which armed men were placed, that, without breaking their order, no passage could be effected from the town to the sea: this investment of a town was called ζεῦγμα.[t] To prevent any attempts of the besieged, Demetrius invented a sort of boom armed with spikes of iron, which swam on the water, and was placed at the mouth of the harbour of Rhodes, when he besieged that city.[u] Sometimes they blocked up the harbour, or made a passage to the town by raising a vast mole before it,[v] or by sinking ships filled with stones and sand.

The attacks were usually carried on by men standing upon bridges between the ships, and thence with darts and stones forcing the besieged from their walls.[w] Here, also, that they might throw their missive weapons with greater advantage, and batter the walls with

[k] Plutarch.
[l] Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. Polyæn. lib. i.
[m] Plut. Lysandro.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. xiii.
[o] Suidas.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Polyb. lib. xvi.
[q] Lucan. lib. iii.
[r] Sil. Ital. lib. xiv.
[s] Lucan. lib. iii.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. xiii.
[u] Id. lib. xx.
[v] Quint. Curtius lib. iv.
[w] Id. ibid.

rams and other engines, they erected towers upon a level with the walls of the city, from which having driven the defenders, they had an opportunity of descending by ladders.

The besieged endeavoured to defeat these stratagems. They pulled asunder with iron hooks the ships linked together. They blocked up the passage to the town, in the same manner as the enemies had blocked up the harbour, or in some other way.[x] If they could not prevent their approach, they galled them with darts, stones, fire-balls, melted pitch or metals, and other materials; and lastly, they in the town frequently destroyed the vessels and works of the besiegers by fire-ships, which we find used for that purpose by the Tyrians,[y] when their city was besieged by the Macedonians, and also among the Rhodians.[z]

CHAP. XXI.

Naval Spoils, Rewards, and Punishments.

VICTORY having been obtained, the conquerors sailed triumphantly home, laden with the spoils of their enemies, and dragging after them the captive ships.[a] The admiral,[b] the mariners and soldiers,[c] and also their ships,[d] were adorned with crowns and garlands. Nor were the ships beautified with garlands only, but were hung also with wrecks and broken pieces of the vessels destroyed in battle, especially with the *ἄφλαστα*, *ἀκροστόλια*, *κόρυμβα*, and other ornamental parts, which the conquerors were industrious in procuring for the purpose of decorating their triumphs.[e] These they called *ἀκρωτήρια*; and to deprive a ship of them, *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*.[f] In this manner the victors returned home, filling the sea with their acclamations and hymns, and with the harmony of musical instruments.[g]

After being received into the city, they immediately proceeded to the temples of the gods, where they dedicated the choicest of the spoils. Nor was it unusual to present to the gods entire ships;[h] and the Greeks, after their great victory over the Persians at Salamis, dedicated three Phœnician triremes.[i]

Having paid their respects to the gods, they bestowed the remainder of their spoils in the porticos and other public places of their city, to preserve the memory of their victory. For the same purpose they were also honored with statues, inscriptions, and trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own country, but more frequently near the place where they had overcome their enemies. These trophies were adorned with arms and broken wrecks of ships, which, for that reason, were considered as signs and testimonies of victory.[k]

[x] Thucyd. lib. vii.
[y] Quint. Curt. ibid.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. xx.
[a] Plut. Lysandro; Xenoph. Hist. l. ii.
[b] Xenoph. ibid.
[c] Polyæn. lib. iv.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. xiii.
[e] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 241. ejusque Schol.
[f] Xenoph. Hist. lib. iv.
[g] Plutarch. Lysandro.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. xii.
[i] Herodot. lib. viii.
[k] Thucyd. lib. vii. Polyb. Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 3.

These were the principal rewards peculiar to those who had served their country by sea; the other honors which were bestowed, were common to those who had been useful in other stations.

The chief punishment was whipping with cords, which was sometimes inflicted on criminals who had their bodies within the ship, but whose heads were thrust out of the port-holes.[l] There was a punishment, by which offenders were tied with cords to a ship, and dragged in the waters till they were drowned. Others were thrown alive into the sea.

Ἀναυμάχοι, such as refused to serve at sea after a lawful summons, were, at Athens, with their posterity condemned to ἀτιμία, infamy or disfranchisement.[m]

Λειποναῦται, deserters, were not only bound with cords and whipped,[n] but they had also their hands cut off.[o]

[l] Herodot. Terpsichore.
[m] Suidas.
[n] Demosthenes.
[o] Suidas.

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK V.

PRIVATE LIFE OF THE GREEKS.

CHAP. I.

Grecian Funerals.

PLUTO was the first that instructed the Greeks[p] in the manner of performing their last offices to the defunct, and hence the poets have constituted him supreme monarch of all the dead, and assigned him a vast and an unbounded empire in the shades below;[q] for as there is scarcely any useful art or science, the inventors of which were not reckoned among the gods, and believed to preside over those whom they had first instructed, it is not to be wondered that Pluto, who taught the rude and uncivilized people the respect and ceremonies due to the dead, should be numbered among the deities of the first rank. Especially as the duties belonging to the dead were considered of the greatest importance, and the neglect of them was deemed a crime unpardonable. To defraud the dead of any due respect was thought a greater sacrilege than to spoil the temples of the gods; and to speak evil of the dead, or to prosecute revenge beyond the grave, was considered the mark of a cruel and an inhuman disposition. Offenders of this description were branded with disgrace and infamy, and by the laws of Solon incurred a severe penalty.[r]

Of all the honors paid to the dead, the care of their funeral rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were deemed so sacred, that they who neglected to discharge this office were thought accursed: hence the Greeks called funeral rites δίκαια,[s] νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα,[t] ἔθιμα, ὅσια,[u] &c. and the Romans *justa*;[v] all of which im-

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 15.
[q] Lucian. Dialog. Mort.
[r] Demosth. in Leptin. Plut. Solone.
[s] Aristot. de Virtut.
[t] Demosth. in Macart.
[u] Plut. Numa.
[v] Cic. de Leg.

plied the inviolable obligations that nature had imposed on the living to attend to the obsequies of the dead. Nor is it any wonder that they were thus solicitous respecting the interment of the dead, since they were firmly persuaded that their souls could not be admitted into the Elysian fields, but would wander desolate on the banks of the river Styx, till their bodies were deposited in the earth;[w] and if they were so unfortunate as not to obtain the rites of sepulture, they believed that the time of their exclusion from the common receptacle of the ghosts was a hundred years. Hence in the poets we so frequently meet with the earnest requests of dying men for this favor. Elpenor thus entreats Ulysses to perform his funeral rites:

Νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὄπιθεν γουνάζομαι, οὐ παρεόντων,
Πρὸς τ' ἀλόχου καὶ πατρὸς, ὃς ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐόντα,
Τηλεμάχου θ', ὃν μοῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες·
Μή μ' ἄκλαυστον, ἄθαπτον ἰὼν ὄπιθεν καταλείπειν
Νοσφισθεὶς, μὴ τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι.[x]

But lend me aid, I now conjure thee, lend,
By the soft tie and sacred name of friend!
By thy fond consort! by thy father's cares!
By loved Telemachus's blooming years!—
There pious on my cold remains attend!
There call to mind thy poor departed friend!
The tribute of a tear is all I crave,
And the possession of a peaceful grave. Pope.

This was the reason why of all imprecations, the greatest was to wish that a person might ἄταφος ἐκπίπτειν χθονὸς, die without burial; and of all forms of death, the most terrible was that by shipwreck, in which the body was swallowed up by the deep.[y] When, therefore, they were in danger of being cast away at sea, it was customary to fasten the most valuable of all their stores to their bodies, with a direction to the first that found their dead corpses, if the waves carried them to the shore, entreating the favor of human burial, and offering what they had with them as a reward; or desiring that part of their property might be expended on their funeral rites,[z] and the rest accepted by the person who found them. If, however, the body carried with it no reward, it was unlawful to neglect it, and not to perform that which was considered a debt to all mankind; for not only was such an act of inhumanity forbidden by the Athenian laws,[a] but in every part of Greece it was deemed a great affront to the infernal gods, and a crime that would provoke their certain vengeance.[b] He who had thus offended could not be freed from the punishment of his crime, nor admitted to converse with men or worship the gods, till he had undergone the accustomed purifications, and appeased the incensed deities. It was not, however, always required that all the funeral solemnities should be strictly performed, which the haste of travellers who found the body would seldom permit; but it was sufficient to cast dust or soft earth three times on the corpse:

[w] Hom. Il. ψ'.
[x] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 66—72.
[y] Ovid.
[z] Meurs. in Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 367.
[a] Ælian. lib. v. cap. 14.
[b] Sophocl. Schol. Antigone.

Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
Injecto ter pulvere, curras.[c]

Whate'er thy haste, oh! let my prayer prevail,
Thrice strow the sand, then hoist the flying sail. FRANCIS.

Of these three handsfull one at least was thrown on the head.

This, in cases of necessity, was deemed sufficient to obtain admission for the spirit into the dominions of Pluto, but failed in affording entire satisfaction. If, therefore, the bodies of those who had been interred privately or in haste, without the customary solemnities, were afterwards fortunately discovered by any of their friends, they were honored with a second funeral.[d]

Nor was it thought sufficient to have their funeral rites solemnly performed unless their bodies were prepared for burial by their relations, and interred in the sepulchres of their fathers. The want of these necessary matters was considered by themselves and their surviving friends as a very great misfortune, and scarcely inferior to death itself:[e]

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίης κεῖμαι χθονὸς, ἔκ τε Τάραντος
Πάτρης, τοῦτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανάτου.[f]

From my dear native land remote I lie,
O worse than death, the thought is misery.

For this reason, the ashes of those who died in foreign countries were usually brought home and interred in the sepulchres of their ancestors, or at least in some part of their native land; it being thought that only the same region which gave them life and birth was fit to receive their remains, and afford them a peaceful habitation after death. Hence Theseus was removed from Scyrus to Athens, Orestes from Tegea, his son Tisamenes from Helice to Sparta, and Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene.

This pious care was not limited to persons of free condition, but in some measure it extended to slaves; for the Athenian magistrates, called δήμαρχοι, were commanded by their lawgiver, under a severe penalty, to solemnize the funerals of slaves, who were frequently destitute of decent burial.[g]

If, however, any person refused to pay due respect to his dead friends, or was sparing in his expenses upon their obsequies and monuments, the government considered him void of humanity and natural affection, and excluded him from any office of trust and honor; for they, who offered themselves candidates for the magistracy at Athens, were particularly examined in regard to the celebrating of the funerals, and the adorning of the monuments, of their relations.[h] To appear gay and cheerful before the ordinary time of mourning had expired, was also a matter of great disgrace.[i]

The great concern of the Greeks in regard to funerals appears likewise from the respect which was paid to persons who officiated at them: the Cretan κατακαῦται, who had the care of funerals, were

[c] Horat. lib. i. od. 28. v. 36.
[d] Virg. Æn. iii. v. 62 et 67.
[e] Sophocl. Electra, v. 1134.
[f] Antholog. iii. 25. epigr. 75.
[g] Demosth. Orat. in Macart.
[h] Xenoph. de Dict. Socrat. lib. ii.
[i] Æschines.

reverenced equally with their priests; and when the laws of Crete permitted to steal from others, as was also customary at Sparta, these men were exempted from plunder, their goods being regarded with religious veneration.[k]

There were, however, some, who from their actions whilst alive, or from the circumstances of their death, were considered unworthy of all claim to the common rites of sepulture, and some to any funeral. Such were these that follow:—

1. Public or private enemies; for though it was deemed inhuman to deny an enemy the common privilege of nature, yet we find that this was practised by the ancient Greeks on some extraordinary provocation. Ulysses threatened Socrus with this calamity;[l] Hector, the same treatment to Patroclus;[m] Achilles revenged the cruelty of Hector by using him in a similar manner;[n] and Homer has instanced several heroes who were given *κυσὶ μέλπηθρα*, a sport to dogs, and *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσί τε ἑλώρια*, a prey to birds and beasts. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, whom Orestes treacherously murdered, received no better treatment.[o] Even in a more refined age, Lysander the Spartan admiral, having obtained a victory over the Athenian fleet, put to death Philocles, one of the commanders, and four thousand prisoners, and refused them burial.[p]

2. They who betrayed, or conspired against their country.[q] Among the betrayers of their country may be reckoned those who did not exert themselves in defending it, and who were frequently denied burial.[r] Hence Hector threatens with this punishment all who would not assist in destroying the Grecian fleet:

Ὃν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρωθι νοήσω,
Αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι· οὐδέ νυ τόν γε
Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα,
Ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι πρὸ ἄστεος ἠμετέροιο.[s]

And whom I find far ling'ring from the ships,
Wherever, there he dies. No fun'ral fires
Brother on him, or sister, shall bestow;
But dogs shall rend him in the sight of Troy. Cowper.

3. To these we may subjoin tyrants, who were considered as enemies of their country, and treated in the same manner as those who endeavoured to betray it to foreign powers, there being no difference between a domestic and foreign slavery.[t]

4. They who were guilty of suicide forfeited their right to decent burial, and were clandestinely deposited in the ground without the accustomed solemnities; for they were deemed enemies to their country, whose service they deserted.[u] On some occasions, however, to put a period to their lives seems to have been considered the effect

[k] Plut. Græc. Quæst. 21.
[l] Homer. Il. υ'.
[m] Id. ibid. π'.
[n] Id. ibid. χ'.
[o] Ovid. in Ibin v. 304.
[p] Pausan. Bœotic.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. cap. 6. Pausan. Messenic. Plut. Pausania; Plut. et Corn. Nep. Phocione; Val. Max. v. 8.
[r] Hom. Il. β'. v. 391.
[s] Id. ibid. ο'. v. 384.
[t] Plut. Lib. de Homer. Homer. Il. γ'. v. 256. Pausan. Corinth.
[u] Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. v. 2. Philostrat. Heroic. Herodot. Calliope cap. 70.

of a necessary and laudable courage.[v] Nor is it any wonder that the Epicureans, who expected no future state, and the Stoics, who thought that all things happened by a fatal necessity, should entertain such an opinion.

5. To these may be added persons guilty of sacrilege,[w] whose interment would have been deemed an affront to the deities they had robbed. The gods were sometimes thought to inflict this punishment on such malefactors.[x]

6. Persons killed by lightning, being thought hateful to the gods, were buried apart by themselves, lest the ashes of other men should be polluted by them:

Ἦ χωρὶς, ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, θάψαι θέλεις;[y]

Shall he apart be buried as accursed?

Some say that they were interred in the place where they died.[z] Others think that they had no interment, but were suffered to remain in the place where they were killed, which it was unlawful for any man to approach,[a] and which for this reason was enclosed, lest any person should unawares contract pollution from it. It may be observed in general, that all places struck with lightning were avoided,[b] and fenced round, from an opinion that Jupiter, having taken some offence, fixed on them that mark of his displeasure.

7. They who wasted their patrimony forfeited their right of being buried in the sepulchre of their fathers.[c]

8. To these may be subjoined such as died in debt, whose bodies, at Athens, belonged to their creditors, and were denied burial till satisfaction was made.

9. Some offenders who suffered capital punishment were also deprived of burial; especially those who died upon the cross, or were impaled, whom they frequently permitted to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey:[d] the interpreters of fables say that the punishment of Prometheus was an emblem of this. If the carcase was spared by the beasts, it commonly remained upon the cross or pale till it was putrified and consumed.[e]

10. In some places, it was customary to inter the bodies of infants which had no teeth without consuming them to ashes.[f]

If persons who had incurred public hatred obtained burial, it was usual to leap upon their tombs, and to cast stones at them, in token of detestation and abhorrence:

—— ἐκθρώσκει τάφῳ,
Πέτροις τε λεύει μνῆμα λάϊνον πατρός.[g]

He leaps upon his parent's tomb,
And in derision batters it with stones.

[v] Plat. de Leg. lib. ix.
[w] Diod. Sic. xvi. 6.
[x] Pausan. Lacon.
[y] Euripides.
[z] Artemidor. ii. 8.
[a] Pers. Sat. ii. v. 27.
[b] Plut. Pyrrho.
[c] Diog. Laert. Democrito.
[d] Horat. lib. i. epist. 16. Juven. Sat. xvi. v. 77.
[e] Sil. Ital. lib. xiii. Herodot. Thalia; Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.
[f] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii Juven. Sat. xv. v. 139.
[g] Euripid. Electra.

It was common to drag notorious offenders from their graves after they had been interred. Sacrilegious persons were thus treated.[h] Traitors suffered the same punishment.[i] A similar fate awaited enemies who had exceeded the ordinary bounds, and had despoiled temples and committed unsufferable crimes; but to treat a lawful and honorable enemy in this manner was censured as barbarous and inhuman. Tyrants, who were considered as extremely hurtful and pernicious to mankind, were very frequently thus treated;[k] and therefore they endeavoured by different means[l] to secure peace to their ashes, the disturbance of which was deemed the grossest affront and the greatest misfortune.

CHAP. II.

Ceremonies in Sickness and at Death.

When any person was seized with a dangerous sickness, it was usual to fix over his door a branch of rhamn and laurel.[m] The former was intended to keep off evil spirits, against which it was reputed a sovereign amulet, and for that reason was sometimes joined with the epithet *ἀλεξίκακος*.[n] To it the laurel was added, to render the god of physic propitious, who, it was thought, could intend no harm to any place in which he found the monument of his beloved Daphne. They called these boughs *ἀντήνους*.

All sudden deaths of men were attributed to Apollo;[o] and those of women to Diana:[p]

Τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη χρυσήνιος Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα.[q]
Incensed Diana her deprived of life.

The reason for this opinion was, that Apollo was usually taken for the sun, and Diana for the moon, which planets were believed to have a great influence on human life.[r]

All dead persons were thought to be under the jurisdiction of the infernal deities; and, therefore, no one could resign his life till some of his hairs were cut off, to consecrate him to them:[s]

Ἡ δ' οὖν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς ᾅδου δόμους,
Στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει,
Ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν,
Ὅτου τόδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἁγνίσει τρίχα.[t]

This woman goes,
Be sure of that, to Pluto's dark domain.
I go, and with this sword assert my claim;
For sacred to the infernal gods that head,
Whose hair is hallow'd by this charmed blade. Potter.

[h] Plut. de Sera Numinis Vindicta.
[i] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocrat.
[k] Plut. Dione.
[l] Diog. Laert. Periandro; Eurip. Med. v. 1378.
[m] Diog. Laert. in Bione.
[n] Euphor.
[o] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 757.
[p] Id. ib. τ'. v. 59. Odys. ο'. v. 406. λ'. v. 169.
[q] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 205.
[r] Heracl. Pont. de Alleg. Hom. Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 205. τ'. v. 59.
[s] Virg. Æn. iv. 698. Horat. i. 28. 20. Macrob. Saturn. v. 19.
[t] Eurip. Alcestid. v. 75.

The occasion of this opinion is not certainly known; but it seems probable that it proceeded from a ceremony at sacrifices, in which they cut off some hairs from the forehead of the victim, and offered them to the gods as the first fruits of the sacrifice.

When they perceived the pangs of death coming upon them, they prayed to Mercury,[u] whose office it was to convey the ghosts to the infernal regions.[v] These prayers, whether offered to Mercury or to some other god, were termed ἐξιτήριοι εὐχαὶ, which is a general name for all prayers before any man's departure, either by death, or only to undertake a journey.

Their friends and relations, perceiving them at the point of death, came close to the bed where they lay to bid them farewell,[w] and to catch their dying words,[x] which they never repeated without reverence.

They kissed and embraced[y] the dying person, and thus took their last farewell. They also endeavoured to receive into their mouths his last breath,[z] conceiving his soul to expire with it, and to enter into their bodies. At the time of his death, it was customary to beat brazen kettles, by which they thought to drive away evil spirits, whose aerial forms could not endure so harsh a noise;[a] and they imagined that by this means the ghost of the dead man was secured from the Furies, and quietly conveyed to a peaceful habitation in the Elysian fields. For it was an ancient opinion, that there being in the infernal regions two mansions, one on the right hand pleasant and delightful, the other on the left appointed for the wicked, the Furies were always ready to hurry departed souls to the place of torment.[b]

Death and the things pertaining to it were omens of an evil tendency, and conveyed gloomy ideas, and are, therefore, frequently expressed in words of gentle import. To die is properly denoted by θνήσκειν and ἀποθνήσκειν; but instead of these words, it was common to use ἀπογίνεσθαι, to cease to exist. To die was also sometimes denominated ἀπέρχεσθαι[c] and οἴχεσθαι,[d] to depart; ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ βίου,[e] to depart from life; παθεῖν τι,[f] to suffer something; and the dead were termed οἰχόμενοι, those who had departed. In the same manner, also, they used the word βεβίωκε,[g] he once lived; and sometimes they employed κέκμηκε and καμόντες:[h]

—— βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων.[i]

The ghosts of the dead.

But the most common are names derived from sleep, to which death bears a near resemblance; and hence the poets feigned them to be brothers; and κοιμᾶσθαι[k] and εὕδειν,[l] to sleep, are generally used for

[u] Valer. Max. ii. 6.
[v] Homer. Odys. ω'. v. 1. sqq. Virg. Æn. iv. v. 242. Horat. i. Od. 10. 17.
[w] Euripid. Heraclid. v. 600.
[x] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 743. sq.
[y] Eurip. Alcestid. v. 403.
[z] Virg. Æn. iv. v. 685.
[a] Schol. Theocrit. Idyll. ii. v. 36. Macrob. Saturn. v. 19.
[b] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 540.
[c] Heliodor. Æthiop. viii.
[d] Eustath. ad Il. α'. Eurip. Alcestid. v. 316.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hist. ii. 25.
[f] Hom. Il. φ'. v. 274. Odys. δ'. v. 820. Herodian. v. 7. seg. 1.
[g] Plut. in Cicerone.
[h] Hom. Il. γ'.
[i] Id. Odys. λ'.
[k] Callim. Epigr. x. 2.
[l] Æschyl. Eumenid. v. 708.

dying. So common was this mode of speaking, that the primitive Christians called their burying places *κοιμητήρια*, which signifies the same as *εὐναστήρια*,[m] the places of sleeping.

CHAP. III.

Ceremonies before Funerals.

As soon as a person had expired, they closed his eyes; which was termed *καθαιρεῖν*,[n] *συναρμόττειν*,[o] *συγκλείειν*,[p] *τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*, or *τὰ βλέφαρα*. This custom was so universally practised, that *καταμύειν* was frequently used for *θνήσκειν*; and the design of it was not only to prevent that horror with which the eyes of dead men, when open, are apt to inspire the living, but also to satisfy dying persons, who are usually desirous of expiring in a decent posture.[q] For the same reason the mouth of the dead person was closed:

> —— *οὐδέ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Ἀΐδαο*
> *Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑλέειν, σύν τε στόμ' ἐρεῖσαι.*[r]
>
> Nor did my trait'rous wife these eye-lids close,
> Or decently in death my limbs compose. Pope.

His face was then covered:[s]

> *Κρύψον δέ μου πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.*[t]
> With a sheet my face veil quickly over.

Almost all the offices pertaining to the dead were performed by their nearest relations.[u] If a husband died, the wife performed these duties;[v] if a brother, the sister;[w] if a man who was a widower, or a woman a widow, the children.[x] In short, it was thought that no greater misfortune could befal any person than to want the last attentions of his friends.[y] All the expenses of funerals, and the whole care and management of them, belonged also to the relations; unless the persons were honored with public funerals, the charges of which were defrayed from the public treasury.

Before the body was cold, they composed all the members, which they stretched out to their proper length: this was termed *ὀρθοῦν*, and *ἐκτείνειν*:[z]

> *Ὀρθώσατ' ἐκτείνοντες ἄθλιον νέκυν.*[a]
> Lay out and compose the dead lady's corpse.

The body was then washed with warm water,[b] an office that was

[m] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 583.
[n] Hom. Il. λ'. v. 453. Odys. λ'. v. 425. Id. ω'. v. 295.
[o] Eurip. Phœniss. v. 1460.
[p] Eurip. Hecuba v. 430.
[q] Id. ib. v. 568.
[r] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 419.
[s] Eurip. Hecuba v. 432.
[t] Eurip. Hippolyt. v. 1458.
[u] Euripides.
[v] Id. Troad. v. 277.
[w] Id. Iphigen. in Taurid.
[x] Id. Medea v. 1035.
[y] Sophocl. Electra.
[z] Eurip. Hippolyt. v. 789.
[a] Id. ib. v. 786.
[b] Hom. Odys. ω'. v. 44. sq. Eurip. Phœniss. v. 1239 et 1661. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 1.

commonly performed by the female relations of the deceased.[c] At some places there were vessels in the temples designed for this use.

The body was next anointed with oil:

Καὶ τότε δὴ λούσαντο, καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.[d]

They wash'd the body, then anoint with oil.

Some say that the oil mentioned in Homer is not to be distinguished from μύρον, ointment;[e] but others report that the Greeks never used ointment till the time of Alexander the Great, when it was brought from Persia.[f] As, however, Solon allowed his citizens the use of ointments,[g] it seems probable that the ancient Greeks, though ignorant of the costly ointments furnished by the Persians, used some of another sort.

After being washed and anointed, the body was wrapped in a garment, which was only the common cloak worn at other times.[h] It was then adorned with a rich and splendid garment,[i] which was commonly of a white color, and covered the whole body:

Ἐν λεχέεσσι δὲ θέντες ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν
Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καθύπερθε δὴ φάρεϊ λευκῷ.[k]

High on a bed of state the corpse was laid,
And wholly cover'd with a linen shade.

Hence it was reckoned an inauspicious omen, and a presage of death, for a sick person to wear white apparel.[l] This color seems to have been used to denote the simplicity and innocence of the dead.[m] The Greeks were so concerned about this garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepared it for themselves and their friends during their lives;[n] but it may be doubted whether these were made on purpose for funeral garments, or designed only to be worn, and in case the person died, applied to the use of his dead body. The Lacedæmonians, in many respects, acted contrary to the other Greeks; and whilst in other places the dead were clothed in costly apparel, the Spartan lawgiver ordered that persons of the greatest valor and merit should be buried only in a red coat, which was the common habit of soldiers, and even which was denied to others;[o] for he thought it absurd that those who, when alive, had been accustomed to despise riches and superfluous ornaments, should, when dead, be magnificently adorned. Nor did they use any ointments or costly perfumes, which were considered unworthy of the Lacedæmonian gravity.

The next ceremony was decking the dead body with chaplets of flowers and green boughs:[p]

[c] Plat. Phædon.
[d] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 350.
[e] Athen. lib. xv.
[f] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 1.
[g] Plut. Solone.
[h] Apulei. Florid. i. Virg. Æn. vi. v. 219.
[i] Laert. Socrat. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 16. Hom. Odys. β'. v. 97. Eurip. Alcest. v. 156. seq.
[k] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 352.
[l] Artemid. Oneirocrit. lib. ii. cap. 3.
[m] Plut. Quæst. Roman.
[n] Hom. Odys. β'. v. 94. Virg. Æn. ix. v. 486.
[o] Ælian. Var. Hist. v. 6.
[p] Eurip. Phœniss. v. 1626.

——Πέπλοισιν ὡς περιστείλῃς νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις θ', ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.[q]
That you adorn the corpse with costly robes,
With chaplets, and what other pomp you can.

When persons of rank and eminence died in foreign countries, their remains were brought home in urns, and honored with the rites customary at other funerals, and especially with crowns of garlands.[r] This ceremony was either taken from the games in which the conquerors were rewarded with crowns of leaves, and denoted that the dead had finished their course;[s] or it was intended to express the unmixed and never-fading pleasures which the dead would enjoy on their removal from this painful and troublesome world:[t] for garlands were an emblem of mirth, and were usually worn at banquets and festivals; and ointments and perfumes were the constant attendants of gaiety.[u]

They then proceeded προτίθεσθαι,[v] to lay out the dead body; sometimes they placed it on the ground, and sometimes on a bier which was called λέκτρον, φέρτρον, or φέρετρον, and which was adorned with various sorts of flowers. Some are of opinion that the corpse was first laid out on the ground, and afterwards lifted upon a bier. This office was also performed by the nearest relations.[w] The place where the bodies were laid out was near the entrance of the house,[x] which being sometimes termed προνώπιον, dead men were called προνωπεῖς.[y] The reason of this ceremony was, that all persons might have an opportunity of examining whether the deceased person had any wounds or other marks of a violent death.[z] It may be also observed, that the feet were always turned towards the gate,[a] to signify that they were never to return after being carried out.[b] Whilst the body lay in this place, it was usual constantly to attend it, that they might defend it from any violence or affront which might be offered it,[c] or prevent flies or vermin from polluting it.[d]

Before interment, a piece of money was put into the mouth of the corpse,[e] which was thought to be Charon's fare for wafting the departed soul over the infernal river.[f] This fare was termed by some καρκήδοντα;[g] by some δανάη,[h] δανάκη[i] or δανάκης, from δάνος, a price, or because it was given τοῖς δανοῖς, to dead men, who were so called from δανὰ, dry sticks; and by others it was called ναῦλον or ναῦλος, and πορθμεῖον.[k] It was only a single obolus,[l] though Aristophanes mentions two oboli as the fare of Charon;[m] but the comedian is only

[q] Eurip. Troad. v. 1143.
[r] Plut. Demetr. Id. Philopœmen.
[s] Suidas.
[t] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. ii. cap. 8.
[u] Stobæus.
[v] Demosth. in Macart. Lys. pro Eratosth. Lucian. de Luctu; Eurip. Hecub. v. 613.
[w] Lysias de Cæd. Eratosth.
[x] Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 612.
[y] Eurip. Alcest.
[z] Poll. viii. 7. seg. 65. Suidas in Προύκειτο.
[a] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 212. Eustath. in loc. Pers. Sat. iii. v. 103.
[b] Schol. Hom. Il. τ'. v. 212.
[c] Hom. Il. ibid.
[d] Id. ibid. v. 23.
[e] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. v. 140.
[f] Lucian. de Luctu.
[g] Suidas.
[h] Hesychius.
[i] Poll. ix. 6. seg. 82.
[k] Eustath. ad Odys. Callim. in Fragm.
[l] Lucian. Dialog. Mort.
[m] Aristoph. Ran.

jeering the Athenian jurors, who, in some of the courts, were presented with two oboli when the session was ended. This ceremony was not used in those places which were imagined to be situated in the vicinity of the infernal regions, and which led thither by a ready and direct road. We are told that the Hermionians pleaded exemption from payment.[n]

Besides this, into the mouth of the corpse was put a certain cake, composed of flour, honey, &c., and therefore called *μελιττοῦντα*.[o] This was intended to appease the fury of Cerberus, the infernal door-keeper, and to procure from him a safe and peaceable entrance:[p]

> *Μελιττοῦντὰν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάξω.*[q]
> And I'll prepare a cake for Cerberus.

It may be observed that the whole ceremony of laying out and clothing the dead, and sometimes also of the interment itself, was called *συγκομιδή*,[r] *ἐκφορὰ*,[s] *κήδευμα*,[t] and *κηδεία*;[u] and in the same sense ancient writers use the word *συγκομίζειν*,[v] with its derivatives.

It may also be observed that during this time the hair of the deceased person was hung upon the door, to denote that the family was in mourning; and till the corpse was removed from the house, there stood before the door a vessel of water, called *ἀρδάνιον*,[w] *ἀρδανία*, *γάστρα*,[x] *πηγαῖον*,[y] and *ὄστρακον*, from the materials of which it was frequently made:

> *Ὕδατός τε κατάθου τοὔστρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.*[z]
> An earthen vessel, full of water, place
> Before the door.

The design of it was, that those who had been employed about the corpse might purify themselves by washing, which was called *λούεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ*; it being the general opinion of the heathen world, that mankind were polluted by the contact of a dead body; and hence the celestial gods, especially those who were thought to give or preserve life, would not endure the sight of a corpse.[a]

Nor was the house, in which the corpse lay, deemed free from pollution:

> *Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ', οὐ γὰρ ἐνθάδε*
> *Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως.*[b]
> For sacred are our houses, not defiled
> By Menelaus' death.

[n] Strab. lib. viii.
[o] Suidas.
[p] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 420.
[q] Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 601.
[r] Æschyl. Schol. Sept. contra Thebas v. 1032.
[s] Æschylo.
[t] Schol. Æschyl.
[u] Herodian. i. 5. 8. 1.
[v] Schol. Æschyl. loc. cit. Sophocl. Ajac. v. 1067.
[w] Hesych. et Suid. in voc. Poll. viii. 7. seg. 66.
[x] Hesych.
[y] Eurip. Alcest. v. 99.
[z] Aristoph. Eccles.
[a] Eurip. Hippolyt.
[b] Idem Helen. v. 1446.

CHAP. IV.

Funeral Processions.

The carrying forth of the corpse was termed ἐκκομιδὴ[c] and ἐκφορὰ;[d] and hence ἐκφέρειν[e] and ἐκκομίζειν[f] are words appropriated to funerals.

The time of burial seems not to have been limited. Sometimes bodies were kept seventeen days and seventeen nights before interment; and it appears that the body of Achilles was committed to the flames, after seventeen days and as many nights of mourning had passed.[g] Some are of opinion that the time of burning bodies was on the eighth, and that of burying on the ninth day after death;[h] but this must be understood only of the funerals of great persons, which could not be duly solemnized without extraordinary preparations; and men of inferior rank were interred without much pomp. The ancient burials appear to have been on the third or fourth day after death;[i] and it was not unusual to perform the obsequies, especially of poor persons, on the day after their decease.[k]

The ceremony was performed in the day, as night was considered a very improper time, because furies and evil spirits, which could not endure the light, then ventured abroad.[l] Only young men, who died in the flower of their age, were buried in the morning twilight; for the death of a young man appeared so dreadful a calamity, that it was thought indecent and almost impious to reveal it in the face of the sun. Hence, say the expounders of fables, originated the stories of youths stolen to the embraces of Aurora; for when hopeful young men suffered an untimely death, it was usual to alleviate the calamity by giving it a more agreeable name; and hence the death of such persons was called Ἡμέρας ἁρπαγή.[m] Because these funerals were celebrated by torch-light, it became customary to carry torches at all other burials, though performed in the day; and hence originated the proverbial expression, by which old men are said to approach ἐπὶ τὴν δᾶδα τοῦ βίου, to the torch of their life.[n] Contrary to the other Greeks, the Athenians celebrated their funerals before sun-rise, in obedience to a law, which some say was enacted by Demetrius Phalereus,[o] but which others relate to have been published by Solon;[p] and the design of which was to moderate the expensive extravagance of funerals.

The bearers usually carried the corpse upon their shoulders; and this was called ἄρδην φέρειν:

[c] Lucil. in Anthol.
[d] Thucyd. ii. 34.
[e] Demosth. in Macart.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. viii. 4.
[g] Hom. Odys. ω'. v. 63.
[h] Serv. in Æn. v.
[i] Apollon. Argon. lib. ii.
[k] Callim. Laert. Vit. Pherecyd.
[l] Eurip. Troad. v. 446.
[m] Heracl. Pont. de Allegor. Homer.
[n] Plut. lib. An seni capess. sit Resp.
[o] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.
[p] Demosth. in Macart.

————προσπόλοι
Φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφοντε, καὶ πυράν.[g]
The servants to the grave the corpse now bear
Upon their shoulders.

The body was sometimes placed upon a bier, instead of which the Lacedæmonians commonly employed their bucklers; and hence originated that remarkable command of a matron to her son, Ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶῖδε, Either bring this (the buckler) back, or be brought upon it.[r] The same custom was also practised in some other places.[s] The most ancient Greeks, however, seem to have conveyed the dead bodies to their funerals without any support:

————ὄπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς
Ἀχνύμενος.[t]
Achilles next, oppressed with mighty woe,
Supported with his hands the hero's head.

This seems to be the meaning of φοράδην πέμπειν.[u]

The persons that attended funerals were the friends and relations of the deceased, who thought themselves obliged to pay their last respects to the dead.[v] Besides these, other men and women were frequently invited to increase the solemnity,[w] especially where the laws did not prohibit it; but in some places, either to prevent the confusion which often happened at such meetings, or to lessen the expenses of funerals, this was forbidden.[x] Thus a law was established at Mitylene, that only the relations of the deceased should appear at funerals. Solon also imposed some restraint on the Athenians, and wholly excluded all women under sixty years of age from these solemnities:[y] but women who were relations were admitted under that age.[z] The women, however, seem not to have attended promiscuously among the men, but in a body by themselves.[a]

The habit of these persons was not always the same; for though they sometimes put on mourning, and at common funerals as frequently retained their ordinary apparel, the obsequies of great men were usually celebrated with joy and festive solemnities.[b]

When the body was conveyed out of the house, they took their last farewell, saluting it in a certain form of words:

Ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν θανοῦσαν, ὡς νομίζεται, *
Προσείπατ' ἐξιοῦσαν ὑστάτην ὁδόν.[c]
Do you, since ancient custom so requires,
Salute the corpse, taking her last journey.

The procession was commonly on horseback, or in coaches; but at the funerals of persons to whom a more than ordinary reverence was thought due, all went on foot.[d] The relations were next the corpse; the rest walked at some distance: sometimes the men went

[g] Eurip. Alcest.
[r] Plut. Apophth. Lacon.
[s] Virg. Æn. x. v. 506.
[t] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 136.
[u] Eurip. Rheso v. 886.
[v] Thucyd. ii. 34. Sophocl. Ajac. Mastig. v. 1189. Aristot. Eth. ix. 11.
[w] Eurip. Alcest. v. 629.
[x] Cic. de Leg. ii. 26.
[y] Demosth. in Macart.
[z] Lysias pro Eratosth.
[a] Terent. Andr.
[b] Plut. Timol. Id. Arato.
[c] Eurip. Alcest. v. 608.
[d] Diog. Laert. Theophrasto.

* Se with observance due bid y^e faw dead
† Gods speed, forth going on her last bid journey ye.

before it with their heads uncovered, and the women followed it. Patroclus was carried to his funeral, surrounded by Grecian soldiers.[e] But the usual manner was, for the body to be carried first, and those who attended the funeral to follow.[f] This reminded the survivors of their own mortality, and taught them to remember that they were all following in the way which the deceased was gone before.[g] At the funerals of soldiers, their companions attended with their spears pointed towards the ground, and the uppermost part of their bucklers turned downwards.[h] This was done not so much because on their bucklers were carved the images of the gods, who would have been polluted by the sight of a dead body, as that they might depart from the usual custom; for in mourning it was common to act in a contrary manner to what was practised at other times; and hence not only the bucklers of the soldiers, but also their spears and other weapons were inverted. Nor was this only a martial custom, but was used likewise in peace; for at the funerals of magistrates their ensigns of honor were inverted.

To perform the ceremony of burial was termed ἐκπέμπειν, from carrying the body out of the house; παραπέμπειν, from the places by which it passed; and προπέμπειν, from the place whither it was conveyed.

CHAP. V.

Mourning for the Dead.

The ceremonies by which the Greeks expressed their sorrow on the death of friends, and on other occasions, were various and uncertain; but they generally receded, as much as possible, both in habit and behaviour, from their ordinary customs; and they thought that this change would show that some calamity had befallen them. Hence, in some cities, mourners conducted themselves in the same manner as persons who, in other places, expressed joy; for the customs of different places being of a different kind, it sometimes happened that what in one place signified an expression of mirth, was, in another, a token of sorrow. The most common ways of expressing sorrow were the following:—

1. They abstained from banquets and entertainments,[i] and banished from their houses all musical instruments, and whatever tended to excite pleasure, or bore an air of gaiety and mirth.[k] They frequented no public solemnities, and appeared in no places of concourse, but sequestered themselves from company, and refrained even from the comforts and conveniences of life. Wine was too great a friend to cheerfulness for them to use it; the light itself was odious to them; and they courted dark shades and lonesome retirements, which they

[e] Hom. Il. ψ.
[f] Terent. Andria.
[g] Donat. in loc. Terent. Alex. ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 8.
[h] Virg. Æn. xi. v. 92. Stat. Theb. vi.
[i] Lucian. de Luctu.
[k] Eurip. Alcest. v. 341

thought bore some resemblance to their misfortunes.[l] Hence, for a person to dream that a fire was extinguished during the sickness of any one in the same family, was considered a certain omen of death.[m]

2. They divested themselves of all ornaments, and laid aside their jewels, gold, and whatever was rich and costly in their apparel.[n] This custom was not peculiar to mourners for the dead; but, like several other ceremonies here mentioned, it was practised by those who lamented any great calamity.[o] They put on mourning garments,[p] which were always black;[q] and hence, if a sick person dreamed of black clothes, it was considered a presage of recovery, since only those who survived to mourn were dressed in black.[r] Mourning garments differed from ordinary apparel not only in color, but also in the cheapness and coarseness of the stuff of which they were made.[s]

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shaved their hair;[t] and it was not deemed sufficient to deprive themselves of a small part only.[u] They had several ways of disposing of their hair. Sometimes it was thrown upon the dead body:[v]

> Θριξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνυον, ἃς ἐπέβαλλον
> Κειρόμενοι.[w]
> They shaved their heads, and cover'd with their hair
> The body.

Sometimes it was cast upon the funeral pile, or placed in the hands of the deceased, to be consumed with the body:

> ———ἐν χερσὶ κόμην ἑτάροιο φίλοιο
> Θῆκεν.[x]
> On his cold hand the sacred lock he laid. POPE.

At other times it was laid on the grave:[y]

> Ὁρῶ τομαῖον τόνδε βόστρυχον τάφῳ.[z]
> On the grave I see this hair.

Some limit this custom to sons or very near relations; but it appears to have been common to all who thought themselves obliged to express their respect or love to the dead; and at the death of great men, whole cities and countries were usually shaved.

The practice may be accounted for two ways: it was used partly to render the ghost of the deceased person propitious, by throwing hair into the fire to burn with him, or placing it on his body; and partly that they might appear disfigured, and careless of their beauty; for the Greeks prided themselves in their long hair, and were, therefore, frequently termed by Homer καρηκομόωντες.

[l] Hom. Odys. δ'. v. 101. Plut. Consol. ad Uxor.
[m] Artemidor. ii. 9.
[n] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 862. Ovid. Met. vi. v. 566.
[o] Eurip. Troad. v. 256.
[p] Terent. Heaut. ii. 3. 45.
[q] Eurip. Helen. v. 1094. Alcest. v. 215 et 427. Ovid. Met. vi. fab. 8. viii. fab. 4. Plut. περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνως.
[r] Artemidor. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[s] Terent. loc. cit.
[t] Hom. Odys. δ'. v. 197. ω'. v. 45. Herodot. ii. Xenoph. Hellen. i.
[u] Eurip. Orest. v. 128.
[v] Stat. Theb. vi.
[w] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 135.
[x] Idem ibid. v. 152.
[y] Ovid.
[z] Æschyl. Χοηφόροις.

It may be also observed, that in solemn and public mournings this practice was extended to beasts.[a]

However, to shave the head was also a sign of joy, as when mariners shaved themselves on being delivered from shipwreck;[b] and in ancient authors are other instances which show that shaving was a token of joy.[c] This difficulty may be obviated by observing that the manner of shaving, whether by themselves or others, ought to be regarded; for, though to be shaved by others was a sign of cheerfulness, they who cut off their own hair in a careless and negligent way were looked on as mourners. The different customs of different nations ought also to be considered; for where it was customary to wear short hair, long hair was a token of mourning; and where long hair was in fashion, mourners shaved themselves.[d]

4. It was common for persons overwhelmed with grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves on the earth, and roll in the dust; and the more dirty the ground, the better it served to defile them, and to express their sorrow and dejection.[e]

5. They sprinkled ashes upon their heads:[f]

> Ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
> Χεύατο κακκεφαλῆς.[g]
>
> ——With furious hands he spread
> The scorching ashes o'er his graceful head. Pope.

6. When they went abroad, they muffled their heads;[h] nor was this the custom of women only:

> Λέγ', ἐκκάλυψαι κρᾶτα, πάρες γόον.[i]
> Speak out, unfold your head, refrain from tears.

7. Another token of dejection was to lean their heads on their hands:

> Ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χεῖρας ἔθηκαν.[k]
> They with their hands support their drooping head.

8. They went softly, to express their faintness and loss of strength and spirits.

9. They beat their breasts and thighs with their hands,[l] and tore their cheeks with their nails, which was called φοινίσσειν παρειὰς, to make the cheeks bloody, and τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἀμύσσειν, to tear the surface of the face.[m] These actions, though sometimes practised by men, were more frequent among women,[n] whose passions are violent and ungovernable.

Solon thought proper to forbid these extravagances.[o] The Lace-

[a] Eurip. Alcest. Plut. Pelopida; Id. Aristide.
[b] Juvenal. Sat. xii. v. 82. Artemidor. lib. i. cap. 23.
[c] Plin. Epist. Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 973.
[d] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 82. Plut. Lysandro.
[e] Ovid. Met. viii. v. 528. Lucian. de Luct. Hom. Il. ω'. v. 637.
[f] Lucian. de Luctu; Ovid. Met. viii. v. 525.
[g] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 23.
[h] Anthol. lib. v. epigr. 33. Eurip. Orest. v. 294.
[i] Eurip. Supplic. v. 110.
[k] Idem Helen. v. 377.
[l] Lucian. de Luctu; Ovid. Heroid. xv. 113.
[m] Lucian. de Luctu.
[n] Nonn. Dionys. lib. ix. cap. 18. Virg. Æn. iv. v. 673.
[o] Plut. Solone.

dæmonians bore the death of their private relations with great moderation; but when their kings died, they assembled in great numbers; and men, women, and slaves, mixed together, and tore the flesh from their foreheads with pins and needles. The design of this custom was not only to testify their sorrow, but also to gratify the ghosts of the dead, who were thought to delight in blood.[p]

10. They accused and cursed the gods.[q] Nor was this the effect of extravagant passion, or practised only by persons of weak understandings in the extremity of their sorrow;[r] for the gods being thought subject to human passions, it was natural for men under misfortunes to impeach them of cruelty or envy.[s] Sometimes their rage against the gods proceeded to the pulling down of their altars, and the sacking of their temples.[t]

11. They spoke their words very slowly, and with tears repeated the interjection ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, ἔ.[u] Hence, it is said that funeral lamentations were called ἔλεγοι, elegies.[v] They also repeated αἴ, αἴ, which words prove what is said by the ancients concerning Hyacinth being changed into a flower. Perhaps some of the Greeks pronounced the diphthong αι in the same manner as the simple ε.

12. When public magistrates or persons of eminence died, or any general calamity happened, all public meetings were suspended, the schools of exercise, baths, shops, temples, and all places of concourse were shut up; and the whole city wore the appearance of sorrow.[w]

13. They employed mourners and musicians to increase the solemnity. These were called θρήνων ἔξαρχοι,[x] because they endeavoured to excite sorrow in others by beating their breasts, and counterfeiting all the actions of real and passionate grief. They were also denominated ἀοιδοὶ, προσῳδοὶ, &c., from the songs which they sang at funerals. Of these songs there were three in number: one was sung in the procession; another at the funeral pile; and a third at the grave. They were commonly termed ὀλοφυρμοὶ, λίνοι, and αἴλινοι; though the last two names were not peculiar to funeral songs, but applicable to others.[y] They were also sometimes denominated ἰάλεμοι,[z] from Ialemus, one of the sons of Clio, and the first author of these compositions;[a] and for the same reason songs at marriages were termed ὑμέναιοι, from his brother Hymenæus. Funeral dirges were likewise called τάλεμοι; and hence τηλεμίζειν denotes to mourn,[b] and τηλεμίστριαι is another name for mourning women: hence, also, τὰ ταλεμῴδη signify worthless matters, and ταλέμου ψυχρότερος is proverbially applied to senseless and insipid compositions;[c] for the songs on these occasions were commonly very mean and trifling.[d]

What was the design of employing musical instruments at funerals is not agreed: some think that they were intended to frighten the

[p] Serv. in Virg. Æn. iii. et xii.
[q] Stat. Sylv. lib. v.
[r] Idem Theb. iii.
[s] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 869.
[t] Eurip. Andromache.
[u] Æschyl.
[v] Schol. Aristoph. Av. v. 217.
[w] Diog. Laert. Socrat.
[x] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 721. Eustath. ad h. l.
[y] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 3.
[z] Eurip. Suppl. v. 281. Troad. v. 600.
[a] Hesych. in Ἰάλεμοι.
[b] Hesych.
[c] Suid. Zenodotus.
[d] Plaut. Asinaria.

ghosts and furies from the soul of the deceased person; some, that they denoted the soul's departure into heaven, where they imagined that the motion of the spheres produced a divine and an eternal harmony; some, that they were designed to divert the melancholy of the surviving relations; and others, with most probability, that they were intended to excite sorrow. This was the reason that the λύρα, which was consecrated to Apollo, and fit only for pæans and cheerful songs, was never used at these solemnities.[e] Some of the αὐλοὶ, flutes, were the most common instruments at funerals.[f] Some, indeed, think that the Lydian flutes were more suitable on such occasions than the Phrygian, which were better adapted to mirth and cheerfulness, and to the funerals of infants and youths, which were solemnized in a manner very different from those of adult persons; but it appears that the most common flutes used at funerals were of the Phrygian form, though perhaps neither the Lydian nor some others were wholly excluded. Hence nænia, the Latin word for funeral dirges, seems to be derived from the Greek νηνίατον, which is said to be of Phrygian origin;[g] and νηνυρίζεσθαι has the same extraction, and is explained by θρηνεῖν, to bewail or lament. The Carian flute was also employed on these occasions; and hence the musicians and mourners were termed Καρίναι;[h] and Καρικὴ μοῦσα denoted a funeral song; and this was the same used by the Phrygians, from whom it was first conveyed into Caria.[i] The Mysian flute was likewise a proper instrument for sorrow;[k] and the Lydian flute was first applied to this use by Olympus at the death of Python.[l]

CHAP. VI.

The Manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

Whether interring or burning the dead has the best claim to antiquity, may seem to admit of dispute. It is probable, however, that though the latter Greeks were more disposed to burning, the custom of the primitive ages was to inter the dead.[m] It is plain, indeed, that the Athenians, who were afterwards addicted to burning, used interment in the reign of Cecrops;[n] and we are positively told that interring was more ancient than burning, which is said to have been first introduced by Hercules.[o] It appears, however, that the custom of burning was used in the Trojan war, and both then and afterwards generally practised by the Greeks.[p] Some of them, indeed, considered burning as cruel and inhuman;[q] and the philosophers were divided in their opinions respecting it: they who thought that the human body was compounded of water, earth, or the four elements, were inclined

[e] Eurip. Alcest. v. 430.
[f] Stat. Theb. vi. v. 120.
[g] Pollux.
[h] Hesychius.
[i] Pollux lib. iii.
[k] Æschyl. Pers. ejusque Schol.
[l] Plut. de Musica.
[m] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. cap. 22. Pausan. Corinth.
[n] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. cap. 25.
[o] Schol. Minor. et Eustath. in Hom. Il. α'.
[p] Lucian. de Luctu; Plat. Phædon.
[q] Eustath. ad Il. α'.

to interment; but Heraclitus and his followers, who imagined that fire was the first principle of all things, were disposed to burning.

Two reasons are assigned why burning became so generally used in Greece. The first is, because bodies were thought to be unclean after the soul's departure, and therefore had need of being purified by fire:

——Πυρὶ καθήγνισται δέμας.[r]

The body is purified by fire.

The second reason is, that the soul, being separated from the gross and inactive matter, might be at liberty to take its flight to the heavenly mansions.[s] Hence Hercules by burning was purified from the dregs of earth, before his reception into heaven; and it seems to have been a general opinion that fire was an excellent means of refining the celestial part of man, by separating it from the gross matter and impure qualities which attend it.[t]

The piles upon which they burned dead bodies were called πυραί.[u] They seem not to have been erected in any constant form, nor to have consisted of the same materials, which were varied according to the exigency of time, place, and other circumstances.

The body was placed upon the top of the pile, upon which they threw various animals;[v] and if the deceased was a person of rank, they also burned with his body many slaves or captives. Besides these, all sorts of precious ointments and perfumes were poured into the flames.[w] They covered the body with the fat of the beasts that it might be sooner consumed;[x] for it was considered a great blessing to be quickly reduced to ashes. When, therefore, in funerals, many bodies were to be burnt upon the same pile, they were so disposed that those of moist constitutions and easy to be set on fire, being proportioned to bodies of contrary temperaments, should increase the force of the flames; insomuch that for ten men it was usual to put in one woman.[y]

Soldiers had commonly their arms burnt with them.[z]

It seems also to have been customary to throw into the pile the garments which they had worn during their lives.[a] Some were so anxious respecting this, that in their wills they gave orders for its performance. The Athenians in this matter, as in all other observances which regarded religion, were the most profuse of all the Greeks; insomuch that some of their lawgivers were obliged to restrain them, under severe penalties, from defrauding the living by their liberality to the dead. Lycurgus permitted the Spartans to bury with a body nothing besides one red garment, or, at the most, a few branches of olive;[b] and these only when the deceased was a person eminent for virtue and courage. Solon allowed the Athenians three garments and

[r] Euripides.
[s] Eustath. ad Il. α'. Quintil. Declam. x.
[t] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 44.
[u] Hom. Il. α'. v. 52. ω'. v. 786. ψ'. v. 164.
[v] Hom. Odys. ω'. v. 65. Il. ψ'. v. 166.
[w] Idem Odys. ω'. v. 67.
[x] Eustath.
[y] Plut. Sympos. lib. iii. quæst. 4. Macrob. Saturn. lib. vii. cap. 7.
[z] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 418. Odys. λ'. v. 74.
[a] Lucian. in Nigrin. Eurip. Rhes. v. 960.
[b] Plut. Lycurgo.

one ox.[c] At Chæronea, they who were convicted of extravagance at funerals were punished as effeminate by the censors of women.[d]

The pile was lighted by some of the nearest relations or friends of the deceased, who offered up prayers and vows to the winds to assist the flames, that the body might be quickly reduced to ashes.[e]

At the funerals of generals and great commanders, the soldiers, with the rest of the company, made a solemn procession three times round the pile, to express their respect for the deceased:[f]

Οἱ δὲ τρὶς περὶ νεκρὸν ἐΰτριχας ἤλασαν ἵππους
Μυρόμενοι.[g]
They led their horses thrice around the dead,
Lamenting.

This action was called in Greek περιδρομὴ, and was performed by turning towards the left hand, which was expressive of sorrow;[h] as, on the contrary, a movement to the right hand was a sign of joy.[i] These movements were accompanied with shouts and sound of trumpets,[k] and were performed either before the pile was lighted,[l] or whilst it was burning.[m]

During the time that the pile was in flames, the friends of the dead person stood by it, pouring forth libations of wine,[n] and calling on the ghost of the deceased.[o]

When the pile was burnt down, and the flames had ceased, they extinguished the remains of the fire with wine;[p] and afterwards they collected the bones and ashes:[q]

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαΐὴν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνῳ
Πᾶσαν, ὁπόσσον ἐπέσχε πυρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὀστέα λευκὰ λέγοντο κασίγνητοι, ἔταροί τε.[r]
About the pile the thronging people came,
And with black wine quench'd the remaining flame;
His brothers then, and friends, search'd every where,
And gather'd up his snowy bones with care. Congreve.

This office of collecting the bones was called ὀστολόγιον and ὀστολογία,[s] and was performed by the nearest relations.[t] The bones were sometimes washed with wine, and afterwards anointed with oil;[u] and they were sometimes inclosed in fat:

Κλαίοντες δ' ἑτάροιο ἐνηέος ὀστέα λευκὰ
Ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν.[v]
Next the white bones his sad companions place,
With fat twice cover'd, in the golden vase.

[c] Plut. Solone.
[d] Id. ibid.
[e] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 194.
[f] Id. Odys. ω'. v. 68. Apollon. Rhod. i. v. 1059.
[g] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 13.
[h] Stat. Theb. lib. vi. v. 213.
[i] Id. ibid. v. 221.
[k] Val. Flaccus Argon. lib. iii.
[l] Idem ibid.
[m] Virg. Æn. xi. v. 187.
[n] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 220. Lucian. de Luctu.
[o] Hom. loc. cit. Æschyl. Choephor. v. 86 et 128.
[p] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 250. Virg. Æn. vi. v. 227.
[q] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 237. Pind. Pyth. Od. antistr. γ'. v. 7.
[r] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 791.
[s] Diod. Sic. iv. 39.
[t] Tibullus.
[u] Hom. Odys. ω'. v. 73. Tibull. iii. 2. 19.
[v] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 252.

In order to distinguish the remains of the body from those of the beasts and men burnt with it, they placed the body in the middle of the pile, and the men and beasts on the sides of it:[w]

——— αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὀστέα Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο λέγωμεν
Εὖ διαγιγνώσκοντες, ἀριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται·
Ἐν μέσσῃ γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἄνευθεν
Ἐσχατιῇ καίοντ' ἐπιμὶξ ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες.[x]

———Then (as the rites direct)
The hero's bones with careful view select:
Apart, and easy to be known, they lie
Amidst the heap, and obvious to the eye;
The rest around the margin may be seen
Promiscuous, steeds and immolated men. POPE.

Having discovered the bones, they gathered the ashes which lay close to them; and it does not appear that there was any other means of distinguishing the remains of the men from other ashes.

The bones and ashes thus collected were deposited in urns, which were called by the Greeks κάλπαι,[y] φιάλαι,[z] κρωσσοὶ,[a] λάρνακες,[b] ἀμφορῆαι,[c] ὀστοθῆκαι,[d] ὀστοδοχεῖα, σοροὶ, &c. The materials of which these urns were composed were different, and consisted either of wood,[e] stone,[f] earth, silver,[g] or gold,[h] according to the quality of the deceased. When persons of eminent rank or virtue died, their urns were frequently adorned with flowers and garlands; but the general custom was to cover them with cloth till deposited in the earth, that the light might not approach them:[i]

Ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἐανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν.[k]
The sacred relics to the tent they bore;
The urn a veil of linen cover'd o'er. POPE.

Concerning the interment of the dead it may be observed, that the Greeks placed the bodies in their coffins with the faces upwards; it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the welfare of the deceased, that their faces should be towards the abode of the celestial gods, rather than towards the mansions of the infernal deities. It may be also observed, that the heads of the deceased persons were so placed in the grave by the Athenians and other Greeks, that they might look towards the rising sun;[l] but that the Megarensians disposed their dead in such a manner, that their faces might look towards the west.[m]

The Megarensians commonly put two, three, or four bodies into the same sepulchre; but at Athens, and in other parts of Greece, one sepulchre seldom contained more than one body.[n] However, they

[w] Hom. Il. ω'. fine.
[x] Idem ib. ψ'. v. 238.
[y] Herodot. iii. 15. seg. 16. iv. 1. seg. 6. 7.
[z] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 253.
[a] Mosch. Idyll. iv. 34.
[b] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 795.
[c] Idem Odys. ω'. v. 74.
[d] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 367.
[e] Eurip. Alcest. v. 365.
[f] Xiphilin. in Severo.
[g] Ammian. Marcell. xix.
[h] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 243. Mosch. Idyll. iv. 34.
[i] Hom. Il. ω'. fine.
[k] Id. ib. ψ'. v. 254.
[l] Thucyd. Schol. Plut. Solone; Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 19.
[m] Plut. Solone.
[n] Idem ibid.

who were related to each other by affinity or affection were usually buried together, it being thought inhuman to separate in death those who had not been separated in life :[o]

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀστέα νῶϊν ὁμὴ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι.[p]
So the same urn may cover both our bones.

CHAP. VII.

Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphs, &c.

The primitive Greeks were buried in places prepared for that purpose in their own houses.[q] The Thebans had once a law, that no person should build a house without providing a repository for his dead. It seems to have been very common, even in later ages, to bury within their cities; but this was a favor seldom granted, except to men of great worth and public benefactors, to such as were examples of virtue to succeeding ages, or had deserved, by their eminent services, that their memories should be honored by posterity. The Magnesians raised a sepulchre to Themistocles in the midst of the forum;[r] Euphron had the same honor at Corinth;[s] Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general was also buried within the city;[t] and colonies usually deposited in the midst of their cities the remains of the leaders, under whose conduct they had possessed themselves of new habitations.[u]

Temples were sometimes made repositories for the dead, of which the primitive ages afford many instances; and hence some have been of opinion that the honors paid to the dead were the first cause of erecting temples. Nor were later times wholly devoid of such examples; from which, however, it appears that this was considered as a very great favor, and granted as a reward for public services,[v] or as a means of protection.[w]

But the general custom, especially in later ages, was to bury the dead without the cities,[x] and chiefly by the highways.[y] This seems to have been done either to preserve themselves from the noisome smells with which graves might affect their cities, to prevent their houses from being set on fire by funeral piles, to fill the minds of travellers with the thoughts of mortality, to excite in themselves a determination to encounter dangers rather than permit an enemy to approach their walls and despoil the monuments, or, which some think most probable, that they might not contract pollution by touching the dead.[z]

[o] Ovid. Met. iv. v. 154. xi. v. 701. Eurip. Alcest. v. 365. Hom. Odys. ω'. v. 76.
[p] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 91.
[q] Plat. Minoë.
[r] Plut. Themistocle.
[s] Xenoph. Ἑλληνικ. lib. vii.
[t] Thucyd. v. 11.
[u] Pindar. Schol.
[v] Plut. Aristide.
[w] Eurip. Medc. v. 1378.
[x] Cic. ad Div. iv. 12. seg. 9. Liv. xxxi. 24.
[y] Eurip. Alcest. v. 835. Rhes. v. 881. Menand. in Fragm. Theocrit. Idyll. vii. 10. Pausan. Attic.
[z] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. v. 380. Lucian. de Dea Syria.

Lycurgus, however, in this, as in most of his institutions, differed from the other Grecian lawgivers; for, in order to eradicate all superstitious ideas, he allowed the Lacedæmonians to bury their dead within the city, and even about the temples, that their youth being used to such sights might not be afraid of looking at a dead body, nor believe that to touch a corpse, or tread upon a grave, would defile a man.[a]

Every family had its proper place of interment, of which to be deprived was accounted one of the greatest calamities that could happen. When, therefore, the Lacedæmonians resolved to conquer the Messenians, or to lose their lives in the attempt, they tied to their right arms tickets, which contained their own and their fathers' names, that if they should perish in the engagement, and their bodies could not be distinguished, these notes might certify to what family they belonged, so that they might be carried to the sepulchres of their ancestors.[b] The other Greeks practised the same custom; and there was a law which required that those who preserved not their inheritance, should be deprived of the sepulchre of their fathers.[c]

The common graves, in the earliest periods of Greece, were only caverns dug in the earth, and called *ὑπόγαια*.[d] Those of succeeding ages were commonly paved with stone, and arched over; and they were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living; insomuch that mourners usually retired into the vaults of the dead, and there lamented over their relatives during many successive days and nights.[e]

Kings and great men were anciently buried upon mountains, or at the foot of them.[f] Hence appears the custom of raising a mount upon the graves of eminent persons.[g] This mount consisted sometimes of stones,[h] but most commonly of earth, whence it is usually called *χῶμα*:

———*ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλείου τάφου.*[i]
The mount which o'er Achilles' tomb was raised.

To cast it up is called *χέειν σῆμα*,[k] and *χώννυσθαι τάφον*;[l] and it is sometimes expressed by the more general names of *ὀγκῶσαι, ὑψώσαι*,[m] &c.:

Μητέρ' ἐξώγκουν τάφῳ.[n]
O'er my dead mother's corpse a tomb I raised.

Whatever the materials were, they were usually laid together with care and art.[o]

The ancient *μνημεῖα* consisted of two parts: one was the grave or tomb, which in a strict sense of the word was termed *μνημεῖον*, and is known by several other names chiefly taken from its form, as *σπή-*

[a] Plut. Lycurgo.
[b] Justin. lib. iii.
[c] Diog. Laert. Democrito.
[d] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 797.
[e] Petron. de Matron. Ephes. Cic. ad Div. iv. 12.
[f] Serv. Æn. xi. Virg. ibid. Aurel. de Orig. Gent. Roman.
[g] Lucian. lib. viii.
[h] Euripides.
[i] Idem Hecub. v. 221.
[k] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 801. ψ'.
[l] Anthol. lib. iv.
[m] Idem lib. iii.
[n] Euripides.
[o] Hom. Il. ψ'.

λαιον, τύμβος, &c.; the second part was the ground surrounding the grave, which was fenced about with pales or walls usually open at the top, and therefore sometimes called ὕπαιθρον, and also θριγκὸς, γεῖσον, περιοικοδομὴ,[p] κρηπὶς, σκέπη, &c. Tombs of stone were polished and adorned with greater art, and were thence frequently denominated ξεστοὶ τάφοι or τύμβοι:[q]

— ἐπὶ ξεστῷ τάφῳ.[r]
Upon the polish'd tomb.

The ornaments with which sepulchres were decorated were numerous. Pillars of stone, which were termed στῆλαι,[s] and ἀγάλματα ἀΐδαο, ξεστὰ πέτρα,[t] were very ancient, and frequently contained inscriptions declaring the family, virtues, &c., of the deceased, which were commonly described in verse.[u] The Sicyonians had no inscriptions of this kind.[v] Lycurgus would by no means permit gravestones to be covered with inscriptions; nor would he allow the Lacedæmonians to inscribe on the stones even the names of the dead, unless the deceased were men who had fallen in battle, or women who had died in childbed.[w] Sometimes, instead of the names of the deceased, a moral aphorism, or short exhortation to the living, was inserted. The Greeks called inscriptions ἐπιγραφάς.[x]

Besides this, especially when there was no inscription, they commonly added the effigies of the dead man, or some other resemblance pertinent to the occasion, and denoting his temper, studies, employment, or condition.[y] Virgins had usually upon their tombs the image of a maid with a vessel of water:[z] the former was intended to represent the deceased; the latter alluded to a custom practised by the young men, who carried water to the sepulchres of unmarried maids. A careful housekeeper was represented by the bird of night, to denote watchfulness; a bridle to signify a well-ordered family; and a muzzle to show the restraint of the tongue. Upon the monument of Diogenes the Cynic a dog was engraven, to show his own temper or that of his followers.[a] The tomb of Isocrates was adorned with the figure of a ram, on which a syren reclined;[b] that of Archimedes with a sphere and a cylinder;[c] by which were signified the charming eloquence of the former, and the mathematical studies of the latter. Nor was it unusual to fix upon graves the instruments which the deceased had used. The graves of soldiers were distinguished by their weapons;[d] those of mariners by their oars;[e] and, in short, the tools of every art and profession accompanied their masters.

These, with many other ceremonies, were designed to perpetuate the memory of the deceased; and hence their graves were termed

[p] Pausanias.
[q] Eurip. Alcest. v. 836.
[r] Idem Helen. v. 992.
[s] Hom. λ'. v. 371. ρ'. v. 434.
[t] Pindar. Nem. Od. x. epod. δ'. v. 1. 2.
[u] Theophrast. Charact. Eth. cap. xiv. περὶ περιεργίας; Diog. Laert. i. 48. Callim. Epigr. xvi.
[v] Pausan. Corinth.
[w] Plut. Lycurgo.
[x] Artemidor. v. 75.
[y] Pausan. i. cap. 18.
[z] Poll. lib. viii. cap. 7.
[a] Diog. Laert. vi. 78.
[b] Plut. in Decem. Orator.
[c] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. v. 23.
[d] Virg. Æn. iv.
[e] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 75.

σήματα,[f] μνημεῖα,[g] μνήματα,[h] &c. Agamemnon reckons it a great happiness, that Achilles was honored with a monument which would convey his name to posterity.[i]

Later ages, however, became so extravagant in these structures, that lawgivers were obliged to inflict severe penalties on those who exceeded their regulations. Solon, in particular, ordered that no statues of Mercury (which, as Mercury was an infernal god, it had been usual to erect), or arched roofs should be made in the Athenian monuments, and that the monuments should not be greater than ten men were able to set up in three days; and Demetrius the Phalerean enacted a law, that not more than one pillar, which was not to exceed three cubits in height, should be placed upon any monument.[k]

It was customary for the Greeks to pray that the earth might lie light upon their friends, and upon men of piety and virtue; and, on the other hand, that it might press heavy on their enemies, and on all wicked men:[l]

——— Κούφα σοι
Χθὼν ἐπάνω πέσειε, γύναι.[m]
I wish the earth may fall upon you light.

Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἕρμα στερεὸν ἐμβάλλουσι γῆς.[n]
With heavy earth the gods crush wicked men.

The Greeks also erected empty and honorary monuments, which contained neither the bodies, bones, nor ashes of the dead,[o] and which were thence called κενοτάφια,[p] and κενήρια;[q] and hence κενοταφεῖν signifies to erect an empty tomb.[r] Of these there were two sorts: one was erected to such persons as had been honored with funeral rites in another place;[s] the other sort was intended for those who had never obtained a proper funeral: for the ancients believed that the ghosts of unburied persons could not be admitted into the regions of the blessed without wandering in misery one hundred years; and that when any man had perished in the sea, or in any other place where his body could not be found, the only means of procuring him repose was to erect for him an empty sepulchre,[t] and by repeating three times, with a loud voice, the name of the deceased, call his ghost to the habitation prepared for it.[u] This calling of the manes of the dead was termed ψυχαγωγία.[v] The sign by which honorary sepulchres were distinguished from others was commonly ἰκρίον, a wreck of a ship, signifying that the person died in some foreign country.

[f] Callim. Epigr. xviii. v. 4. Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. v. 1100. Thesmophor. v. 893.
[g] Lucian. in Philopseud.
[h] Theophrast. Charact. Eth. cap. xiv. περὶ περιεργίας; Pausan. Corinth. xx.
[i] Hom. Odys. ω'. v. 36.
[k] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.
[l] Callim. Epigr. xxviii. Senec. Hippolyt. fine; Anthol. lib. ii. εἰς πονήρους.
[m] Eurip. Alcest. v. 462.
[n] Idem Helen. v. 861.
[o] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 291. δ'. v. 584. Eurip. Helen. v. 1255. Virg. Æn. iii. v. 304. vi. v. 505.
[p] Suidas in Κενοτάφια.
[q] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 370.
[r] Eurip. Helen. v. 1562.
[s] Pausan. Attic. Messenic. Eliac. β'. Bœotic.
[t] Thucyd. ii. 34. Xenoph. Exped. vi. Eurip. Helen. v. 1257.
[u] Hom. Odys. ι'. v. 64. sq. Eustath. ad h. l. Pindar. Pyth. Od. iv. epod. ζ'. v. 9. et Schol. ad h. l. Virg. Æn. vi. v. 506. Aristoph. Ran. v. 1207.
[v] Eustath. ad Hom. Odys. ι'. v. 64.

To deface or violate a sepulchre was esteemed a crime no less than sacrilege, and was thought to entail certain ruin on all persons who committed it.[w] It has been doubted whether cenotaphs were considered with the same religious regard as sepulchres, in which the remains of the deceased were deposited; and it would appear that the cenotaphs, which were erected only in honor of the dead, were not held so sacred as to require any judgment on those who profaned them; but that the others, in which ghosts were thought to reside, were in the same condition as sepulchres, the want of which they were intended to supply.

CHAP. VIII.

Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honors paid to the Dead.

Before the company departed from the sepulchre, a panegyric was sometimes delivered on the person deceased.[x] The public magistrate appointed a person solemnly to pronounce, in honor of such Athenians as died in war, an oration, which was constantly repeated on the anniversary of their funerals.[y] These customs were first introduced by Solon, or, as some say, by Pericles, and were generally adopted; and it was thought to afford a great addition to the happiness of the deceased to be commended in an eloquent oration.[z]

It was customary for persons of rank to institute games, with all sorts of exercises, to render the death of their friends more remarkable.[a] This custom prevailed in the primitive times, as well as in later ages; and the first that obtained this honor was Azan the son of Arcas, the father of the Arcadians, whose funeral was celebrated with horse-races.[b] The prizes were of different sorts and value, according to the rank and munificence of the person who celebrated them. The garlands given to victors at these games were usually of parsley, which was thought to have some peculiar relation to the dead, as being fabled to spring from the blood of Archemorus.

It was a general opinion that dead bodies polluted all things where they were: hence arose the custom of purifying after funerals. One way of purifying was by surrounding the polluted persons three times with pure water, which was sprinkled lightly upon them with a branch of olive.[c] Till this purification was performed, the polluted person could not enter the temples, nor communicate at the worship of the gods:

> ——— ἢ νέκρου θίγῃ χεροῖν,
> Βωμῶν ἀπείργῃ μυσαρὸν ὡς ἠγουμένη.[d]
> Or whoe'er has chanced to touch aught dead,
> Him as impure she from her altars drives.

[w] Theocrit. Idyll. κβ'. v. 207.
[x] Lucian. de Luctu.
[y] Cic. de Orat. Plat. in Menexeno; Thucyd. ii. 34.
[z] Plin. lib. ii. ep. 1.
[a] Thucyd. v. 11. Plut. Timoleon. Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 274. sq. 680. Odys. ω'. v. 85. sq. Dionys. Halicarn. lib. v.
[b] Pausan. Arcad.
[c] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 229.
[d] Eurip. Iphigen. Tauric. v. 382.

All the deities were of the same disposition, and were equally afraid of defilement.[e] This farther appears from its being unlawful for those to enter the temples, who were called *ὑστερόποτμοι* or *δευτερόποτμοι*,[f] such as were thought dead, but who, after the performance of their funeral rites, recovered; or such as were reputed to be dead in some foreign country, but unexpectedly returned: these men were prohibited from worshipping any of the gods. In purifying them, they were washed, swaddled, and in all other respects treated as new-born infants, and then received into communion.[g]

The house was also purified with fire and brimstone:[h]

> Οἶσε θέειον, γρηῦ, κακῶν ἄκος, οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρ
> Ὄφρα θεειώσω μέγαρον.[i]
> Bring fire and sulphur, cure of noxious fumes,
> That I my house may purify.

The Lacedæmonians, however, were taught by their lawgiver to despise these superstitious follies, and to think it unreasonable to suppose that persons who lived a virtuous life, and conformably to their discipline, should contract any pollution from death; on the contrary, they accounted their remains worthy of respect and honor, and that the most proper places in which to deposit them were those near the temples of their gods.[k]

After the funeral was finished, the nearest relations of the dead provided for the company assembled an entertainment, which was given not in their own house, but in that of some friend who had been nearly connected with the deceased.[l] This entertainment was called *περίδειπνον*,[m] *νεκρόδειπνον*, or *νεκροῦ δεῖπνον*,[n] and *τάφος*;[o] but the Attic laws prohibited this ceremony at the funerals of slaves.[p] Sometimes the entertainment preceded the funeral.[q] The fragments which fell from the tables were considered as sacred to the departed souls, and not lawful to be eaten;[r] and hence the aphorism of Pythagoras, though probably in a more mystical sense, Τὰ *πεσόντα μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι*,[s] Take not up things that have fallen; or, as some express it, Μηδὲ *γεύεσθαι ἅττ' ἂν ἐντὸς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ*, Do not taste things that have fallen under the table. These fragments were carried to the sepulchre, and there left for the manes of the deceased to feed on;[t] and hence to denote extreme poverty, it was usual to say that a person stole his meat from the graves.[u]

The entertainments of latter ages consisted not of flesh only, as were those in Homer, but of all sorts of pulse,[v] beans, pease, lettuces, eggs, parsley, and many other things. The chief subjects of discourse at these meetings were the praises of the dead, especially if they had been eminent for any virtue or commendable quality; but

[e] Lucian. de Dea Syria; Suid. v. *καταλούει*; Aristoph. Schol. Nub.
[f] Hesych.
[g] Plut. Quæst. Roman.
[h] Hom. Odys. *κ'*. v. 492.
[i] Idem ibid. *χ'*. v. 481.
[k] Plut. Lycurgo.
[l] Demosth. de Coron. Hom. Il. *ψ'*. v. 28.
[m] Demosth. ibid. Lucian. de Luctu.
[n] Stob. Serm. 55. Artemid. i. 5.
[o] Hom. Il. *ψ'*. v. 29. Odys. *γ'*. v. 309. Hesiod. Ἔργ. v. 735.
[p] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.
[q] Hom. Il. *ψ'*. v. 28.
[r] Athen. lib. x. cap. 7.
[s] Laert. Pythagor.
[t] Terent. Eunuch. act. iii. scen. 2. v. 38. Catull. Carm. 60.
[u] Tibullus.
[v] Plut. Problem.

such was the simplicity of the primitive ages, that it was considered expedient to say nothing, rather than by speaking to offend the deceased, or transgress the rules of truth, both of which were thought equally criminal. Afterwards, however, they became more lavish of their commendations, which they bestowed on all persons without distinction; and hence originated the proverb, Οὐκ ἐπαινεθείης οὐδ' ἐν περιδείπνῳ, You may not be praised even at your funeral entertainment, which was applied only to the most wicked men, and those who had no good quality to recommend them.[w]

At Argos was a custom, which obliged those who had lost any of their relations or friends by death to sacrifice to Apollo immediately after mourning, and thirty days after to Mercury, from an opinion that as the earth received their bodies, so their souls fell into the hands of Mercury. The barley of the sacrifice was given to the minister of Apollo; the flesh they took themselves; and having extinguished the fire of the sacrifice, which was accounted polluted, they kindled another, on which they boiled the flesh. This flesh was called ἔγκνισμα,[x] from the fumes which ascended from the burnt sacrifice, and which were termed κνίσσα.

Various honors were paid to the sepulchres and memories of the deceased. It was customary to place burning lamps in the subterranean vaults of the dead, whither such as wished to express an extraordinary affection for their relations retired.[y]

It was usual to decorate tombs with herbs and flowers,[z] among which parsley was chiefly in use;[a] and hence Timoleon, marching to the summit of a hill, from which he might view the army and strength of the Carthaginians, and being met by a number of mules laden with parsley, his soldiers considered this an ill-boding omen, the sepulchres of the dead being adorned with that herb.[b] Hence also originated the proverb, δεῖσθαι σελίνου, that he has need only of parsley, which was applied to a person dangerously sick, and signified that he might be considered already dead.[c] All sorts of purple and white flowers were acceptable to the dead, as the amaranthus, which was first used by the Thessalians in adorning the grave of Achilles;[d] πόθος λευκὸς,[e] which some think to be the jessamine; lilies,[f] and several others.[g] The rose too was very grateful:

> Τόδε καὶ νεκροῖς ἀμύνει.[h]
> And after death its odours shed
> A pleasing fragrance o'er the dead. Broome.

Nor was the use of myrtle less common:

> Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ τύμβος ἠτιμασμένος
> Οὐ πώποτε καὶ χοὰς, οὐ κλῶνα μυρσίνης
> Ἔλαβε.[i]

[w] Suid. in Οὐκ ἐπαινεθείης.
[x] Plut. Quæst. Græc.
[y] Petron. cap. cxi.
[z] Sophocl. Electr. v. 896.
[a] Polyæn. Stratag. v. 12. seg. 1. Suid. in Σελίνου στέφανος.
[b] Plut. Timoleon.
[c] Suidas in Σελίνου δεῖται ὁ νοσῶν, et Τοῦ σελίνου δεῖται.
[d] Philostrat. Heroic. cap. xix.
[e] Theophrast. vi. φυτικῶν; Athen.
[f] Virg. Æn. vi. v. 884.
[g] Idem ibid. v. v. 79.
[h] Anacreon. Od. liii. v. 25.
[i] Eurip. Electr. v. 323.

With no libations, nor with myrtle boughs,
Were my dear father's manes gratified.

In short, graves were adorned with garlands of all sorts of flowers:

——————— περιστεφῆ κύκλῳ
Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀνθέων θήκην πατρός.[k]

——————— The sepulchre,
Wherein he lies inurn'd, with wreaths of flowers,
Glowing in all their various dies, hung round. POTTER.

These flowers were called ἔρωτες,[l] from their expressing love and respect to the deceased; from ἔρανος, because they were usually composed of a collection of several kinds of flowers; or from ἔρα, because they were laid on the earth: but in opposition to the last two reasons, it appears that garlands were sometimes composed of only one sort of flowers, and that they were frequently hung upon the pillars of the tomb, and not laid on the grave-stone.

The Greeks also often decorated graves with ribbands; and hence the soldiers of Epaminondas being disheartened at seeing the ribband which hung upon his spear carried by the wind to a Lacedæmonian sepulchre, he told them that it portended destruction to the Lacedæmonians, as it was customary to decorate the sepulchres of the dead with ribbands.[m] They also dedicated to the dead their hair, which they cut off and laid on the tomb.[n]

It was likewise customary to perfume the grave-stones with sweet ointments:

Τί σὲ δεῖ λίθον μυρίζειν;
Τί δὲ γῇ χέειν μάταια;[o]

Why do we precious ointments show'r,
Noble wines why do we pour,
Beauteous flowers why do we spread,
Upon the mon'ments of the dead? COWLEY.

Another custom was to run naked around the sepulchres.[p]

Sacrifices and libations were offered to the dead. In sacrifices to the dead, the victims were black and barren heifers,[q] or black sheep,[r] being of the same sort as those offered to the infernal gods.[s] The sacrifices were performed in ditches; and the first thing they offered were the hairs upon the victim's head, which for that reason were termed ἀπαρχαὶ,[t] and to offer them ἀπάρχεσθαι;[u] but though these terms are sometimes used for the sacrifices of the ghosts, the custom of offering these first fruits was common to the sacrifices of the celestial and other deities.[v]

However, the ordinary offerings to the ghosts of the dead were

[k] Sophocl. Electr. v. 888.
[l] Phavorin. Etymolog. Auctor.
[m] Frontin. lib. i. cap. 2.
[n] Sophocl. Electr. Ovid. Epist. Canac. ad Macart.
[o] Anacreon Od. iv. v. 11.
[p] Plut. Alexandro.
[q] Virg. Æn. v. v. 97. vi. v. 243. Hom. Odys. κ'. v. 522.
[r] Eurip. Electr. v. 513. Senec. Oidipod. v. 556.
[s] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 29.
[t] Eurip. Orest. v. 96. et Schol. ad h. l.
[u] Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 445. ξ'. v. 422.
[v] Idem ibid. γ'. Il. ξ'.

only libations of blood,[w] honey,[x] wine,[y] milk,[z] water,[a] &c. Solon forbade the Athenians *ἐναγίζειν βοῦν*, to offer an ox on this occasion.[b] Upon the sacrifice they commonly sprinkled barley-flour.[c] Honey was seldom omitted, being accounted *θανάτου σύμβολον*, a symbol or emblem of death.[d] Hence, as some think, the ghosts of the deceased were termed *μέλισσαι*; the infernal gods, *μειλίχιοι*; and their oblations, *μειλίγματα*.

These libations were intended to render the ghosts kind and propitious, and were thence called *χοαὶ ἡδυντήριοι* or *θαλπτήριοι*;[e] and they who offered them were said *τυμβεῦσαι χοάς*.[f] The libations were sometimes offered upon altars, which were commonly placed near the ancient sepulchres, with tables for the feasts at sacrifices; and sometimes they were poured on the ground or grave-stone, and in a certain form of words offered to the deceased.[g] The water used on these occasions was termed by way of eminence *λουτρὸν*,[h] *χθόνιον λουτρὸν*,[i] at Athens *ἀπόνιμμα*,[k] and by some *χέρνιβας*.[l] When persons that had been married died, it was customary for women to carry water to their graves, who, from pouring it out, were called *ἐγχυτρίστριαι*[m] and *ἐγχύτριαι*.[n] When a young man or maid died, the water was carried by a boy;[o] or, as some think, by a boy to the sepulchres of young men,[p] and by a maid to the sepulchres of maidens; and hence arose the custom of erecting images representing maidens with vessels of water on the sepulchres of those who died in their virginity.[q] They that died in their infancy were honored with no libations, and had no right to the rest of the funeral solemnities.[r]

These honors were paid to the dead on the ninth, and were hence called *ἔννατα*,[s] and on the thirtieth days after burial;[t] and they were repeated when any of the friends of the deceased, who had been absent during the solemnity, happened to arrive, and upon all other occasions which required the observance of their surviving relatives; but in several of the Grecian cities, some part of the month *Ἀνθεστηριὼν* was specially set apart for these ceremonies.[u] At Athens, in particular, they paid the dead the customary honors in this month; and the days appointed for the solemnities were termed *μιαραὶ ἡμέραι*,[v] and by some *ἀποφράδες*,[w] as being polluted by their dedication to the dead, whose ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous habitations, and to enjoy the entertainment of their friends.[x] To

[w] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. v. 163.
[x] Idem ibid. v. 165. 633. sq.
[y] Lucian. de Luct. Virg. Æn. v. v. 77.
[z] Eurip. Orest. v. 115.
[a] Sophocl. Electr. v. 436.
[b] Plut. Solone.
[c] Hom. Odys. λ'. v. 26.
[d] Porphyr. de Antro Nymphar.
[e] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. v. 166. Æschyl. Choephor. v. 13.
[f] Sophocl. Electr. v. 408.
[g] Eurip. Orest. v. 112.
[h] Sophocl. Electr. v. 436.
[i] Hesych. et Suid. in *Χθόνια λουτρά*.
[k] Athen. ix. 18. Eustath. ad Odys. α'.
[l] Æschyl. Choephor. v. 127.
[m] Etymolog. Auctor; Suidas in hac voce.
[n] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 288.
[o] Etymolog. Auctor.
[p] Demosth. adv. Leochar. Harpocrat. in *Λουτροφόρος*.
[q] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 7. seg. 66.
[r] Plut. lib. Consol. ad Uxor.
[s] Isæus in Orat. vii.
[t] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 10. lib. i. cap. 7. seg. 66. Harpocr. in *Τριακάς*.
[u] Athen. lib. viii.
[v] Hesych. voce *Μιαραί*.
[w] Suidas.
[x] Lucian. *Ἐπισκοποῦσιν*.

have no surviving friends, who might offer sacrifices at their tombs, was accounted a great calamity:

——— οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφοις
Ἑσθ' ὅστις αὐτῶν αἷμα γῇ δωρήσεται.[y]
——— Nor shall one friend remain
To stain their desert sepulchres with blood.

On these public days, they called over the names of all their dead relations, excepting those who had died under age, or who had forfeited their title to these honors by dissipating their paternal inheritances, or by other crimes. When they lost their friends in foreign lands, they called over three times the names of all that were missing, before they departed from that country:[z]

Τρὶς μὲν Ὕλαν κάϋσεν ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός.[a]
On Hylas thrice he call'd, with voice profound. FAWKES.

The Greeks had anniversary days, on which they paid their devotions to the dead. These were sometimes called *νεμέσια*, from being celebrated on the festival of Nemesis, who was thought especially to protect the honors of the dead;[b] sometimes *ὡρᾶια*,[c] and also *γενέσια*,[d] signifying the anniversary of a man's nativity, which after his death was solemnized with the same ceremonies that were used on the anniversary of his death. These last were properly termed *νεκύσια*;[e] and hence these two words are commonly thought to denote the same solemnity.

The honors of the dead were distinguished according to the rank and worth of the person on whom they were conferred. They, who by their virtues and public services had raised themselves above the common rank, had *ἡρωϊκὰς τιμὰς*, the honors of heroes; the participation of which was termed *ἀνιεροῦσθαι* or *τετευχέναι τιμῶν ἡρωϊκῶν*, *ἰσοθέων*, or *ἰσολυμπίων*. Others who had distinguished themselves still more were raised to a higher degree, and reckoned among the gods; and their consecration was called *θεοποιία*, and differed from that of the former, to worship whom was termed only *ἐναγίζειν*, whilst to adore the latter was named *θύειν*. This latter honor was very rare in the heroic times; but in subsequent ages, when there were fewer great examples of virtue, and men had become more addicted to flattery, it was more frequent; insomuch that those who had been worshipped only as heroes were afterwards accounted gods.[f] The Athenians were particularly remarkable for immoderate and profuse distribution of these honors; and it is generally observed that they exceeded all the other Greeks in flattery and superstition.

Lastly, it may be noticed that these and the other honors of the dead were thought most acceptable when offered by their nearest relations: when by their enemies, they were rejected with indignation;[g] for men were supposed to feel after death the same affections which they had entertained when alive.[h]

[y] Lycophr. Cassandr.
[z] Hom. Odys. ι'. v. 64.
[a] Theocrit. Idyll. ιγ'. v. 58.
[b] Suidas.
[c] Hesych. Phavorin.
[d] Suidas.
[e] Hesych. Suid. Phavorin. &c.
[f] Plut. lib. de Mulier. clar. factis.
[g] Sophocl. Electr. v. 432.
[h] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 443.

CHAP. IX.

The Privileges of Youth.

Who first introduced into Greece that attention which was paid to boys, is uncertain; but it was generally practised by the ancient Greeks, whose laws encouraged it, and who thought that no means could be more effectual in exciting the youth to noble undertakings, or in providing for the security of their republics.[i]

In Crete this practice was so highly esteemed and generally adopted, that the youths who had no lovers incurred the public censure, and were considered in some respects faulty in their morals; but the boys who were patronized were honored with the first seats at public exercises, and, as a distinguishing badge of respect, wore a garment richly adorned, which they retained after they arrived at manhood, in memory that they had formerly been κλειτοὶ, eminent,[k] which was the name given to these youths by the Cretans. The patrons of them were called φιλήτορες. It is remarkable that they always took their boys by force; for they gave notice of their intentions to the boys' friends, who, according to the rank and character of the patrons, used more or less resistance. After this, the patron carried the boy whither he pleased; and having entertained him with hunting and other diversions for not more than two months, he sent him home. At his departure, it was ordered by law that the boy should receive a suit of armor, an ox, and a cup, to which the patron usually added from his own bounty several other presents of value. The boy being returned home sacrificed the ox to Jupiter, made an entertainment for those who had accompanied him in his flight, and gave an account of the usage which he had received from his patron; for if he had been rudely treated, the law allowed him satisfaction.[l] During the time they associated together, nothing unseemly or repugnant to the strictest laws of virtue passed between them;[m] for the virtuous disposition, modesty, and courage of boys principally recommended them.[n]

From the Cretans we pass to the Lacedæmonians, several of whose institutions were derived from Crete. Their attention to boys was remarkable, and for the whole conduct and excellency of it every where admired. It was a generous love, worthy of a Spartan, and was not tainted with even a suspicion of immodesty. If a person attempted any thing contrary to the strictest rules of modesty, the laws condemned him to disgrace,[o] by which he was deprived of almost all the privileges of a free citizen. The same practice was allowed the women towards their own sex;[p] and this is a farther confirmation of the innocency of the custom. We are assured that the Spartans loved their boys no otherwise than a man may be enamoured

[i] Athen. lib. xiii.
[k] Strab. lib. x.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. x.
[n] Strab. lib. x.
[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Inst. Laconic.
[p] Plut. Lycurgo.

with a beautiful statue;[q] and that it was only an intimate and innocent friendship, which continued after the boy had arrived at man's estate.[r] The object of this custom was, that the young men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable qualities by conversing with men of probity and experience; and hence the lover and the beloved participated in the honor or disgrace of each other; and if the boy offended in any respect, the patron suffered the punishment due to his fault.[s]

If we pass from Sparta to Athens, we shall find that Solon considered this practice so honorable, that he forbade it to slaves.[t] The innocency of this attachment to boys is evident from considering the character of many of those who adopted the custom,[u] and from the Athenian laws on the subject.

The Theban lawgivers encouraged this practice to regulate the manners of youth.[v] How far it answered their expectation appears from the ἱερὰ φάλαγξ, sacred band, which was a party of three hundred men composed of lovers and their beloved, and therefore called sacred, and which gained many important victories, and was never beaten till the fatal battle at Chæronea. Philip, king of Macedon, beholding this sacred band all lying dead together, exclaimed, weeping, *Let those perish, who suspect that these men either committed or suffered any thing base.*

It may be necessary to observe that the lover or patron was called by the Spartans εἰσπνιλος, εἰσπνηλος, or εἰσπνήλης; and that the favorite youth was termed by the Thessalians ἀΐτης;[w] and both names are derived from the affection with which the patron was inspired.[x]

CHAP. X.

Tokens expressive of Love, Love Potions, Incantations, &c.

LOVERS had several methods of discovering their passion, and of expressing the respect which they entertained for their beloved. Every tree in the walks which they frequented, every wall of their houses, every book which they used, was inscribed with the name of the person beloved, and with the epithet καλὴ or καλὸς.[y]

They usually decorated with flowers and garlands the doors of those whom they loved; for thinking that the persons on whom their affections were placed resembled the deity of love, their house could be no other than Cupid's temple,[z] which was accustomed to receive these honors. From the same origin was derived the custom of making libations before the doors of their mistresses, and of sprinkling them with wine.[a]

[q] Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. x.
[r] Plut. Cleomene.
[s] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. Plut. Lycurgo.
[t] Plut. Solone.
[u] Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. viii. ix. x. xi. Plut. Solone.
[v] Plut. Pelopida.
[w] Theocrit. Idyll. ιβ'. v. 13. 14.
[x] Schol. Theocrit. loc. cit.
[y] Lucian. Amator. Aristoph. Acharn. Vesp. Eustath. Il. ζ'.
[z] Athen. lib. xv.
[a] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. act. i. scen. i.

When a person's garland was untied, it was considered as a sign of being in love;[b] and for a woman to compose a garland was another indication of her passion:

—— Ἐάν τις πλέκῃ
Γύνη στέφανον, ἐρᾷν δοκεῖ.[c]
She, who garlands wreaths, shows a love-sick mind.

They had several methods of discovering whether their love would be successful or not. That of the *κότταβος*, which was common at entertainments, will be hereafter described. That by striking the herb telephilum or orpine, or some other herb, on the arm; or crushing it in the hand, to observe whether it cracked and emitted a sound; and the *κοσκινομαντεία*, divination by a sieve,[d] have been already noticed.*

When their love was unsuccessful, they tried various arts to obtain the affections of those whom they loved. The Thessalian women were famous for their skill in this and other magical practices.[e] The means by which it was effected were different. Sometimes it was done by potions called *φίλτρα*,[f] the operations of which were violent and dangerous, and commonly deprived those who drank them of their reason.[g] Lucretius, the poet, died in this manner; and Caius Caligula lost his reason by a philtre which was given him by his wife Cæsonia.[h] The ingredients of which these philtres were composed were of several sorts. Some of the most remarkable were the following:—

Hippomanes, a piece of flesh upon the foreheads of young colts, of a black or brown color, in size and shape like a fig, which the mares bite off as soon as they have foaled; but from which if prevented, they forsake their young. Hence it was thought a prevalent medicine for conciliating love, especially when reduced to powder, and swallowed in some blood of the lover.[i] Some describe it as a poisonous matter in mares,[j] which is said also to proceed from Lusitanian mares impregnated by the wind.[k] Others suppose hippomanes to be a plant in Arcadia, which was powerful in producing the same effects.[l]

Ἴυγξ, the name of a small bird, of what kind is not fully agreed. This bird is fabled to have been the daughter of Pan and Pitho, or Echo, and having inveigled Jupiter into the love of Io, was transformed by Juno; upon which she became the darling of Venus, and still served to promote the affairs of love by being infused as a chief ingredient into potions.[m] The part most valued was the tongue, which they considered as possessing a sovereign virtue in love potions.

[b] Athen. lib. xv.
[c] Aristoph. Thesmophor.
[d] Theocrit. Idyll. iii. v. 28.
[e] Aristoph. Nub. v. 747. Plin. xxx. 1. Senec. Hippol. act. ii. v. 420.
[f] Juvenal. Sat. vi. v. 600.
[g] Plut. et Corn. Nep. Lucullo.
[h] Suet. in Calig. Juvenal. Sat. vi. v. 600.
[i] Aristot. Plin. Columell. Virg. Æn. iv. v. 515.
[j] Plin. Pausan. Eliac. α'. Ovid. lib. i. eleg. 8.
[k] Virg. Georg. iii. v. 271. Aristot.
[l] Theocrit. Idyll. iii. v. 48.
[m] Suid. Pindar. Pyth. Od. iv.

* See page 272.

Sometimes they fastened the whole bird to a wheel of wax, which they turned over the fire till both were consumed; thus inflaming the person in whom they wished to create love. Some say that ἴυγξ was only a musical instrument; and others think that it signified all kinds of allurements.

To these may be added several herbs; insects bred from putrid matter; the fish called ἐχενηΐς, or lamprey; the lizard; the brains of a calf; the hair on the extremity of the wolf's tail, with some of his secret parts; and the bones of the left side of a toad eaten by ants, which were thought to produce love, whilst those on the right side caused hatred. Some took the same bones, when the flesh was devoured by ants, and cast them into a vessel of water, in which those that sunk being afterwards wound up in a white linen cloth, and hung about any person, were said to inflame with love; the others were thought to produce hatred. Other parts of the toad, as the entrails, were used in poisonous compositions.[n]

To these others add the blood of doves; the bones of snakes; the feathers of screech-owls; and bands of wool twisted upon a wheel, which were very much used on these occasions from their resemblance to the soft ties of love, especially such as had been bound about a person that hanged himself.[o]

Other ingredients in love potions were rags, torches, and, in short, all relics, and whatever had any relation to funerals and dead bodies. Sometimes a nest of young swallows was placed in a convenient vessel, and buried in the earth till they died: when the vessel was opened, such of them as were found with their mouths shut, were supposed to be efficacious in allaying the passion of love; but the rest, which perished with their mouths gaping for food, were thought to excite it. For the same purpose they used bones snatched from hungry and ravenous bitches, which were supposed to mingle some part of the eager desire of those animals with the potion.[p] To these the enchantress sometimes added a still more powerful ingredient than any of the rest; the marrow and dried liver of a boy that had been buried to the chin in the ground, and consumed by want.[q]

They had also other arts of exciting love. Some thought that the udder of an hyæna, tied about the left arm, would entice to their affections any woman on whom they fixed their eyes; others took πίτυρα, a sort of small and hard olives, or, as some think, barley bran, which, either by itself, or made into paste, they cast into the fire, hoping by that means to inspire love:

Νῦν θυσῶ τὰ πίτυρα.[r]
Now will I strew the barley bran.

Sometimes they used ἄλφιτα, flour, which some term θυλήματα.[s] Instead of bran or flour, it was usual to burn laurel.[t] It was also customary to melt wax, by which to mollify the heart of the person whom they desired:[u]

[n] Juvenal. Sat. vi. v. 658.
[o] Propert. lib. iii. eleg. 5.
[p] Horat. Epod. v. v. 23.
[q] Id. ibid. v. 29. seq.
[r] Theocrit. Idyll. ii. v. 33.
[s] Id. ibid. β'. v. 18. et Schol. ad h. l.
[t] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 23.
[u] Virg. Eclog. viii. v. 88.

Ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
Ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις.[v]
As this devoted wax melts o'er the fire,
Let Myndian Delphis melt with soft desire.

Sometimes they placed clay, together with wax, before the fire, that as one melted whilst the other hardened, so he who then rejected them might have his heart mollified with affection, and inflamed with desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his heart might be rendered incapable of impressions from other charms, but easy of access to themselves:

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit,
Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore.[w]
As fire this figure hardens, made of clay,
And this of wax with fire consumes away,
Such let the soul of cruel Daphnis be,
Hard to the rest of women, soft to me. Dryden.

It was customary to imitate all those actions which they wished the person whom they loved to perform. They turned a wheel round, praying that he might fall down before their doors, and roll himself on the ground:[x]

Χ' ὡς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας,
Ὡς κεῖνος δινοῖτο ποθ' ἁμετέραισι θύραισιν.[y]
And, Venus, as I whirl this brazen wheel,
Before my doors let perjured Delphis reel.

It was usual to make an image of wax, and calling it by the name of the person whom they loved, to place it near the fire, the heat of which affected the image and the person represented by it at the same time: sometimes the image was bound with thread to denote the tying of his affections, and was sometimes drawn thrice round the altar.[z]

They frequently sprinkled enchanted medicaments on some part of the house in which the person resided.[a] If they could obtain possession of any thing which belonged to the person whom they loved, it was thought to be of great use:

Τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τᾶς χλαίνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὤλεσε Δέλφις,
Ἐγὼ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω.[b]
This piece, from dear false Delphid's garment torn,
I tear again, and am resolved to burn.

Sometimes they deposited in the ground, underneath the threshold, the pledges of their lover;[c] and this action was intended to retain his affections. Sometimes they cast ashes over their heads behind them into a flowing stream, without turning to look at them.[d] They also tied three knots of love to unite the affections of the beloved person with their own:[e]

[v] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 28.
[w] Virg. Eclog. viii. v. 80.
[x] Pindar. Pyth. Od. iv. v. 380. et Schol. ad h. l. Apollon. Argon. lib. i. v. 1139. et Schol. ad h. l. Hesych. in Ῥόμβ.
[y] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 30.
[z] Virgil.
[a] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 59.
[b] Id. ibid. v. 53.
[c] Virgil.
[d] Idem.
[e] Idem.

Ἐς τρὶς ἀποσπένδω, καὶ τρὶς τάδε πόντια φωνῶ.[f]
Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my charms.

The reason of doing this three times was, that the gods were supposed to be pleased with unequal numbers:

—— numero Deus impare gaudet.[g]
Unequal numbers please the gods.

It appears doubtful whether this idea originated from the supposed perfection of the number three, which, as containing a beginning, middle, and an end, seemed naturally to signify all things in the world; from the esteem in which that number was held by the Pythagoreans and some other philosophers, on account of their trinity; or from its aptitude to denote the power of all the gods, who were divided into three classes, the celestial, terrestrial, and infernal deities. Certain, however, it is, that the ancients thought there was much efficacy in unequal numbers; and hence shepherds are advised to be careful that the number of their sheep be uneven.[h] The number three was especially acceptable to the gods; and hence we find three fatal sisters, three Furies, and three names and appearances of Diana:

—— tria virginis ora Dianæ.
Three diff'rent forms the chaste Diana bears.

The sons of Saturn, among whom the empire of the world was divided, were three; and hence also we read of Jupiter's fulmen trifidum, and Neptune's trident.

Many other practices were the same as those used in common incantations; the charm, or form of verses, being only varied to suit the occasion.[i] The herbs and minerals employed in other magical operations were not less sought for in this, as they were supposed to possess some wonderful power which prevailed equally in all supernatural and miraculous effects.[k] The same gods also superintended all magical arts.[l]

In allaying the passion of love, the Greeks freed the person by the help of more powerful medicaments, or by demons superior to those who had bound him;[m] but love, inspired without the assistance of magic, scarcely yielded to any cure:[n]

—— nullis amor est medicabilis herbis.[o]
To cure the pains of love no plant avails. DRYDEN.

Notwithstanding, however, the difficulty of the cure, a variety of prescriptions, adapted to the several causes and occasions of the malady, was not wanting.[p] The antidotes may be reduced to two kinds: they were either such as possessed some natural virtue to produce the designed effect, as *agnus castus*, and the herbs reputed enemies to generation; or they were such as wrought the cure by

[f] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 43.
[g] Virgil.
[h] Geoponic. lib. xviii.
[i] Virgil. Eclog. viii.
[k] Virgil.
[l] Theocrit.
[m] Horat.
[n] Ovid. de Remed. Amor.
[o] Idem Met. lib. i. v. 523.
[p] Id. ibid. x. v. 397.

some occult and mystical power, and the assistance of demons, as the sprinkling of the dust in which a mule had rolled herself,[q] the confining of toads in the hide of a beast lately slain,[r] and all the minerals and herbs considered as amulets against other effects of magic.[s]

The infernal gods were called on for assistance.[t]

The last method of curing love that we shall mention, was to wash in the water of Selemnus, a river which falls into the sea near Argyra in Achaia. The poets say that Selemnus was a beautiful young shepherd beloved by the nymph Argyra, from whom the town and fountain received their name; that after the prime of life he was deserted by her, and pined away, and was transformed by Venus into a river; and that after this he retained his former passion, and conveyed his waters through a subterraneous passage to the fountain of Argyra, till, by the favor of Venus, the remembrance of her was quite obliterated from his mind. Hence, as many as washed in this river forgot their love.[u]

CHAP. XI.

Marriages.

The first inhabitants of Greece lived without laws and government; their passions were unconfined; and promiscuous love, because forbidden by no human authority, was publicly allowed.[v] The first that restrained this licentiousness was Cecrops, who having raised himself to the rank of king over the people afterwards called Athenians, among many other useful institutions introduced that of marriage;[w] and hence some think that he was honored with the epithet διφυῆ. Others attribute the introduction of marriage to Erato, one of the Muses; but some understand by this the marriage solemnity, the conduct of which, they say, was first ordered by Erato. Certain, however, it is, that in some time this institution was adopted by all the Greeks; for as soon as they began to reform their barbarous course of life, they found it necessary to establish lawful marriage.

In several of the Grecian commonwealths marriage was esteemed highly honorable,[x] and was very much encouraged by their laws;[y] and they who abstained from it were discountenanced, and in some places punished.[z] The Lacedæmonians were remarkable for their severity towards those who deferred to marry, or who abstained from it altogether.[a] No Spartan could live unmarried beyond the time

[q] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 16.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. xxxii. cap. 10.
[s] Propert. lib. i. eleg. 12.
[t] Virg. Æn. lib. iv. v. 638. Sil. Ital. lib. viii.
[u] Pausan. Achaic.
[v] Athen. lib. xiii. cap. 1. Lucret. v. v. 960. Horat. Sat. i. 3. v. 109.
[w] Athen. lib. xiii. cap. 1. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. v. 773.
[x] Plut. in Amator. Aristot. Œconom. iii. et vii.
[y] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. x. cap. 2.
[z] Dinarch. contra Demosthen. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Athen. xiii. 1. Pollux iii. 4. seg. 48.
[a] Stobæus 65. de Laud. Nupt. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Athen. xiii. 1. Poll. iii. 4. seg. 48.

limited by the lawgiver, without incurring various penalties. First, the magistrates commanded such, once every winter, to run naked round the public forum; and to increase their shame, they sang certain verses, which expressed the propriety of their chastisements, and exposed them to ridicule.[b] Another punishment was, to be excluded from the public exercises in which young virgins contended naked.[c] A third penalty was inflicted at a certain solemnity, in which the women dragged them round an altar, and beat them with their fists.[d] Lastly, they were deprived of that respect which the young men were obliged to pay to their elders; and hence Dercyllidas, a great captain who had commanded armies, entering the place of assembly, was thus accosted by a young man, who neglected to rise and make room for him: "Sir, you must not expect to receive from me, who am young, that honor which cannot be returned to me, when old, by a child of yours."[e] To these may be added the Athenian law,[f] by which all who were commanders, orators, or entrusted with public affairs, were to be married, and have children, and estates in land; for these were considered as so many pledges for their integrity and good conduct, without which it was accounted dangerous to commit to them the management of public trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in Greece;[g] for marriage was considered an union of one man with one woman; and hence some suppose that γάμος is derived παρὰ τὸ δύο ἅμα εἶναι, from *two* becoming *one*. When it is related that Anaxandridas the Spartan had two wives, it is added that this was contrary to the custom of Sparta.[h] The other Grecian states generally agreed in this matter with the Lacedæmonians. However, on some emergent occasions, when the men had been destroyed by war or other calamities, permission was granted to marry more wives than one. Euripides, who is said to have conceived a hatred against the whole female sex, was harassed with two wives at one time.[i] Socrates is reported by some to have been married to Xantippe and Myrto at the same time;[k] and hence it has been concluded that this was considered no scandal, as it was never urged against him by his enemies:[l] but others think that the truth of the statement may be justly doubted, and that it has been fully refuted.[m]

The time of marriage was not the same in all places. The Spartans were not allowed to marry till they had arrived at their full strength;[n] and persons of both sexes were restricted by this law, which was enacted that the Spartan children might be strong and vigorous.[o] At what precise age the Spartans were permitted to marry is not certain; but it seems probable that the usual age for men was thirty, and for women twenty years.[p] The Athenians had once a law

[b] Plut. Lycurgo.
[c] Id. ibid. et in Apophth.
[d] Athen. lib. xiii.
[e] Plut. Lycurgo.
[f] Dinarch. contr. Demosth.
[g] Athen. xiii. 1.
[h] Herodot. lib. v.
[i] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. xv. c. 20.
[k] Diog. Laert. Socrate.
[l] Athen. lib. xiii.
[m] Plut. Pericle.
[n] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Numa; Id. Apophth. Lacon.
[o] Plut. ibid.
[p] Travels of Anacharsis the Younger.

which forbade the men to marry till they were more than thirty-five years of age; for Solon divided human life into ten weeks (ἑβδομάδες), in the fifth of which he thought the men had arrived at sufficient maturity to marry.[q] Aristotle deemed thirty-seven a proper age;[r] Plato thought thirty;[s] and Hesiod was of the opinion of the latter.[t] Women married sooner than men: some of the old Athenian laws permitted them to marry at the age of twenty-six; Aristotle, at eighteen;[u] Plato, at twenty;[v] and Hesiod, at fifteen.[w] As women were sooner marriageable than men, their time was of less duration.[x]

The time of the year most proper for marriage, according to the Athenians, was one of the winter months, especially January, which for that reason was called Γαμηλιών.[y] The most convenient season was when there happened a junction of the sun and moon, at which time they celebrated the festival called Θεογάμια, Marriage of the Gods.[z] The time of the full moon was also considered very propitious:[a]

Ὅταν σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.[b]
When the full moon sends forth her lucky rays.

This seems to have arisen from an opinion of the moon's power in generation. Some think the fourth day most convenient, because it was dedicated to Venus and Mercury:

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι ἐς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν.[c]
When, resolute to change a single life,
You wed, on the fourth day lead home your wife. Cooke.

Several other days were accounted favorable; but the most unpropitious was the sixteenth, or, as some say, the eighteenth day.[d]

Most of the Greeks considered it highly scandalous to marry within certain degrees of consanguinity.[e] The Lacedæmonians were forbidden to marry any of their kindred, whether in the direct line of ascent or descent; but they were not prevented from espousing a collateral relation, for nephews married their aunts, and uncles their nieces.[f] The marriages of brothers and sisters were unlawful;[g] but in several places it was not accounted illegal for brothers to marry their half sisters; and sometimes their relation by the father, and sometimes by the mother, was reckoned within the law. The Lacedæmonian lawgiver allowed marriages between those who had the same mother, but different fathers.[h] The Athenians were forbidden to marry ὁμομητρίους, sisters by the same mother; but they were permitted to espouse ὁμοπατρίους, those by the same father.[i]

[q] Censorin. de Die Natal.
[r] Polit. lib. vii. cap. 16.
[s] De Rep. lib. v.
[t] Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμερ. β'. v. 313.
[u] Polit. lib. vii. c. 16.
[v] De Rep. lib. v.
[w] Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμερ. β'. v. 316 et 695.
[x] Aristoph. Lysistr.
[y] Eustath. Il. σ'. Terent. Phormio.
[z] Hesiod. Schol. Ἔργ.
[a] Pindar. Isthm. Od. η'.
[b] Eurip. Iphig. in Aulid. v. 722.
[c] Hesiod. Ἡμερ. v. 36.
[d] Id. ibid. v. 18.
[e] Eurip. Andromach. v. 173.
[f] Herodot. lib. v.
[g] Ovid. Met. ix. v. 491.
[h] Phil. Jud. de Leg. Special.
[i] Corn. Nep. Præfat. et Cimon. Plut. Themistocle et Cimone; Schol. Aristoph. Nub. v. 1375.

In most of the Grecian states citizens were required to marry only with citizens; for the Greeks considered the freedom of their cities as too great a privilege to be granted on easy terms to foreigners and their children; and hence the Athenian laws sentenced the children of such marriages to perpetual slavery. If a foreigner married a free woman of Athens, it was also lawful for any person to call him to an account before the magistrates called Thesmothetæ, who, if he was convicted of the offence, sold him for a slave, and confiscated all his goods, of which a third part was given to his accuser. Citizens, who gave foreign women in marriage to Athenians under a pretence that they were their own daughters, were punished with ignominy, by which they were deprived of their votes in all public assemblies, and of most of the other privileges of citizens. Lastly, if any man of Athens married a woman who was not free of that city, he was fined one thousand drachms.[k] These laws, however, were not constantly observed. Sometimes the necessity of the times so far prevailed, that the children of foreign women enjoyed all the privileges of freeborn citizens. The old law, which prohibited the Athenians from marrying strangers, having been disused for some time, was revived by Pericles, who afterwards procured its repeal by a decree of the people;[l] but it was again renewed by Aristophon in the archonship of Euclides, when it was enacted that no persons should be free citizens of Athens, unless both their parents had been free.[m]

Virgins were not allowed to marry without the consent of their parents:[n]

> Ἀμφαδὸν οὐ δυνάμεσθα γάμοις ὁσίοισι πελάσσαι,
> Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοκέεσσιν ἐπεύαδεν.[o]
>
> My parents to the match will not consent,
> And therefore our marriage may not be.

The mother's as well as the father's consent was necessary.[p] Nor were men permitted to marry without consulting their parents; for in the most early ages, the right of parents over their children was sufficiently understood.[q] When virgins had no fathers, their brothers disposed of them in marriage. When they had no brothers, or none that were arrived at years of discretion, this duty devolved on their grandfathers, especially those by the fathers' side; and if they had none of these relations, they were committed to the care of guardians, who were called ἐπίτροποι or κύριοι.[r] Sometimes husbands upon their death-beds betrothed their wives to other persons.[s]

There were several forms of betrothing, as Παίδων σπόρῳ τῶν γνησίων δίδωμί σοι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, *I give you this my daughter to make you father of children lawfully begotten.*[t] Sometimes, also, the dowry was mentioned.[u] The persons to be married plighted their

[k] Demosth. in Neær.
[l] Plut. Pericle.
[m] Demosth. in Eubulid.
[n] Eurip. Andromach. Hom. Il. τ'. v. 291. Odys. ζ'. v. 286. Ovid. Met. iv. v. 60.
[o] Musæus v. 179.
[p] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid.
[q] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 393. Terent. Andr. act. i. sc. 1.
[r] Demosth. in Stephan. Test.
[s] Id. in Aphobum.
[t] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. ii.
[u] Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. viii.

faith to each other, or to their relations.[v] The ceremony in promising fidelity was by kissing each other, or giving their right hands, which was the usual form of ratifying all agreements:

—— Δεξίαν γ' ἐμῇ χεῖρα
Σύναψον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίαν νυμφευμάτων.[w]
Join your right hand to mine, a sacred tie
Of this our compact.

The bridegroom, also, as a pledge of love, bestowed on the bride a present, which was called ἄῤῥα, ἀῤῥαβὼν,[x] ἕδνον,[y] and μνῆστρον.[z] The Thebans had a custom for lovers to plight their faith at the monument of Iolaus, who was a lover of Hercules, and assisted him in his labors,[a] and who was therefore believed to superintend the affairs of love after his advancement into heaven.

He who gave his daughter in marriage was said ἐγγυᾶν,[b] διεγγυᾶν,[c] κατεγγυᾶν,[d] διδόναι,[e] and ἁρμόζειν.[f]

In the primitive ages women were married without portions, being purchased by their husbands, whose presents to the woman's relations were called her dowry;[g] but no sooner did the Greeks lay aside their barbarous manners, than this practice was abolished.[h] The custom for women to bring portions to their husbands became so common, that the most essential difference between γυνὴ and παλλακὴ, wife and concubine, consisted in the former having a dowry, and the latter none.[i] Hence men who were content to marry wives without fortunes usually gave them προικῶα, an instrument in writing, by which the receipt of their dowry was acknowledged. All other distinctions were chiefly founded on this; for she who possessed a dowry conceived it a just title to greater freedom with her husband, and to more respect from him.[k] Lycurgus was so sensible of this and some other inconveniences attending the custom of dowries, that partly lest wives should rule their husbands, and partly from a desire that men should not marry for the sake of money, he abolished it entirely at Sparta.[l] Solon coincided in this with Lycurgus, and permitted the Athenian wives to have no other dowry than some inconsiderable houshold furniture, and three suits of clothes; for he wished that marriages should be contracted from love and esteem rather than for the sake of interest.[m] Some, however, are of opinion that this ordinance related only to those gifts, called ἐπαύλια, which the bride brought with her, and not to dowries. That Solon, indeed, did not prohibit other dowries besides those which brides carried with them appears from this, that men who had no sons were allowed to entail their estates to daughters; and an heiress, called ἐπίκληρος, was

[v] Achill. Tat. lib. v.
[w] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 831.
[x] Menand. in Fragm. Isæus Orat. vii.
[y] Hom. Il. π'. v. 190. Odys. ζ'. v. 159.
[z] Hesych.
[a] Plut. Pelopida.
[b] Demosth. in Neær. Ælian. V. H. vi. 4.
[c] Poll. iii. 4. seg. 34.
[d] Eurip. Orest. v. 1675.
[e] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 291. Demosth. in Neær.
[f] Eurip. Electr. v. 24.
[g] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 8.
[h] Eurip. Med. v. 230.
[i] Plaut. Trinummo.
[k] Eurip. Andromach. v. 147.
[l] Justin. lib. iii. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Ælian. V. H. vi.
[m] Plut. Solone.

obliged to marry her nearest relative, lest her estate should go out of the family; but in consideration of her dowry, if her husband was impotent, she had the privilege of cohabiting with his nearest relation. The husbands of heiresses were obliged to cohabit with them thrice every month.[n] When there were any orphan virgins without inheritances, who were called *θῆσσαι*,[o] he who was next in blood was obliged either to marry her himself, or to settle on her a portion according to his condition: if he was *πεντακοσιομέδιμνος*, one of the first rank, he was to give her five minæ, or five hundred drachms; if *ἱππεὺς*, of the second rank, three hundred; if *ζυγίτης*, of the third rank, one hundred and fifty drachms; but if she had many relations equally allied, all of them contributed their proportions to raise the sum. If there were more than one virgin, their nearest kinsman was obliged only to marry, or give a portion to, one of them; and upon his refusal to do either of these, any person was allowed to indict him before the archon, who was obliged to compel him to perform his duty, or who, if he refused to put the law in execution, was fined one thousand drachms, which were consecrated to Juno the goddess of marriage.[p]

It may be farther observed that afterwards, when money became more plentiful, the relations of these virgins increased their dowries: the *πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι* gave ten minæ;[q] and, without doubt, men of inferior rank increased their contributions in proportion. When virgins, who were descended from men that had been serviceable to their country, had no relations to provide for them, it was customary for the state to portion them.[r] However, though the ancient Athenians were generous, their posterity commonly made money their guide in marriage; and the latter Spartans showed the same disposition, even whilst the laws of Lycurgus were still in force. When Lysander was considered rich, his daughters were engaged to several persons, who afterwards finding that he died poor refused to fulfil their contracts; and though the Spartans punished them severely for their perfidy, this was done from respect to Lysander[s] rather than to their ancient constitution, which, as soon as riches had become abundant in Sparta, seems to have been disregarded. The Greeks, indeed, in general were lovers of money, and appear to have married for the sake of gain rather than of any other commendable qualification. Nor was this a late corruption, but practised even in the primitive times; for Andromache is called by Homer[t] Πολύδωρος, possessed of a large dowry; and before the use of money was common, virgins increased their husbands' property by adding sheep and oxen to their flocks and herds, in which the riches of that age chiefly consisted, whence they are sometimes denominated *ἀλφεσίβοιαι*.[u] Nothing can be determined as to the value of dowries, which depended on the ability and disposition of the persons who bestowed them;

[n] Plut. Solone.
[o] Eustath. Il. *φ'*.
[p] Demosth. ad Macart. Terent. Phorm. act. i. sc. 2. act. ii. sc. 3.
[q] Eustath.
[r] Plut. Aristide.
[s] Id. Lysandro.
[t] Hom. Il. *ζ'*.
[u] Id. ib. *σ'*. v. 593.

but it may be observed that in Crete sisters received only half the portion of their brothers.[v]

The dowry was called προὶξ ;[w] sometimes μείλια, παρὰ τὸ μειλίσσειν τὸν ἄνδρα, or ἔδνα, as if ἤδανα, παρὰ τὸ ἥδειν, as being intended to please or procure the favor of the person to whom it was given ; and sometimes φερνὴ,[x] from φέρειν, because it was brought by the wife to her husband. Some of the same names are used for the portion or dowry of the man.[y] When the wife had a dowry, it was expected that her husband should make her a settlement, which might be a maintenance for her in case he should die or divorce her : this was commonly houses or land, and was anciently denominated ἀποτίμημα,[z] being a return equivalent to the dowry; afterwards it was frequently termed ἀντιφέρνη, *a recompense for her dowry*, or ὑπόβολον, from ὑποβάλλειν, because it was given instead of her dowry. When, however, no such security was given, husbands who divorced their wives were obliged to return their dowry. The same obligation extended to their heirs, if they refused to maintain the wives of those whose estates they inherited.[a] In some places, indeed, it would seem that, if the woman left her husband of her own accord, the obligation became null and void ;[b] but at Athens, if she departed in the manner allowed by the laws, her dowry was restored to her. It was also customary at Athens, when any man's estate was confiscated, that the dowry of the wife should be assigned to her.

In the same city, it was decreed that he who did not restore the dowry to his divorced wife should pay nine oboli every month for interest during the time that he retained it. If he neglected this, an action, termed σιτίου δίκη, was preferred against him in the Odeum by the guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of the woman.[c] This is to be understood of the dowries of the lowest class of citizens, to whom, as has been already observed, Solon allotted one hundred and fifty drachms ; for it being customary for one μνᾶ, which was equivalent to one hundred drachms, to bring an interest of six oboli every month, the interest of one hundred and fifty drachms would amount to nine oboli.

Hence the payment of the dowry was attested by sufficient witnesses, and also by a written instrument called προικῷα. If these could not be produced, the husband was not obliged to allow his wife a separate maintenance. If the woman died without children, her dowry was repaid to the person by whom she had been endowed ;[d] for the portion was intended as a maintenance to the children, and therefore, if the woman's sons came of age whilst she was living, they enjoyed their mother's dowry, only allowing her a competent maintenance.[e] Other things, which wives brought to their husbands over and above their portions, were called παράφερνα, ἐπίπροικον, ἐπιμείλια, and by later Greeks ἐξώπροικα.

[v] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier.
[w] Isæus Orat. de Hæredit. Pyrrhi.
[x] Hesych. in φερνὴ et ἔδνα.
[y] Eustath.
[z] Hesych. Harpocrat. Suidas ; Pollux.
[a] Hom. Odys. β'. v. 132.
[b] Id. ibid.
[c] Demosth. in Neæram.
[d] Isæus Orat. de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[e] Demosth. in Phænippum, et in Stephanum Testem.

Before men married, it was customary to provide for themselves a house in which to live :[f]

> Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα, γυναῖκά τε.[g]
> First see you have a house, and then a wife.

Hence Protesilaus, being called to the Trojan war soon after his marriage, is said to have left δόμον ἡμιτελῆ, his house half finished ;[h] but some by οἶκος understand his family, which he had left before he had any children. Hence, also, women, whose husbands died soon after marriage, are said to be left widows in a newly built house.[i]

The Athenian virgins were presented to Diana before it was lawful for them to marry. This ceremony, which was performed at Brauron, an Athenian borough, was called ἀρκτεία, and the virgins were denominated ἄρκτοι, the custom being instituted to appease the goddess, who had been incensed against some Athenians for killing a bear. There was also another custom for virgins, when they became marriageable, to present certain baskets full of little curiosities to Diana, to obtain permission to leave her train, and change their state of life ; for virgins were considered as belonging exclusively to that goddess :

> Ἥνθ' ἁ τῶ Εὐβούλοιο καναφόρος ἄμμιν Ἀναξὼ
> Ἄλσος ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδος.[k]
>
> Anaxo, Eubul's daughter, full of love,
> Came with a basket for Diana's grove.

This action was called κανηφορεῖν, and the virgins were denominated κανηφόροι, from the baskets which they carried. The Bœotians and Locrians had a custom for persons of both sexes, before their nuptials, to offer sacrifices to Euclia, whose image and altar were in the forum. This Euclia is thought by some to be the daughter of Menœcius, and sister of Patroclus ; but others suppose her to be the same as Diana ;[l] and it is not improbable that Diana received this surname from the sister of Patroclus, or that she was worshipped by the name of Diana Euclia ; for Diana being the goddess of virginity, it is not to be wondered that a person honored for the preservation of her virginity should be worshipped under her name, as it was common to attribute to those, who were first eminent for any virtue or excellent quality, the actions of all that afterwards imitated them. Hence we have several Jupiters, Minervas, Bacchuses, Herculeses, &c. ; the famous exploits of many persons, distant as well in time as place, being ascribed to one hero. We find Diana concerned in the preparatory solemnities before all marriages ; for a married state being her aversion, it was thought necessary for all who entered upon it to ask her pardon for dissenting from her. This was performed by prayers and several sorts of sacrifices,[m] which were called γαμήλιοι εὐχαὶ, προγάμεια, προτέλειοι εὐχαὶ, or προτέλεια ; for τέλος and γάμος were

[f] Theocrit. Idyll. xxvii. v. 36.
[g] Hesiod. Ἔργ. β'. v. 23.
[h] Hom. Il. β'. v. 700.
[i] Schol. Hom. Il. ρ'. v. 36. Val. Flacc. lib. vi. Catull. Epigr.
[k] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 66.
[l] Plut. Aristide.
[m] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 1110.

synonymous terms,[n] the former denoting marriage, either as a general name for all rites and ceremonies, or because the desired expectations of married persons are by that means fulfilled, or because they who are married become perfect men, and renounce all the customs of childhood; and hence γῆμαι, to marry, is termed τελειωθῆναι, to be made perfect.[o] Married persons are called τέλειοι,[p] and are said to be ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ. The same epithet is also commonly given to the gods who superintended marriage; as Jupiter Τέλειος, Juno Τέλεια,[q] &c. These gods were likewise rendered propitious before nuptials, and the sacrifices and other devotions offered to them were all known by the same names as those offered to Diana; but besides their general denomination, those of Juno were called Ἡρατέλεια, from Ἥρα, the name of Juno in Greek.

Several other deities participated in these honors. Minerva, surnamed Παρθένος, the Virgin, had a peculiar title to them at Athens, on the same account that they were paid to Diana; and a virgin was not permitted to marry till she had offered her devotion to that goddess in her temple in the citadel.[r] Venus also, and all the other γαμήλιοι θεοὶ, gods who superintended marriage, were invoked.[s] The Lacedæmonians had a very ancient statue of Ἀφροδίτη Ἥρα, Venus Juno, to which all mothers sacrificed when their daughters were married.[t] The Athenians, in the most ancient times, paid the same honor to Heaven and Earth, which were believed to have a particular concern in marriages; the latter of them being rendered fruitful by the benign influence of the former, and therefore a proper emblem of marriage.[u] The Fates and Graces being supposed to join, and afterwards preserve the tie of love, were partakers of the same respect;[v] and it is probable that several other deities, at different places and for different reasons, claimed a share in the same. The day on which this ceremony was performed was usually that which preceded the marriage:[w] it was commonly called γαμηλία and κουρεῶτις,[x] from the custom of shaving themselves on this occasion,[y] and presenting their hair to some of the before-mentioned deities, or to other gods to whom they owed particular obligations. Some offered their hair to Diana and the fatal sisters.[z] At Trœzen the virgins were obliged to consecrate their hair to Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, before they entered into the marriage state.[a] The Megarensian virgins offered their hair with libations before the monument of Iphinoë, the daughter of Alcathous, who died a virgin; the Delians to Hecaërge and Opis;[b] and the Argians and Athenians to Minerva. However, the names γαμήλια and κουρεῶτις were peculiar at Athens to one day of the solemnity called Apaturia, when fathers entered their children in the public register, offered sacrifices for their prosperous mar-

[n] Eustath. in Il. β'.
[o] Id. ib. μ'.
[p] Biset. in Aristoph. Thesmophor.
[q] Suidas, aliique complures.
[r] Suidas, &c.
[s] Etymolog. Auctor, &c.
[t] Pausan. Laconicis.
[u] Proclus in Timæum Platon. Comment. v.
[v] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 3.
[w] Hesychius.
[x] Etymolog. Auctor.
[y] Pollux lib. iii. cap. 3.
[z] Id. ibid.
[a] Lucian. de Dea Syria.
[b] Pausan. Atticis.

riages, and commonly shaved off some of their hair, which they dedicated to some deity, especially to her in whose honor that festival was celebrated. Though the time of consecrating the hair might not be constantly the same, yet the custom itself seems to have been universally observed not only by women but men, who seldom failed to perform this ceremony when they arrived at years of maturity. Some of their locks were carefully preserved for this use:

Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.[c]
This lock is sacred, and I it preserve
As a votive offering to the god.

The hair was called πλόκαμος θρεπτήριος, because presented to a god as an acknowledgement of his care in their education. The deity thus honored was commonly Apollo,[d] though it was not unusual to dedicate the hair to other gods, especially to those who were thought to have protected their infancy from danger, and preserved them to manhood. The deities of rivers were commonly considered to have a title to this respect, from an opinion that every thing was produced from and nourished by water; and hence the epithet κουροτρόφος is applied to the watery deities as well as to Apollo, the former being no less instrumental to the growth and increase of living creatures than the sun, whose influence without moisture cannot contribute to the production or preservation of life: hence both were esteemed deserving of returns of gratitude for the first gift, as well as for the continuance of life.[e] Achilles kept his hair as a present to the river Sperchius on condition that he should return home in safety; but he afterwards shaved it, when he found that the Fates had decreed that he should be slain before Troy;[f] and this plainly shows that the Greeks were accustomed to nourish their hair for the gods, as a grateful acknowledgement of their care in preserving them.

Before the marriage could be solemnized, the other gods were consulted, and their assistance implored by prayers and sacrifices, which were usually offered to some of the deities who superintended these affairs by the parents or other relations of the persons to be married. These offerings were different from those called προτέλεια, which have been already mentioned.[g] When the victim was opened, the gall was taken out and thrown behind the altar,[h] as being the seat of anger and malice, and, therefore, the aversion of all the deities who superintended the affairs of love, as well as of those who became their votaries. The entrails were carefully examined by soothsayers; and if any unlucky omen appeared, the former contract was dissolved as displeasing to the gods, and the nuptials were prevented. The same happened on the appearance of any ill-boding omen without the victim; for Clitophon's intended marriage with Calligone was prevented by an eagle that snatched a part of the sacrifice from the altar.[i] The most favorable omen that could appear was a pair of turtles, because of the inviolable affection which these birds are said to entertain for

[c] Eurip. Bacch. v. 594.
[d] Plut. Theseo.
[e] Eustath. in Il. ψ'.
[f] Hom. Il. ψ'. v. 140.
[g] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 718.
[h] Cœl. Rhod. lib. xxviii. cap. 21. Plut. de Conjugal. Præcept.
[i] Achill. Tatius lib. ii.

each other. The same may be observed of *κορῶναι*, crows, which were thought to promise long life or happiness from the length of their own lives, and the perpetuity of their love; for when one of the mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after.[k] Hence the appearance of a single crow boded separation or sorrow to the married couple; and hence also it was customary at nuptials to sing *Κορὴ ἐκκόρει κορώνην, Girl, drive away the solitary crow,*[l] by which the maids were reminded to watch that none of these birds coming single should disturb the solemnity, or perhaps to avert the pernicious influences of that unlucky omen, if it happened to appear. Another remedy against evil omens was to write over the doors of their houses, *Μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακὸν, Let no evil enter here;* to which was sometimes added the name of the owner of the house; and this gave occasion to the jest of Diogenes, who, seeing on the door of a vicious person the before-mentioned prayer, said, "Then let not the master of the house enter."[m]

The garments of both the bridegroom and bride were dyed various colors.[n] The married persons, with their attendants, were richly adorned, according to their rank.[o] They wore upon their hair, which flowed on their shoulders, and was perfumed with essences,[p] garlands of various herbs and flowers:

> Ἀλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεᾶς παῖ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ,
> Τῇ τε λεχθείσῃ δάμαρτι σῇ· μάτην μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως
> Σοὶ κατασταθεῖσ' ἐγώ νιν ἦγον, ὡς γαμουμένην.[q]
>
> Protect, O Goddess-born, a wretched mother:
> Protect a virgin call'd thy bride: her head
> With garlands, ah, in vain! yet did I crown,
> And led her as by thee to be espoused. Potter.

The herbs were usually such as expressed some allusion to the affairs of love, as those sacred to Venus, or *σισύμβριον, μήκων, σήσαμον,*[r] &c. Cakes made of sesamum were also given at marriages, that herb being thought *πολυγόνος*, remarkable for its fruitfulness.[s] The Bœotians used garlands of wild asparagus, which is full of prickles, but bears excellent fruit, and was, therefore, thought to resemble the bride, who had given her lover some trouble in gaining her affections, which she afterwards recompensed by the pleasantness of her conversation. The house, in which the nuptials were celebrated, was also decorated with garlands, and splendidly illuminated.[t] A pestle was tied upon the door;[u] a maid carried a sieve;[v] the bride herself bore *φρύγετον, φρύγετρον*, or *φρύγητρον*,[w] an earthen vessel in which barley was parched; and all these symbols were designed to signify her obligation to attend to the business of a family.

The bride was usually conducted in a chariot from her father's to

[k] Alex. ab Alex.
[l] Ælian. de Animal. lib. iii. cap. 9.
[m] Diog. Laert. in Diogene.
[n] Aristoph. Plut. v. 530. et Schol. ad h. l. Suid. in v. Βαπτά.
[o] Aristoph. Plut. v. 529. Schol. Aristoph. Av. v. 671. Achill. Tat. lib. ii.
[p] Aristoph. Plut. v. 529.
[q] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 903.
[r] Id. ib. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. v. 869. Av. v. 159. Schol. ibid.
[s] Aristoph. Schol. Pace.
[t] Hierocles in Fragm. *περὶ γάμου*; Stob. Serm. 86. Senec. Thebaid. v. 507.
[u] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. seg. 37.
[v] Id. ibid.
[w] Id. lib. i. cap. 12. seg. 246. Hesychius.

her husband's house in the evening,[x] which was the time chosen for the purpose of concealing her blushes.[y] To conduct her to the house of her husband was called *δόμον ἀνάγειν*,[z] *οἶκον ἄγεσθαι*,[a] *ἄγεσθαι γαμετὴν*,[b] *ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα*,[c] and *εἰς οἰκίαν*.[d] She was placed in the middle of the chariot, her husband sitting on one side, and on the other one of his most intimate friends, who, on that account, was called *πάροχος*.[e] This custom was so common, that when the bride went to her husband's house on foot, the person who accompanied her retained the same name. The same person was also denominated *νυμφευτὴς*, *παραννμφίος*, and *παράννμφος*;[f] though this last name is more commonly used in the feminine gender, and signifies the woman who waited on the bride, and who was sometimes called *νυμφεύτρια*. If the bridegroom had been married before, he was not permitted to fetch the bride from her father's house; but that office was committed to one of his friends, who was termed *νυμφαγωγὸς*,[g] or *νυμφοστόλος*; and these words also denote the persons who assisted in forming the marriage, and in conducting the affairs of the nuptials, and who, if women, were called *προμνήστριαι*, *προξενήτριαι*, &c. It may be farther observed that, in the passage of the bride to her husband's house, torches were carried before her by servants:[h]

> Τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰθομένων δαΐδων σέλας εἰλύφαζε
> Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δμώων.[i]
>
> Afar light gleamed from flaming torches,
> Borne by servants in their hands.

Sometimes they were accompanied by bands of musicians and dancers:

> Κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
> Αὐλοὶ, φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον.[k]
>
> The youthful dancers in a circle bound
> To the soft flute, and cithern's silver sound. POPE.

The song with which they were entertained on the road was called *ἁρμάτειον μέλος*, from *ἅρμα*, the *coach* in which they rode, and the axle-tree of which they burned as soon as they arrived at the end of their journey, thereby intimating that the bride was never to return to her father's house. The Rhodians had a peculiar custom of sending for the bride by a public crier.

When the bridegroom entered the house with his bride, it was customary to pour upon their heads figs and other sorts of fruits, as a presage of the plenty which they were to enjoy.[l] The day of the bride's departure from her father was celebrated in the manner of a festival, and called *Προσχαιρητήρια*.[m] It was observed at her father's

[x] Eurip. Helen. v. 728. Suid. in *Ζεῦγμος*.
[y] Catull. Epithal.
[z] Hom. Odys. *γ'*. v. 272.
[a] Id. ib. *ζ'*. v. 159.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 13.
[c] Id. xiii. 10.
[d] Hesiod. *Ἔργ*. v. 695.
[e] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. seg. 40. Suid. ut supra.
[f] Hesych. v. *Νυμφαγωγὸς*; Eustath. in Il. *ζ'*.
[g] Hesych. Poll. lib. iii. Suidas; Phavorin. &c.
[h] Eurip. Helen. v. 728.
[i] Hesiod. Scut. Hercul. v. 725.
[k] Hom. Il. *σ'*. v. 494.
[l] Aristoph. Schol. in Plut.
[m] Harpocrat. Suidas.

house before she departed, and was distinct from the nuptial solemnity, which was celebrated at the house of the bridegroom, and began at evening, the usual time of the bride's arrival.

The bride having arrived at the house of her husband was entertained with a sumptuous banquet, which was called γάμος,[n] the same name as that of marriage; and hence δαίειν γάμον signifies to make a nuptial feast:[o]

——δαίνυντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν.[p]
Making a nuptial banquet for his friends.

Besides the joy and mirth which this entertainment was intended to promote, it was prepared from the respect due to the gods of marriage, who were invoked before the feast,[q] and participated largely in it; and some are of opinion that most of the Grecian festivals originated at marriages. Another design of the entertainment was, that the nuptials might be made public;[r] for all the relations of the married couple were invited as witnesses of the marriage, and to rejoice with them.[s] To this entertainment, however, none were admitted who had not bathed[t] and changed their clothes.[u]

During the solemnity the company diverted themselves, and honored the gods of marriage with music and dancing. All the songs were called ὑμέναιοι, or ὑμένες:[v]

——πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει.[w]
Many hymens sang.

This name was derived from the frequent invocations of Hymen, or Hymenæus, the god of marriage, always made in these songs.[x] This Hymenæus was a young man of Argos, who restored to their country some Athenian maidens that had been taken by pirates. For this generous action he received one of the captives, of whom he was passionately enamoured; and being admitted into the number of their gods, the Greeks contracted no marriage without celebrating his memory. Some derive the word ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοῦ ναίειν, from the married couple inhabiting together; and others, from ὑμὴν, which signifies the membrana virginalis.

About the time of their entertainment several significant ceremonies, which related in some manner to the state of marriage, were observed. One at Athens was as follows:—a boy, half covered with branches of hawthorn and oak, appeared with a basket full of bread, and sang a hymn beginning with these words, Ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I have left the worse, and found the better state.*[y] The Athenians sang this at one of their festivals, when they commemorated their change of diet from acorns to corn; but on the present occasion the words seem to have signified also the happiness which the married persons were about to enjoy, and that marriage was prefera-

[n] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. seg. 44.
[o] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 299.
[p] Id. Odys. δ'. v. 3.
[q] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 718.
[r] Athen. lib. v. cap. 1.
[s] Terent. Phorm. act. iv. scen. 4.
[t] Hom. Odys. ψ'. v. 131.
[u] Id. ib. ζ'. v. 27. Aristoph. Av. v. 1692.
[v] Hesiod. Scut. v. 274.
[w] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 493.
[x] Anacreon Od. xviii. Callim. in Del. v. 296.
[y] Hesych. et Suid. in Ἔφυγον κακόν.

ble to celibacy. The Lacedæmonians, whilst they danced and praised the bride in songs, carried about cakes made in various figures, and called *κυρίβανες*.[z]

When the dances were finished, the married pair were conducted to the nuptial chamber, which was called *δῶμα*,[a] *κουρίδιον δῶμα*,[b] *δωμάτιον*,[c] *νυμφικὸν δωμάτιον*,[d] *θάλαμος*,[e] *παστὰς*,[f] and *παστόν*.[g] In it was placed the nuptial bed, which was denominated *κλίνη νυμφική*,[h] or *γαμική*,[i] *εὐνὴ νυμφεία*,[k] *λέχος νυμφίδιον*, and, if the persons were first married and in their youth, *κουρίδιον*.[l] This bed, which was richly adorned, was usually covered with a purple garment,[m] and strewed with flowers.[n] In the same room was commonly a side bed, called *κλίνη παράβυστος*.[o] Before they went to bed, the bride bathed her feet in water,[p] which the Athenians always fetched from the fountain Callirrhoe, afterwards called *Ἐννεάκρουνος*, from nine cisterns being supplied by it with water. The person that brought it was a boy who was nearly allied to one of the married pair, and who from his office was termed *λουτροφόρος*.[q] This being performed, the bride was lighted to bed with several torches, for a single torch was not considered sufficient.[r] Around one of the torches the mother of the bride tied the hair-lace which she took from her head for that use.[s] The relations of the married persons assisted at the solemnity; and it was considered a great misfortune to be absent. The mothers especially were assiduous in lighting torches when the wives of their sons entered the houses;[t] and the bride's mother also had no less right to this office.[u]

The married couple being shut up together in the chamber, the laws of Athens obliged them to eat a quince; by which was intimated that their first conversation ought to be pleasing and agreeable to each other.[v] The husband then loosed his wife's girdle; and hence *λύειν ζώνην*, or *μίτραν παρθενικὴν*,[w] signifies to deflower, and *γυνὴ λυσίζωνος*, a woman who has lost her virginity. The girdle was not, as some imagine, worn by maids only, but was used as well after marriage as before, being intended to secure the weaker sex from the sudden attempts of men inflamed with lust, and thence called *σαόφρων*.[x] This farther appears from mention being made of untying women's girdles in child-birth, and from calling only such girls *ἄμιτροι*, not having girdles, as were not arrived at maturity.

At this time the young men and maids stood without the door,

[z] Athen. lib. x.
[a] Theocrit. Idyll. xxvii. v. 36.
[b] Hom. Odys. τ'. v. 580.
[c] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. seg. 43.
[d] Suid. et Harpocrat. in Παράβυστον.
[e] Theocrit. Idyll. xxvii. v. 36. Poll. iii. 3. seg. 37.
[f] Hesych. in voc. Eustath. ad Il. γ'.
[g] Musæus v. 280.
[h] Lucian. in Herodot.
[i] Poll. iii. 3. seg. 43.
[k] Pindar. Nem. Od. v. antistr. β'. v. 10. et sq. Epod. init.
[l] Aristoph. Pac. v. 844.
[m] De Nupt. Pelei et Thetid. v. 1402.
[n] Apollon. Argon. iv. v. 1141.
[o] Hesych. Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[p] Aristoph. Pac. v. 843.
[q] Suid. Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[r] Liban. Declam. xxxviii.
[s] Senec. Theb. v. 505.
[t] Eurip. Phœniss. v. 346. et Schol. in hunc locum.
[u] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 735.
[v] Plut. Solon. et in Conjugal. Præcept.
[w] Hom. Hymn. in Vener. v. 155. Theocrit. Idyll. xxvii. v. 54.
[x] Nonnus lib. xii. circa finem.

dancing, and singing songs which were called *ἐπιθαλάμια* from *θάλαμος*, the bride-chamber, and making a great noise by shouting and stamping with their feet, which was termed *κτυπία* or *κτυπίον*,[y] and was intended to drown the cries of the bride. Lest the women should enter the room to assist her, one of the bridegroom's friends stood sentinel at the door of the chamber, and from his office was called *θυρωρός*.[z] This song, as well as all the others, was termed *ὑμέναιος*, and consisted of the praises of the bride and bridegroom, with wishes for their happiness:

————*περὶ δ' ἴαχε δῶμ' ὑμεναίῳ*.[a]

And the vast palace sounded with the song. Creech.

The young men and maids returned in the morning, saluted the married couple, and sang *ἐπιθαλάμια ἐγερτικὰ*, for that was the name of the morning songs, which were intended to awake and raise the bridegroom and bride; as those sung the preceding night were designed to dispose them to sleep, and on that account were termed *ἐπιθαλάμια κοιμητικὰ*:

Νεύμεθα κᾆμμες ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπεί κα πρῶτος ἀοιδὸς
Ἐξ εὐνᾶς κελαδήσῃ ἀνασχὼν εὔτριχα δειρὰν·
Ὑμὰν, ὦ Ὑμέναιε, γάμῳ ἐπὶ τῷδε χαρείης.[b]

————We'll return
When first the crowing cock shall wake the morn,
When through his feather'd throat he sends his voice:
O Hymen, Hymen, at this feast rejoice. Creech.

The solemnity continued for several days. The day before the marriage was called *προαύλια*, from its preceding that on which the bride went *αὐλίζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, to lodge with the bridegroom. The day of marriage was denominated *γάμοι*; the day following, *ἐπίβδης*,[c] which signifies a day added to the solemnity: some call this last *παλία*,[d] which perhaps may be derived from *πάλιν*, because the mirth of the former day was repeated; or if for *παλία* we should be allowed to substitute *παλαιὰ*, it would denote that which had ceased to be new;[e] and others call the second day *ἐπαύλια*, or *ἐπαυλία*. The third day was termed *ἀπαυλία*, or rather *ἀπαύλια*, because it was customary for the bride on that day to return to her father's house, and *ἀπαυλίζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, to lodge apart from the bridegroom, though some think that this took place on the seventh day after marriage; but some say that this day was called *ἀπαύλια* because the bridegroom lodged apart from his bride at the house of his father-in-law; and it is possible that each opinion may be right, and that both bridegroom and bride might lie at the house of her father in different beds. Others think that *ἀπαύλια* is the same as *ἐπαύλια*; and hence a difficulty seems to arise, as the words are of contrary import, one denoting that the bride lodged apart from the bridegroom, the other with him; but this difficulty may be easily solved by applying *ἐπαύλια*

[y] Hesychius.
[z] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. seg. 37.
[a] Theocrit. Idyll. xviii. v. 8.
[b] Id. ib. v. 56. et seq.
[c] Pindar.
[d] Hesych. in Γάμοι.
[e] Athen. lib. iii. cap. 15. lib. iv.

to her lodging with her husband, and *ἀπαύλια* to her departure from her father's house.[f]

On the day called *ἀπαύλια*, the bride presented her bridegroom with a garment denominated *ἀπαυλητηρία*. The bride's father and friends also gave to the bride and bridegroom gifts, which were sometimes called *ἀπαύλια*, and sometimes *ἐπαύλια*, and which consisted of golden vessels, beds, couches, plates, boxes of ointment, combs, sandals, and all sorts of necessaries for housekeeping: these were carried in great state to the house by women, who followed a person denominated *κανηφόρος*, from his carrying a basket in the manner usual in processions, before whom went a boy in white apparel with a torch in his hand. It was also customary for the bridegroom and his friends to give to the bride presents, which were called *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*;[g] and some say that the third day was denominated *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, because on that day the bride first appeared unveiled in public.[h] These gifts were so called, because she was then first shown to her bridegroom;[i] and for the same reason they are sometimes denominated *θεώρητρα*, *ὀπτήρια*, *ἀθρήματα*, and *προσφθεγκτήρια*, because the bridegroom might then converse freely with his bride: for virgins, before they married, were under great restrictions, and were seldom permitted to appear in public, or converse with men; and when allowed that liberty, they wore over their faces a veil, which was termed *κάλυπτρον* or *καλύπτρα*, and which they never ceased to wear in the presence of men till this time after marriage;[k] and hence some think that the bride was called *νύμφη*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ νέον* (that is *πρώτως*) *φαίνεσθαι*, from its being the first time that she appeared in a public company unveiled.[l]

The ceremonies of the Spartan marriages were different from all others, and peculiar to that people. When the Spartans wished to marry, their courtship was a kind of rape committed on the persons of those whom they loved. With the good qualities of their minds, the pair who intended to unite were to possess a masculine beauty, an advantageous stature, and full health.[m] Matters being agreed on between them, the *νυμφεύτρια*, or woman who managed the affairs of the marriage, shaved off the bride's hair close to her skin, dressed her in man's apparel, and left her on a mattress. The bridegroom, who had supped at his ordinary in the common hall, repaired as privately as he could to the room in which the bride lay, and untied her girdle. Having stayed with her a short time, he returned to his comrades, with whom he continued to spend his life, remaining with them by night as well as by day, except when he stole short visits to his bride by deceiving the vigilance of those who surrounded him; for it would have been accounted a disgrace if he had been seen coming out of the apartment of his wife.[n] In this manner they lived for a long time, and frequently had children by their wives before they saw their

[f] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. Hesych. Suid. Etymolog. Auctor, Phavorin. &c. in v. *ἀπαύλια* et *ἐπαύλια*.
[g] Suidas.
[h] Hesychius.
[i] Suidas.
[k] Eurip. Phœniss.
[l] Phurnut. de Natura Deorum in Neptuno.
[m] Plut. de Liber. Educat.
[n] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.

faces by day-light. The interview being thus difficult and rare, not only served as a constant exercise of their temperance, and promoted the ends of marriage, but it was a means of keeping alive their love for each other.[o]

CHAP. XII.

Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

The Grecian laws relative to divorces were different: some permitted men to put away their wives on slight occasions; the Cretans allowed this to any man who was afraid of having too great a number of children; and the Athenians divorced their wives on very slight grounds, but not without giving a bill, which contained their reasons for the measure, and which, if the party divorced made an appeal, was to be laid before the chief magistrate for his approval.[p] Though the Spartans married without much nicety in their choice, yet they seldom divorced their wives;[q] and Lysander was fined by the magistrates called ephori for leaving his wife, and wishing to marry another who was more beautiful.[r] But what liberty soever the men used in this respect, their wives were under a great restraint; for it was thought extremely scandalous for a woman to leave her husband:

——οὐ γὰρ εὐκλεεῖς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Γυναιξὶν, οὐδ' οἷόν τ' ἀνῆνασθαι πόσιν.[s]

To disunite our nuptial hurts our fame,
Nor from the husband may our sex withdraw
The plighted hand. Potter.

The Athenians were rather more favorable to women, and allowed them to separate from their husbands on just occasions; but they were required to appeal to the archon, and present to him a bill of grievances with their own hands, and the law, in requiring her who desired the divorce to appear in public, seemed to intend that her husband should have an opportunity of discoursing with her, and of endeavouring to retain her.[t] This bill of grievances was called γράμματα ἀπολείψεως.[u]

Persons who divorced their wives were obliged to return their portions; and if they failed in this, the Athenian laws obliged them to pay her nine oboli a month for support, for which the guardian of the women was empowered to sue at the court in the Odeum.[v] The terms expressing the separation of men and women from each other were different: men were said ἀποπέμπειν,[w] to dismiss their wives; ἀπολύειν,[x] to loose them from their obligations; ἐκβάλλειν,[y] to cast them out; ἐκπέμπειν,[z] to send them away; and ἀφιέναι,[a] to put them

[o] Plut. Lycurgo.
[p] Genial. Dier. lib. iv. cap. 8.
[q] Herodot. lib. vi. cap 63.
[r] Athen. lib. xiii. cap. 1.
[s] Eurip. Medea v. 236.
[t] Plut. Alcibiade.
[u] Idem ibid.
[v] Demosth. in Neæram.
[w] Idem ibid.
[x] Matth. xix. 7. 8.
[y] Demosth. in Neæram.
[z] Isæus de Hæredit. Pyrrhi.
[a] Plut. in Cic.

away; and the separation itself was called ἀποπομπή.[b] If a woman left her husband, it was termed ἀπόλειψις,[c] and ἀπολείπειν,[d] to depart from him.

It was not unusual to dissolve the union by consent of both parties; after which they were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased in a second marriage.[e] What may appear more strange is, that it was customary in some parts of Greece to borrow one another's wives. At Athens, Socrates lent his wife Xantippe to Alcibiades;[f] and the laws of that city permitted heiresses to cohabit with the nearest relation of their husband, if they had no children by their husband. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, thought that the best expedient against jealousy was to allow men the liberty of imparting their wives to whom they would, so that they might have children by them. This he considered an act of liberality, and ridiculed those who thought the violation of their bed an insupportable affront which deserved to be avenged by wars and murders. He had a good opinion of him, who, being old, and having a young wife, recommended a virtuous and handsome young man, to whom his wife might bear a child that should inherit the qualities of its father, and who loved this child as tenderly as if it were his own. On the other hand, a man, who loved a married woman on account of her modesty and the good features of her children, might request her husband to lend him his wife that he might also have vigorous children; for Lycurgus considered children not so much the property of their parents as of the commonwealth. It is added that, so long as these ordinances were observed, the Spartan women were so far removed from that licentiousness which was afterwards objected to them, that they were ignorant what the name of adultery meant.[g] We are also told that strangers, as well as citizens of Sparta, were allowed the same freedom with their wives, provided they were handsome men, and likely to be the fathers of vigorous children;[h] but their kings were exempted from this law, that the royal blood might be preserved unmixed, and the government remain in the same lineal descent.[i]

Notwithstanding this liberty, which was founded on mutual consent, the Spartans accounted all other adulteries as the most heinous crimes; and so long as they observed their most ancient laws, they were wholly strangers to them. Geradas, a Spartan, being asked by a stranger "what punishment their laws had appointed for adulterers," replied that "there were no adulterers in his country." "If, however," said the stranger, "one adulterer were found, how would you punish him?" Geradas answered, that "the offender must pay to the plaintiff a bull, the neck of which was so long that he could reach over the mount Taygetus, and drink of the river Eurotas that flows on the other side." The man, surprised at this, observed that "it was impossible to find such a bull." Geradas replied with a smile, that "it was just as possible to find an adulterer in Sparta."[k]

[b] Poll. lib. iii. cap. 3. seg. 46.
[c] Plut. Alcibiade; Poll. iii. 3. 47.
[d] Isæus de Hæred. Pyrrhi.
[e] Plut. Pericle; Id. Demetrio; Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. 7.
[f] Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 39.
[g] Plut. Lycurgo.
[h] Nicolaus de moribus apud Stobæum.
[i] Plut. Alcibiade.
[k] Idem Lycurgo.

The punishments inflicted on adulterers in Greece were of different sorts:

In the heroic ages, the rapes of women were revenged by bloody wars; and some say that they produced that enmity which existed for many ages between Greece and Asia, and which was not allayed till the latter was conquered, and subjected to the former.[l] Though the truth of this may be justly questioned, as at that time the world was not divided into Greeks and barbarians, yet we have an instance of a long and bloody war occasioned by the rape of Helen. Thyestes, the brother of Atreus, was entertained at a banquet with the flesh of his own son for defiling Aërope, the wife of Atreus. Punishments were inflicted by laws or magistrates on such offenders, who were usually stoned to death; and hence Hector tells Paris that his crime in stealing another man's wife deserved no less a punishment than λάϊνος χιτὼν, a coat of stone, which his demerits required him to put on; meaning that only this death could expiate the deed of which he had been guilty:

Λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα, κακῶν ἕνεκ', ὅσσα ἔοργας.[m]
For these your crimes you had been stoned to death.

Rich men were sometimes allowed to redeem themselves with money, which was called μοιχάγρια, and paid to the husband of the adulteress:

——τὸ καὶ μοιχάγρι' ὀφέλλει.[n]
Must pay the penalty for lawless charms. Pope.

It also appears to have been customary for the woman's father to return all the dowry which he had received from her husband:

Εἰσόκε μοι μάλα πάντα πατὴρ ἀποδώσει ἑεδνα.[o]
Till Jove refunds his shameless daughter's dower. Pope.

Some are of opinion that this sum was paid by the adulterer, because it was reasonable that he should bear the woman's father harmless.

Another punishment was putting out the eyes of adulterers, which seems to have been no less ancient than the former, and which may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the offender of that member which first admits the incentives of lust. Fabulous writers tell us that Orion having defiled Candiope, or Merope, had his eyes put out by Œnopion, who, some say, was her husband, and others her father.[p] Phœnix, the guardian of Achilles, underwent the same punishment for defiling Clytia, the concubine of his father.[q] In latter ages the Locrians observed this custom, to which they were obliged by Zaleucus their lawgiver, whose rigor in executing this law was very remarkable; for having caught his son in adultery, he resolved to deprive him of sight; but being importuned by the people to spare the youth, he redeemed one of his son's eyes by putting out one

[l] Herodot. lib. i. initio; Lycophr. Cassandra v. 1285.
[m] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 57.
[n] Id. Odys. θ'. v. 332.
[o] Id. ib. v. 318.
[p] Serv. in Æneid.
[q] Apollodor. lib. iii. Lycophr. Cassandra v. 423.

of his own,[r] and thus became a memorable example of justice and mercy.

At Gortyn, in Crete, was another method of punishing adulterers. They were covered with wool, as an emblem of the effeminacy of their dispositions, and in that dress carried through the city to the house of the magistrate, who condemned them to ignominy, by which they were deprived in a manner of all their privileges, and of their share in managing public business.[s]

The first that enacted a law, and constituted punishments against adulterers, is said to have been Hyettus, an inhabitant of Argos, who having caught Molurus, the son of Arisbas, too familiar with his wife, slew him and fled to Orchomenus the son of Minyas, then king of that city of Bœotia which bore his name. He was kindly received by the king, who gave him territories, where he called a village Hyettus after his own name, and established severe laws against adultery.[t]

The Athenian punishments on this subject seem to have been arbitrary, and left to the discretion of the supreme magistrate; and hence Hippomanes, a descendant of Codrus, and archon of Athens, sentenced his own daughter Limone, and the man caught in adultery with her, to be yoked to a chariot till the man died, and afterwards shut up his daughter with a horse, and starved her to death.[u] Some time after, Draco being invested with power to enact laws left adulterers at the mercy of the man who caught them in the act, and who was at liberty to dismember or murder them, or treat them in any other manner he pleased; and this punishment was the same that had been before appointed for this crime by Hyettus,[v] and was afterwards continued by Solon.[w] The husband, however, could only kill the adulterer with impunity if the latter had used no force, but had persuaded the wife to the commission of the deed.[x] Several other punishments were ordered by Solon for this crime, when proved in a court of justice. A man who ravished a free woman was fined one hundred drachms; he who enticed her, twenty,[y] or, as some say, two hundred, it being a greater injury to the husband and family of a woman to corrupt her mind than her body; he who forced a free virgin, one thousand; and he who deflowered a free virgin was obliged to marry her:[z] if, however, the virgin or her mother had accepted any present from the gallant, he was not obliged to make her his wife, but she was considered as a common strumpet.[a] When a man was imprisoned on suspicion of having committed adultery, he was allowed to prefer his appeal to the thesmothetæ, who referred the cause to proper judges; and these, if the crime was proved against him, had power to impose on him any punishment they pleased, death only excepted.[b] There was another remarkable pu-

[r] Val. Maxim. lib. vi. cap. 5.
[s] Cœl. Rhod. lib. xxi. cap. 45.
[t] Pausan. Bœotic.
[u] Heraclid. de Polit. Athen.
[v] Pausan. Bœotic. Demosth. in Aristocrat.
[w] Plut. Solone; Lysias de Eratosthene.
[x] Xenoph. Cyrop. iii. 1. 39. v. 5. 30. Hier. iii. 3.
[y] Plut. Solone.
[z] Plaut. Aulular.
[a] Terent. Adelph. act. iii. scen. 2.
[b] Demosth. in Neæram.

nishment for adulterers, which was called *παραιλμὸς, ῥαφανίδωσις,*[c] and *καταπίπτωσις*, and they who suffered it were ever after termed *εὔπρωκτοι*; but poor men only were thus treated, the rich being allowed to satisfy the law by paying a fine:

Ὁ δ' ἀλοὺς γε μοιχὸς διὰ σέ που παραιίλλεται.[d]

Women who thus offended were treated with great severity. If any person discovered his unmarried sister or daughter in this crime, he was permitted by the laws of Solon to sell her for a slave.[e] Adulteresses were never after allowed to adorn themselves with fine clothes; and if they presumed to dress themselves in rich attire, they were liable to have it torn off by any person who met them, and also to be beaten, but not so as to be killed or disabled: the same liberty was permitted those who found them in the temples, which were thought to be polluted by the admission of persons so infamous and detestable. Lastly, the husbands of adulteresses, though willing, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them on the pain of *ἀτιμία*, infamy;[f] and they who prostituted women were adjudged to die.

The Greeks appear to have entertained a more favorable opinion of concubinage, and to have kept as many concubines as they pleased. These concubines were called *παλλακίδες*, and were commonly captive women, or bought with money; and they were always inferior to lawful wives, whose dowry, noble parentage, or some other excellence, gave them pre-eminence. In Homer we find that Achilles had his Briseis, and in her absence Diomede; that Patroclus had Iphis; and that Menelaus and Agamemnon, and even Phœnix and Nestor, had their concubines. Yet the Grecian women always envied their husbands this freedom, which they considered an encroachment on their privileges:[g]

Εὐνῇ δ' οὔποτ' ἔμικτο, χόλον δ' ἀλέεινε γυναικός.[h]

——— Too wise with jealous strife,
To taint the joys of sweet connubial life. Pope.

Harlots were as common as concubines, being tolerated in most of the Grecian commonwealths. Nor was the use of them thought repugnant to good manners;[i] and the wisest of the heathen sages were of the same mind. Solon allowed them to go publicly to those who hired them,[k] and encouraged the Athenian youth to their embraces, to prevent them from attempting the chastity of the wives and daughters of citizens.[l] Though severe penalties were imposed on those who defiled women that were citizens of Athens, yet foreigners had the liberty of keeping public stews; and harlots for that reason, as well as among the Jews, were denominated *ξέναι*, strange women.

In the primitive ages, harlots never appeared in public without veils or masks; nor were they allowed, as some think, to prostitute

[c] Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. v. 168. Aristoph. Nub. v. 1079. Suid. in *Ῥαφανίς*.
[d] Aristoph. Plut. act. i. scen. 2.
[e] Plut. Solone.
[f] Demosth. in Neæram.
[g] Hom. Il. *ι'*, v. 447. Senec. Agamem. v. 995.
[h] Hom. Odys. *α'*. v. 434.
[i] Terentius.
[k] Plut. Solone.
[l] Philemon. Delphis.

themselves within the cities.[m] At Athens they frequented chiefly the Ceramicus, Sciros, and the old forum, in which stood the temple of Venus Πάνδημος, where Solon permitted them to prostitute themselves. They also frequented very much a certain forum in that part of the haven Piræeus, which was called στοὰ μακρὰ, the long portico, and the parts of which are thus described: δεῖγμα, ἐμπόριον· ἐμπορίου δὲ μέρη, καπηλεῖα, καὶ πορνεῖα.[n] In other ports also were commonly great numbers of stews.

In some places, harlots were distinguished from other women by their apparel. The Athenian lawgiver ordered that women of innocent conversation should always appear abroad in grave and modest attire, and that harlots should wear flowered garments. Hence it has been remarked that, as fugitive slaves were known by their stigmata, οὕτω τὴν μοιχαλίδα δείκνυσι τὰ ἀνθίσματα, so flowered garments indicate a harlot.[o] The same law was enacted among the Locrians by Zaleucus,[p] and it was also observed at Syracuse;[q] for though harlots were tolerated in the Grecian republics, yet they were generally deemed infamous, and consisted chiefly of captives and other slaves. Hence it was forbidden by the laws of Athens to derive the name of a harlot from any of the sacred games.[r]

Corinth was remarkable as a nursery for harlots, there being in that city a temple of Venus, where the readiest method of obtaining the favor of that goddess was to present her with beautiful damsels, who were maintained in the temple, and prostituted themselves for hire. We are told that there were no fewer there at one time than a thousand.[s] Hence κορινθιάζειν, *to act the Corinthian*, signifies ἑταιρεύειν, *to commit fornication*;[t] and λεσβιάζειν, λεσβιᾶν, and φοινικίζειν, are used in the same sense, the Lesbians and Phœnicians being infamous for this vice. Λεσβιάζειν also signifies an impure mode of kissing, and is interpreted πρὸς ἄνδρα στοματεύειν; and λεσβιὰς is expounded by λαικάστρια, a harlot.[u] The Corinthians were a genteeler sort of harlots, and admitted only such persons to their embraces as were able to deposit a considerable sum of money.[v] This gave occasion to the proverb,

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς.

This has been thus translated by Horace:

Non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum.[w]
To Corinth ev'ry person cannot sail.

Some, however, refer it to the famous Corinthian harlot Lais; and others assign different reasons.

The occupation of harlots in Greece was certainly very lucrative; and they, whom beauty and qualifications recommended, frequently raised great estates; a remarkable instance of which occurs in Phryne, who offered to rebuild the walls of Thebes when demolished by Alex-

[m] Chrysippus.
[n] Pollux.
[o] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. 2.
[p] Diodor. Sicul.
[q] Athen. lib. xii.
[r] Idem ibid.
[s] Strab. lib. viii.
[t] Hesychius.
[u] Idem.
[v] Aristoph. Plut. act. 1. sc. 2.
[w] Hor. Epis. lib. i. epist. 18. v. 36.

ander. To render their conversation more agreeable to men of rank and learning, they frequently employed their vacant hours in the study of the mathematics and other sciences, frequenting the schools and company of philosophers.[x] Aspasia, successively the mistress and the spouse of Pericles, obtained such an ascendancy over that great man, that he was accused of having more than once engaged his country in war to avenge her personal quarrels.[y] She conversed with Socrates, and acquired so much learning that the Athenians resorted to her company for the sake of her abilities in discourse, and carried their wives to be instructed by her conversation.[z]

CHAP. XIII.

Confinement and Employments of Women.

The Grecian women seldom or never appeared in strange company, but were confined to the most remote parts of the house.[a] For this purpose the houses of the Greeks were usually divided into two parts, in which the men and women had distinct apartments assigned them. The part in which the men lodged was towards the gate, and called *ἀνδρὼν*, or *ἀνδρωνίτις*; that assigned to the women was termed *γυναικὼν*, *γυναικωνίτης*, or *γυναικωνίτις*, and was the most remote part of the house, and behind the *αὐλὴ*, before which were other apartments, denominated *πρόδομος* and *προαύλιον*. The women's chambers were called *τέγεοι θάλαμοι*,[b] as being placed at the top of the house; for the lodgings of the women were usually in the highest rooms,[c] which was another means of keeping them from company. Hence Helen had her chamber in the loftiest part of the house:

> Ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κίε δῖα γυναικῶν.[d]
> Into the upper chamber Helen went.

Penelope lodged in such another place, to which she ascended by a *κλίμαξ*:

> Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.[e]
> By a long ladder came down from her room.

The word *κλίμαξ* signifies a stair-case; but in this passage it may as well denote a ladder, which seems to have been used in those days, when architecture was not much understood.[f] These upper rooms, especially at Lacedæmon, were sometimes called *ᾠά*, *ᾤα*, or *ὑπερῷα*, which words being distinguished only by the accent from *ὠά*, eggs, are thought by some to have given occasion to the inventors of fables to feign that Castor, Pollux, Helena, and Clytemnestra, were produced from eggs, when they were born in one of these upper chambers; for it is observable that the ancient Greeks used no accents,

[x] Athen. lib. xiii. cap. 5.
[y] Aristoph. Acharn. act. ii. sc. 5. v. 527. Plut. Pericle.
[z] Plut. Pericle.
[a] Cornel. Nep. in Præfat.
[b] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 248.
[c] Eustath. in loc. cit. Hom.
[d] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 423.
[e] Id. Odys. α'. 330.
[f] Eurip. Phœniss. v. 103.

which are supposed to have been invented and introduced about two hundred years before Jesus Christ.*

The women, especially such as had no husbands, whether virgins or widows, were strictly confined within their lodgings.[g] Virgins, however, as having less experience in the world, were most carefully watched. Their apartment, which was called *παρθενὼν*, was usually guarded with locks and bolts:

> Ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουροῦνται καλῶς.[h]
> By locks they in their lodgings are kept close.

Sometimes they were so strictly confined, that they could not pass from one part of the house to another without leave.[i] Newly married women were under almost as close confinement as virgins; and if they appeared out of doors, they were in danger of injuring their reputation.[k] It is expressly said that the door of the *αὐλὴ* was the farthest that a married woman ought to go:

> ——— πέρας γὰρ αὔλιος θύρα
> Ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμισται οἰκίας.[l]
> The laws do not permit a freeborn bride
> Farther than to the outer door to go.

When, however, they had once brought forth a child, they were not under such strict confinement; and hence *μήτηρ*, a mother, is by some derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ τηρεῖσθαι*, from not being under keepers.[m] Yet what freedom soever they enjoyed was owing entirely to the kindness of their husbands, who, if jealous, kept their wives in perpetual confinement;[n] and though husbands might be kindly inclined, it was considered as very indecent for women to go much abroad:

> Ἔνδον γυναικῶν καὶ παρ' οἰκέταις λόγος.[o]
> Women should keep within the house, and talk.

Hence the emblem of Phidias, which represented Venus treading on a tortoise,[p] that carries its house on its back.

When women went abroad, or appeared in public, they covered their faces with veils, which were so thin that they could see through them:

> Ἐγὼ δὲ λεπτῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων
> Ἔχουσ'.[q]
> But through the veil's fine texture I behold.

To prevent all private assignations, Solon enacted that no wife or matron (for virgins were strictly confined) should go from home with more than three garments, or carry with her a greater quantity of meat and drink than could be purchased for one obolus, or with a

* After the Greek language became the favorite study of foreigners, it was necessary to facilitate the pronunciation of it by applying marks of accent for that purpose; and this, very probably, induced Aristophanes of Byzantium to invent and introduce those accentual virgulæ, which are not intended to determine the *quantity* of letters or syllables, but to mark the *elevation* or *depression* of the voice.

[g] Harpocration.
[h] Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 738.
[i] Id. Phœniss. v. 88.
[k] Id. Andromach. v. 876.
[l] Menand. Stob. Serm. 72.
[m] Etymolog. Auctor.
[n] Aristoph. Thesmophor.
[o] Eustath. in Il. ε'. ex Euripide.
[p] Plut. de Præcept. Connub.
[q] Eurip. Iphigen. in Taurid. v. 372.

basket of more than a cubit in length. He also ordered that she should not travel in the night without a lighted torch before her chariot. Afterwards it was decreed, at the instance of Philippides, that no woman should appear in public undressed, under the penalty of paying a thousand drachms. This law was carefully enforced by the officers called *γυναικονόμοι* and *γυναικοκόσμοι*; and a tablet which contained an account of the fines thus incurred was publicly exposed upon a *πλάτανος*, plane tree, in the Ceramicus.[r]

It was also customary for women to have attendants,[s] who were commonly women of age and gravity:

> Ἀμφίπολος δ' ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴ ἑκάτερθε παρέστη.[t]
> On either side an aged matron stood.

These women not only attended their ladies when they went abroad, but kept them company at home; and if their mistresses were young, they had the care of their education, and were, therefore, called *τροφοί*. Nor were women only appointed to this charge; but old men were sometimes governors of ladies;[u] and it was also common to commit the care of women to eunuchs, who performed all the offices of maids, and were usually kept by persons of quality.[v] The first that made eunuchs was Semiramis;[w] and the barbarous nations were generally much fonder of them than the Greeks,[x] who considered it an act of cruelty to treat men in that manner.

In the primitive ages, women, agreeably to the simplicity of the times, were accustomed to draw water, to keep sheep, and to feed cows and horses. The rich and noble, as well as those of inferior rank, performed such offices;[y] and when their husbands returned home, they loosed the horses from the chariots.[z]

The most common employments of women were spinning, weaving, and making all kinds of embroidery and needle-work. So constantly did they follow these occupations, that in most houses, in which were many women, were rooms appropriated for this purpose, and if not the same, at least near to the apartments of the women; for, in enumerating the different rooms in houses, after mentioning the *γυναικεῖον*, immediately are added *ἱστὼν θάλαμος, ταλασιουργὸς οἶκος*,[a] &c.

Women had also several other employments. It may, however, be sufficient to observe that the management of provisions and of other houshold affairs was committed to their care; that in the heroic ages they conducted the men to bed and to the bath, and that they perfumed, dressed, and undressed them;[b] and that they performed almost all the laborious offices of the house.[c]

The conduct of the Spartan women was different from that of other women in Greece. The virgins went abroad unveiled; but the mar-

[r] Athen. lib. vi. cap. 9. Poll. lib. viii. cap. 9. Hesych. in v. Πλάτανος; Eustath. in Il. κ'.
[s] Hom. Odys. σ'. v. 208.
[t] Id. ibid. 210.
[u] Eurip. Iphigen. in Taurid.
[v] Terent. Eunuch. act. i. sc. 2.
[w] Ammian. Marcell. Hist. lib. xiv.
[x] Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. i. cap. 21.
[y] Hom. Il. θ'. v. 188.
[z] Apollon. iv. v. 1370.
[a] Pollux.
[b] Hom. Il. α'. v. 31. ξ'. v. 6. 7. σ'. v. 559. Odys. α'. v. 436. γ'. v. 464. δ'. v. 49. ι'. v. 348. Athen. lib. i. Catull. Poem. 62. v. 160.
[c] Herodot. lib. viii.

ried women appeared in veils; the former seeking to obtain husbands, and the latter to please their husbands only.[d] No where were women less watched, or under less restraint.[e] In order to promote the good education of youth, the most important duty of a lawgiver, Lycurgus took into consideration their very conception and birth by regulating marriages. He ordered the maidens to exercise themselves in running, wrestling, throwing the quoit, and casting darts, to render them strong and vigorous, and able to undergo the pains of childbirth; to appear naked as well as the men, and in that state dance at their solemn feasts and sacrifices, singing certain songs, in which they satirized the conduct of those who had misbehaved in war, or passed encomiums on such as had performed any gallant exploits. As the maidens were surrounded by the young men, and were also heard and seen by the kings and the whole senate, they who received their commendations were highly satisfied, and they who were satirized felt as acutely as if they had been formally reproved. Though the women appeared naked in public, yet modesty, deprived of a part of its veil, was respected by both sexes; and the exercises in which the maidens engaged, tended to excite in them a desire of vigor and activity, and to produce courageous and noble sentiments, from their being allowed to participate in the rewards of virtue. Hence arose that sense of honor and magnanimity of which we have an instance in Gorgo the wife of king Leonidas, who, being told by a lady of another part of Greece that the women of Lacedæmon were the only women that had gained an ascendancy over the men, replied, "No doubt, for we are the only women who bring forth men." Lastly, these public processions of the maidens, and the exercises and dances in which they engaged, incited the young men to marry, not from motives of sordid interest, but from love and affection.[f]

Afterwards, when the laws of Lycurgus were neglected, and the Spartans had degenerated from their ancestors, the women abused the liberty which their lawgiver had allowed them;[g] but they were still more observant of their duties than the other women of Greece.

CHAP. XIV.

Childbirth, and Treatment of Infants.

THEY who wished to have children were commonly very liberal in making presents and offerings to the gods, especially to such as were thought to preside over generation. The Athenians invoked, on this account, certain deities called τριτοπάτορες, or τριτοπάτρεις. Who these were, or what was the origin of the name, is not easy to determine. Some say that their proper names are Amaclides, Protocles, and Protocleon, and think that they presided over the winds;[h] some suppose them to be the winds themselves, but what power either the winds or their governors have in generation is difficult to imagine;

[d] Plut. Apoph. Lacon.
[e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. Dion. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii. cap. 24.
[f] Plut. Lycurgo.
[g] Id. Numa.
[h] Suidas.

some tell us that their names were Cottus, Briareus, and Gyges, and that they were the sons of Οὐρανὸς and Γῆ, Heaven and Earth; whilst others are of opinion that the Earth was their mother, and the Sun or Apollo their father; and that being immediately descended from two immortal gods, they were thought to be τρίτοι πατέρες, the third fathers, and might therefore be properly considered the common parents of mankind, and from that opinion derive those honors which the Athenians paid them as the authors and presidents of human generation.[i]

The goddess who had the care of women in childbirth was called Εἰλείθυια or Εἰλήθυια, and sometimes Ἐλευθὼ:

——— Μόχθον Ἐλευθοῦς
Ἐκφύγες.
You've past the pangs o'er which Eleutho reigns.

She was called in Latin Lucina; and to both the same titles and epithets were given, and the same respects paid by women. Ilithyia was denominated ἀρήγων θηλυτεράων, the succouring deity in childbirth;[k] and on these occasions her assistance was invoked:

Ἔνθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυιαν ἐβώσατο λυσίζωνον.[l]
Thy mother there to Ilithyia prays,
To ease her throes.

Several other particulars are common to her and Lucina. Ilithyia was styled ὠδίνων ἐπαγωγὸς, θηλειῶν σώτειρα, &c., and Lucina was designated by various appellations which denoted her care of women. Their names, indeed, appear to have distinct origins, yet both relate to the same event. Εἰλήθυια is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλεύθειν, from coming, either because she came to assist women in labor, or rather from her being invoked to assist the infant ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ φῶς, to come into the light, or the world. For the same reason Lucina is taken from lux, light.[m] The Greek name φωσφόρος, sometimes attributed to this goddess, denotes the same as Lucina, and is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς φέρειν, from bringing light, because by her assistance infants were brought to enjoy the light; and in allusion to this, the Greek and Latin goddesses were both represented with lighted torches in their hands.

Authors are not agreed who Ilithyia was. Some say that she was an Hyperborean, who emigrated from her own country to Delos, where she assisted Latona in her labor; and they add that this name was first used in Delos, whence it was derived to other parts of the world.[n] Some suppose her to be the mother of Cupid, whence it might be inferred that she was the same as Venus, but the contrary to this is asserted;[o] and she is said to be more ancient than Saturn, and the same as Πεπρωμένη, the Grecian name for Fate.[p] Others make her the same as Juno, Diana, the Moon, &c. What appears most probable is, that all the θεοὶ γενέθλιοι, deities who were thought to feel any concern for women in childbirth, were called Ilithyiæ and

[i] Suidas; Etymolog. Auctor; Phavorin. Hesychius, &c.
[k] Nonn. Dionysiacis.
[l] Theocrit. Idyll. ξ'.
[m] Ovid.
[n] Pausan. Atticis.
[o] Idem Bœoticis.
[p] Idem Arcadicis.

Lucinæ, which are general names given sometimes to one deity, and sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these goddesses.[q] Juno being displeased with Alcmena, the mistress of Jupiter, who was with child by him, and the wife of Sthenelus being also with child at the same time, she requested that the first born should rule the other; and having obtained this request, she altered the course of nature, and caused Eurystheus to be born of the wife of Sthenelus, and afterwards Hercules of Alcmena; and hence Hercules was always subject to Eurystheus, and undertook his famous labors in obedience to his commands.

The daughters of Juno were employed in the same office, and dignified with the same title.[r]

The moon was another of these deities, insomuch that Cicero is of opinion that *luna*, the name of the moon in Latin, is the same as *lucina;* and it was not without reason that the moon was thought one of the goddesses that had the care of childbirth, since her influence was considered very efficacious in the work of generation.[s]

Diana being commonly reputed the same as the moon was thought to perform the same office, and was denominated Ilithyia.[t] The same care of women in childbirth is attributed to this goddess, not in her celestial capacity, and as having the same character as the moon, but as frequenting these lower regions, and traversing the woods.[u] Hence she is called *μογοστόκος*, the common epithet of Ilithyia:

> Ἀλλὰ τεὴ βασίλεια, μογοστόκος Ἄρτεμίς ἐστι.[v]
> But thy queen Diana is the midwife.

Various other titles of the same import are also given to this goddess.[w]

The epithets *φαεσφόρος*, *φερέσβιος*, &c. which denote the giving of life and light, being likewise attributed to Proserpina, render it probable that she was also thought to be concerned for women in labor; and this cannot appear strange, if we consider her the same goddess as Diana, who being conversant in three different capacities, in heaven, earth, and hell, has three distinct names. In heaven she is called Σελήνη, the Moon; on earth, Ἄρτεμις, Diana; and in hell, Περσεφόνη, Proserpine: hence are derived the epithets *τρίμορφος*, *triformis*, *tergemina*, &c. by which the poets denote her threefold character.

One design of invoking these goddesses was, that the women might be delivered without pain, which was thought an infallible token of the divine favor;[x] and so high an opinion was entertained of this favor, that the gods were believed to vouchsafe it only to the chaste and virtuous; and hence it was considered a convincing proof of a woman's honesty.[y]

Another token of divine favor was thought to be conferred when women brought forth twins.[z]

[q] Terentius.
[r] Hom. Il. λ'. v. 271.
[s] Cic. de Natur. Deor. lib. ii.
[t] Horat. Carm. Secular.
[u] Hor. lib. iii. od. 23.
[v] Theocritus.
[w] Orphei Hymn. in Dianam.
[x] Theocrit. Idyll. ξ'. v. 56.
[y] Plaut. Amphitr. act. v. sc. 1.
[z] Idem ibid.

Other means were employed to procure an easy delivery. One was to hold in their hands branches of palm, which were tokens of joy and conquest, and used as emblems of persons raised from great affliction to prosperity; it being remarked of that tree, that the suspending of heavy weights upon it is a means of causing it to branch out to a greater height:[a]

——— Σὲ θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητὼ,
Φοίνικος ῥαδινῇς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.[b]
Holding in her hands a branch of palm tree,
Latona brought you forth.

It is observable that the ancient Athenians used only men-midwives, it being forbidden by their laws that women or slaves should study or practise physic. This proving fatal to many women, whose modesty would not permit them to entrust themselves in the hands of men, the Athenians repealed the old law, and allowed free women to undertake the employment.[c]

No sooner was the child brought into the world than they washed it with warm water,[d] in a vessel which was called λουτρόν.[e] They also anointed it with oil, which they had in an earthen vessel called χύτλος; and hence χυτλῶσαι signifies to wash, and to wash with oil.[f] The Lacedæmonians bathed their new-born infants, not in water, as was the custom of all other countries, but in wine, that they might prove the temperament of their bodies; for they entertained an opinion that weakly children would fall into convulsions, or immediately faint, on being bathed in wine; and, on the contrary, that those of a strong and vigorous constitution would acquire by it a greater degree of firmness.[g]

The next action was the cutting of the child's navel, which was performed by the nurses, and called ὀμφαλητομία;[h] and hence arose the proverbial saying, ὀμφαλός σου οὐ περιετμήθη, *your navel is not cut*, which imports as much as you are an infant, and scarcely separated from your mother.

Then the nurse wrapped the child in swaddling bands, which were called σπάργανα,[i] and which were intended to prevent its tender and flexible limbs from being distorted. The Spartan nurses, however, were so careful and experienced, that without using swaddling bands their children were straight and well proportioned. Their management of children differed also from that of all the other Greeks in several other instances: they accustomed them to the use of any sort of meat, and sometimes to endure the want of it; and they taught them not to be afraid in the dark, nor to be froward and peevish, as they generally are through the impertinent fondness of those who have the care of them. On this account, Spartan nurses were frequently hired by the inhabitants of other parts of Greece.[k]

At Athens new-born infants were commonly wrapped in a cloth on

[a] Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 14.
[b] Theognid. Gnom. v. 5.
[c] Hygin. Fab. 274.
[d] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 17.
[e] Eurip. Ion. v. 1493.
[f] Hesych. et Suid. in hac voce.
[g] Plut. Lycurgo.
[h] Suid. in hac voce.
[i] Hom. Hymn. in Mercur. v. 268. Plut. Lycurgo; Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 33.
[k] Plut. Lycurgo.

which was represented the Gorgon's head, because that was described in the shield of Minerva, the protectress of Athens. By this might be intimated that they were committed to the care of the goddess; or that, when arrived at years of maturity, they ought to imitate the noble and generous actions which were there portrayed; or that it might be a happy omen of their future valor. For the same reasons it was also customary to place them on bucklers.[l]

This ceremony of laying infants on bucklers was strictly observed by the Lacedæmonians:

——— Λακωνίδες οἷα γυναῖκες
Τίέας ὠδίνουσιν ἐπ' εὐκύκλοιο βοείας.[m]
On a round buckler the Laconian dames
At birth their burden lay.

In other places infants were laid in something which bore a resemblance to their future employment in life. Nothing was more common than to put them in vans or implements for winnowing corn, which were called λίκνα, and which were designed as omens of their future affluence. This was not always a real van, but commonly the figure of it, and was composed of gold and other materials:

——— Σὲ δὲ κοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια
Λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ.[n]
In a golden van Nemesis laid you to sleep.

It was a usual practice among the Athenians, especially in families of rank, to place their infants on dragons of gold. This custom was instituted by Minerva in memory of Erichthonius, one of their kings, who had feet like those of serpents, and being left exposed when an infant, was committed by that goddess to the custody of two vigilant dragons:[o]

——— κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη
Φρουρὼ παραζεύξασα φύλακας σώματος,
Δισσὼ δράκοντε, παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι
Δίδωσι σώζειν· ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τίς ἐστιν ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.[p]
——— To him, as guards,
Minerva gave two dragons, and in charge
Consign'd him to the daughters of Aglauros:
This rite to th' Erechthidæ hence remains,
Midst serpents wreath'd in ductile gold to nurse
Their children. POTTER.

On the fifth day after the birth, the midwives, having first purified themselves by washing their hands, ran round the hearth of the fire with the infant in their arms; by which they introduced it, as it were, into the family, and put it under the protection of the houshold gods, to whom the hearth served instead of an altar. Hence the day was called Δρομιάφιον ἦμαρ, or more usually Ἀμφιδρόμια:[q] it was celebrated as a festival with great expressions of joy; and they received from their friends gifts, which were called γενέθλιοι δόσεις.[r] If the

[l] Theocrit. Idyll. κδ'. initio.
[m] Nonn. Dionysiac. lib. xii.
[n] Callim. Hym. in Jov. v. 48.
[o] Eurip. Ion. v. 1427.
[p] Eurip. Ion. v. 21.
[q] Hesych.
[r] Æschyl. Eumenid. v. 7.

child was a male, their doors were decorated with an olive garland; if a female, with wool, in token of the work on which women were generally employed.[s] The entertainment consisted of different things; among which were πολύποδες and σηπίαι, the polypus and cuttle fish; and in particular κράμβη, colewort, which the Athenian midwives commonly administered to women in childbed, as tending to create milk.[t]

The seventh day, on which the child was usually named, was also honored with festival solemnities; and to celebrate this day was called ἑβδομεύεσθαι. The reason of giving a name to the child on this day was, ὅτι ἐπίστευον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, because they then conceived hopes that it would live; for weak infants are said commonly to die before the seventh day.[u]

Some kept the eighth day after the infant's birth, which they called γενέθλιος ἡμέρα, the birth-day, because solemnized in memory of the child's nativity. The same day was observed every year after, during the life of the child.

Others named their children on the tenth day after their birth, when they also invited their friends to an entertainment, and offered sacrifices to the gods:[v]

> Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκον ὠνόμασεν;[w]
> What mother on the tenth day gave your name?

Some think that the tenth day was the same as Ἀμφιδρόμια; but, though the two solemnities might be sometimes united, they were commonly distinct. To celebrate this day was called δεκάτῃ θύειν,[x] δεκάτῃ ἀποθύειν, δεκάτῃ ἑστιάσαι.[y]

When the child received its name, whether on the tenth or any other day, a considerable number of friends were present. This custom was observed not only by the Greeks, but by almost every other people; and the chief design was to prevent doubts which might afterwards arise, if the name of the child was not sufficiently known. The child's father usually imposed the name. At Athens was a law, by which fathers were authorized to give names to their children, and to alter them as often as they pleased.[z] In imposing names no constant rule was observed; but it was common to choose some of their most eminent ancestors, whose name they were desirous of being continued to posterity as an honor to themselves and their family, and a perpetual remembrance to excite their children to the imitation of great examples. Thus we find the names of Pyrrhus, Philip, Ptolemy, &c. preserved in several of their successors; and this was a custom of very great antiquity.[a]

The actions of parents were frequently perpetuated by the names of their children.[b] Hector's son Scamandrius was named Astyanax

[s] Hesych. in Στέφανον ἐκφέρειν.
[t] Athen. lib. ix. cap. 2. lib. ii. cap. 24. Harpocrat. et Suidas in ἀμφιδρόμια.
[u] Harpocrat. in ἑβδομενομένου.
[v] Aristoph. Av.
[w] Eurip. Frag. Ægei v. 14.
[x] Aristoph. Av. v. 923.
[y] De his diebus videndi Poll. lib. i. cap. 1. Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. vii. cap. 12. Hesych. Suid. Harpocrat. Phavorin.
[z] Demosth. adv. Bœotum περὶ ὀνόματος.
[a] Eustath. in Il. ο'.
[b] Id. ib. ι'.

by the Trojans, because his father was τοῦ ἄστεος ἄναξ, the defender of the city Troy; for it is observable that the word ἄναξ originally signified only saviour or defender, and hence the gods are commonly called ἄνακτες:

Τόν β' Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἀστυάνακτ', οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ.[c]

Scamandrius was his name, which Hector gave
From that fair flood which Ilion's wall did lave;
But him Astyanax the Trojans call,
From his great father who defends the wall. DRYDEN.

Ulysses was called Ὀδυσσεύς, διὰ τὸ ὀδύσσεσθαι τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, from the anger of his grandfather Autolycus.[d]

Men's own actions, condition, or other personal qualities, frequently gave occasion to their names. Œdipus was so called διὰ τὸ οἰδεῖν τοὺς πόδας, because his feet were bored with iron.[e] The son of Achilles was first named Πυῤῥὸς, Pyrrhus, from his ruddy complexion, or from the color of his hair; and afterwards Νεοπτόλεμος, Neoptolemus, from undertaking the management of the Trojan war when very young. The Greeks as well as the Romans, in ancient times, were accustomed to fix an additional character to their great men for any famous achievement, as Σωτὴρ, Saviour, Καλλίνικος, renowned for victory; for the purpose of expressing something remarkable in their shape and features, as Φύσκων, gorge-belly, and Γρυπὸς, eagle-nosed; on account of their virtue and kindness, as Εὐεργέτης, a benefactor, and Φιλάδελφος, a lover of his brethren; or from their unusual felicity and good fortune, as Εὐδαίμων, happy, a name given to the second prince of the family of Battus. To several kings names were appropriated by way of reproach, as to Antigones that of Δώσων, one liberal only in future, because he always promised, and never performed; and to Ptolemy that of Λάμπρος, from the fond opinion which he entertained of his own wit and pleasantness.[f]

Sometimes the Greeks took a shorter way of disposing of their children, either killing them, or exposing them in some desert, or other place. To do the latter of these was termed ἐκτιθέναι,[g] or ἀποτιθέναι; and on the contrary, to rear and educate was called τὸ ἀναίρειν.[h] Nor was the exposing of children accounted a criminal or blameable action, being permitted by some lawgivers, and expressly commanded by others. The Lacedæmonians were remarkable for their conduct in this matter. They did not allow fathers to bring up their children when so inclined, but obliged them to carry all their new-born infants to certain persons who were some of the gravest men in their own tribe, and who kept their court at a place called Λέσχη, where they carefully inspected them. If these examiners found the children strong and well-proportioned, they ordered them to be educated, and allotted them a certain quantity of land for their maintenance; but if weak or deformed, they commanded them to be cast into a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus, thinking it neither good for the

[c] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 402.
[d] Id. Odys. τ'. v. 406. sq.
[e] Senec. Œdip. v. 812.
[f] Plut. Marcio Coriolano.
[g] Eurip. Phœniss. v. 25. Aristoph. Nub. v. 531.
[h] Aristophanes.

children themselves nor the interest of the state that they should be brought up, since nature had denied them the means both of happiness and of being serviceable to the public, by not enduing them with sufficient health and strength.[i] The place into which the infants were cast was called Ἀποθέται; hence ἀποτιθέναι is usually taken for exposing with a design to destroy, whilst ἐκτιθέναι has commonly a milder signification; for many persons exposed their children when not willing that they should perish, but only because they were unable to maintain them; and daughters especially were thus treated, on account of the superior charges attending their education and settling in the world.

The Thebans disliked this barbarous custom, which they prohibited by a law that rendered it a capital offence. They who were unable to provide for their children were ordered to carry them as soon as born to the magistrates, who were obliged to take care of their maintenance, and who, when the children were grown up, used them as slaves, employing their service as a recompense for the charge and trouble which had been incurred.[k]

Children were usually exposed in their swaddling clothes, and laid in a vessel:

——— κἀκτίθησιν ὡς θανούμενον
Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ.[l]
——————— There for death
Expos'd him in a well-compacted ark
Of circular form. Potter.

This vessel was sometimes called ὄστρακον,[m] and sometimes χύτρα; and hence χυτρίζειν is the same as ἐκτίθεσθαι, and χυτρισμὸς as ἔκθεσις.[n]

The parents frequently tied to the children that they exposed, jewels, rings, necklaces,[o] &c. which were called περιδέραια,[p] δέραια,[q] and γνωρίσματα,[r] and by which they might afterwards discover them if providence should preserve them. Another design in thus adorning these infants was to encourage those who found them to nourish and educate them if alive, or to bury them if dead;[s] or it was intended as a mark of love and affection.[t]

It will be necessary to add something respecting the purification of women, who, during their confinement in childbed, were considered as polluted; and hence the Athenians enacted a law that no woman should bring forth in Delos, an island consecrated to Apollo, because the gods were thought to have an aversion to all sorts of pollution.[u] When the fortieth day arrived, the danger of childbirth being over, they kept a festival, which from the number of the day was called τεσσαρακοστός. At this time the woman, having been before purified by washing, entered into some of the temples, most commonly into that dedicated to Diana, which from her labor till that period she was

[i] Plut. Lycurgo; Aristot. Polit. vii. 16.
[k] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 7.
[l] Eurip. Ion. v. 18.
[m] Aristoph. Ran. v. 1221.
[n] Hesych.
[o] Terent. Eunuch. iv. 6. 15. Eurip. Ion. v. 19. 32. 1337. sq.
[p] Aristot. Poetic. cap. xvi.
[q] Eurip. Ion. v. 1431.
[r] Pausan. Attic. xxvii. Heliodor. Æthiop. iv.
[s] Eurip. Ion. v. 26.
[t] Terent. Heauton. act. iv. sc. 1.
[u] Euripid. Iphigen. in Taurid. v. 280.

not allowed to do;[a] and here she returned thanks for her safe delivery, and offered sacrifices. It was also customary to present her garments to Diana, who from this circumstance obtained the name of Χιτώνη;[b] and women after their first child likewise offered their zones to the same goddess, who on that account was called Λυσιζώνη, and had a temple at Athens dedicated to her under that title.[c]

Such was the care which the Greeks exercised towards their children, that they brought them up in their own houses;[d] and the mothers suckled them with their own milk.[e] Even women of the highest distinction did not disdain this office.[a] In some cases, however, a nurse was employed,[b] and was called *μαῖα*,[c] *τίτθη*,[d] *τιθήνη*,[e] *τεθνήτειρα*,[f] and *τροφός*.[g] Yet there generally exists some difference between *τροφὸς* and *τίτθη*; the latter denoting the person who gave suck to the infant; and the former, her who had the care of the child in other respects.[h] To give suck was denominated *θηλάζειν*.[i]

The nurses, who carried through the streets infants that were ill-natured and cried, applied to the mouth of the child a sponge dipped in honey.[k] To compose them to sleep they sang λαλὰ, or *βαυκαλᾶν*;[l] and hence these songs were called *βαυκαλήσεις*,[m] and by another name *νύννια*.[n] If, however, this method failed, the nurses or mothers endeavoured to make peevish infants quiet and peaceable by terrifying them with a bugbear or spectre, called *μορμολύκειον*,[o] *μορμολύκη*,[p] and more briefly, *μορμὼ*;[q] and hence to terrify infants in this manner was denominated *μορμύσσεσθαι*.[r]

CHAP. XV.

Different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances, Filial Duties, &c.

SOME authors mention four different descriptions of children: 1. *οἱ γνήσιοι*, or *ἰθαγενεῖς*, children born in lawful marriage; 2. *οἱ νόθοι*, those born of concubines or harlots; 3. *οἱ σκότιοι*, those whose fathers were not known, by which they were distinguished from the last-mentioned; 4. *οἱ παρθενίαι*, those born of women, who, though corrupted before marriage, were still considered virgins.[s] Disregarding, however, this and other divisions, we shall notice only three sorts: 1. *γνήσιοι*, those lawfully begotten; 2. *νόθοι*, those born of

[a] Censorin. de Natal. c. xi.
[b] Callim. Schol. Hymn. i.
[c] Apollon. Schol.
[d] Hom. Il. τ'. v. 191. Odys. ξ'. v. 201. Plaut. Bacchid. iii. 3. 18.
[e] Eurip. Ion. v. 1360.
[a] Hom. Il. χ'. v. 83. Odys. λ'. v. 447.
[b] Id. Odys. τ'. v. 482. sq. η'. v. 12.
[c] Id. Odys. τ'. v. 482.
[d] Aristoph. Equit. v. 713. cum Schol.
[e] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 389. Eustath.
[f] Suidas.
[g] Plut. de Puer. Educat.
[h] Eustath. ad Il. ζ'.
[i] Lysias Orat. i. pro Cœd. Eratosth. Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 1.
[k] Hesych. in Κηρίῳ βύσασα.
[l] Idem in Βαυκαλᾶν.
[m] Athen. xiv. 3.
[n] Hesych. in Νύννιον.
[o] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 424.
[p] Strab. i.
[q] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 582. Lucian. in Philopseud.
[r] Hesych. in hac voce; Aristoph. Av. v. 1245.
[s] Schol. in Hom.

harlots, among whom may be comprehended the three latter descriptions of children before-mentioned; and 3. *θετοὶ*, those adopted.

They who were begotten in lawful marriage were accounted lawfully begotten; and this was regulated by different rules, according as the affairs of every state required. In some places he whose father was a citizen, though his mother was a foreigner; and in others, he whose mother was a free woman, and his father a foreigner; was considered legitimate, and inherited the freedom of the city in which he was born, and all the privileges of a citizen. In most commonwealths at the first, and after a great destruction of the inhabitants by war or disease, the legislators adopted this method to replenish and strengthen the country with people; but when that exigency had ceased, and it became necessary to restrain the too great increase of citizens, they commonly enacted that only such should be accounted legitimate as were descended from parents who were both citizens;[s] and this law was enforced, or dispensed with, as occasion required.[t] At Athens, lest the *νόθοι*, natural children, should be clandestinely inserted in the register of the city in which the names of all the citizens were preserved, they made in every borough severe scrutinies, which were termed *διαψηφίσεις*,[u] and by which all persons not duly qualified were ejected from the city. There was also a court of justice in the Cynosarges, in which examination was made concerning such persons. They who had only one parent an Athenian, though allowed the freedom of the city, were not considered equal to those whose parents were both citizens.[w]

Some, indeed, have thought that about the time of the Trojan war concubines and their sons were deemed as honorable as wives and sons born in lawful marriage; and this opinion was founded on Agamemnon calling Teucer *νόθος*, when encouraging him to fight:

> Καί σε νόθον περ ἐόντα κομίσσατο ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.[x]
> And rear'd thee, though his spurious son, with care
> In his own mansion. Cowper.

This, however, is so far from establishing an equality between legitimate and illegitimate children, that it evidently proves the contrary, the particle *περ* after *νόθον* plainly implying that such care of illegitimate children was not common in those days. In no time was illegitimacy not deemed a disgrace, except in ages when men lived without laws and government; and it appears that a great difference always existed between the sons of lawful wives and those of concubines.[y] Some say that only the natural children of kings, and of persons of rank, were equal to those born in lawful marriage; but, though such children were distinguished above the legitimate children of private persons, it does not appear that they were of equal dignity with the legitimate sons of princes;[z] and though natural children sometimes succeeded to the kingdoms of their fathers, this happened only for want of legitimate issue, and not always even in such cases.[a] In some

[s] Aristot. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 5.
[t] Aristoph. Schol. Avibus.
[u] Harpocration.
[w] Plut. Themistocle.
[x] Hom. Il. θ'. v. 284.
[y] Sophocl. Ajace v. 1250. sq.
[z] Eurip. Ione v. 589. sq.
[a] Servius.

places the bastards of private persons also inherited the estates of their fathers, if there were neither lawful children nor relations;[b] but if there were relations, bastards had only a share.[c] Solon allowed them five hundred drachms, or five Attic pounds, which were termed νοθεῖα, a bastard's portion;[d] and this was afterwards raised to one thousand drachms, or ten Attic pounds. In some places the fortune of bastards depended on the pleasure of their father, who could introduce them into his own family, and make them equal sharers with his legitimate children, the privilege of dividing the estate being only reserved to the latter.[e]

They who had no legitimate sons were obliged by the Athenian laws to leave their estates to their daughters, who were compelled to marry their nearest relations, or otherwise to forfeit their inheritance. These virgins, whether sole heiresses or only co-heiresses, were called by Solon himself περικληρίτιδες, by others παρουχοι, or (which is the most common name of all) ἐπίκληροι, and sometimes μάνδαι.[f] These and their nearest relations were empowered to claim marriage from one another; and if either party refused, the other preferred an action termed ἐπιδικάζεσθαι, which word was applied to all sorts of lawsuits: hence inheritances, about which they went to law, were called κληρονομίαι ἐπίδικαι; and those of which they obtained quiet possession, ἀνεπίδικαι. Others say that, whether there was any dispute or not, the nearest relation, if a citizen, was obliged to claim his wife with her inheritance in the court of the archon; if only a sojourner, in that of the polemarch; and this was termed ἐπιδικάζεσθαι, and might be done in any month of the year, except in Scirrophorion, the magistrates being then employed in settling their accounts. This law gave occasion to a comedy of Apollodorus, intituled Ἐπιδικαζόμενος or Ἐπιδικαζομένη, which was translated into Latin by Terence, and called Phormio. It was also ordered that when men had given a daughter in marriage, and afterwards died without sons to heir their estates, the nearest relation had power to claim the inheritance, and to take the woman from her husband.[g]

Persons who had no legitimate issue were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural sons, or, with consent of the parents, the sons of other men. But they who were not κύριοι ἑαυτῶν, their own masters, were excepted; as slaves, women, lunatics, infants, and all that were under twenty-one years of age; for these not being capable of making wills, or of managing their own estates, were not permitted to adopt heirs to them. Foreigners being excluded from inheriting estates at Athens, if such were adopted, they were made free of the city. The name of the adopted person was enrolled in the tribe and ward of his new father on the festival called Θαργήλια, in the month Thargelion, and not at the same time in which other children were registered. The Lacedæmonians were very cautious in this matter, and, to prevent rash and inconsiderate adoptions, enacted a law that they should be confirmed in the presence of their kings.

[b] Demosth. in Macart.
[c] Aristoph. Avibus.
[d] Arist. Schol. loc. cit. Suid. voce.
[e] Sopater.
[f] Eustath. ad Il. η'.
[g] Isæus Orat. de Pyrrhi Hæred.

Adopted children were called *παῖδες θετοὶ*, or *εἰσποιητοὶ*, and were invested with all the rights and privileges, and obliged to perform all the duties, of such as were begotten by their fathers. At the same time they ceased to have any claim of inheritance or kindred on the family which they had left,[h] unless they first renounced their adoption, which by the laws of Solon they were not allowed to do except they had begotten children to bear the name of the person who had adopted them; and it was thus provided against the ruin of families, which would have been extinguished by the desertion of those who had been adopted to preserve them.[i] If the adopted persons died without children, the inheritance could not be alienated from the family into which they had been adopted, but returned to the relations of those who had adopted them. Some are of opinion that the Athenians forbade any man to marry after he had adopted a son, without leave from the magistrate.[k] Certain, however, it is, that some men married after they had adopted sons; and if they begat legitimate children, their estates were equally shared between those begotten and adopted. It may be observed in this place, that it was an ancient custom for legitimate sons to divide their fathers' estates by lots, all having equal shares without respect to priority of birth, but allowing a small portion to those who were unlawfully begotten.[l]

They who had neither legitimate nor adopted children were succeeded by their nearest relations, called *χηρωσταὶ*:

> ——— *ἀποφθιμένου δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέονται*
> *Χηρωσταί.*[m]
> He dies at length, and his remoter friends
> Share his possessions.

This custom was as ancient as the Trojan war.[n] Some, indeed, suppose *χηρωσταὶ* to signify certain magistrates who had a right to the estates of those who died *χηρεύοντες τῶν διαδόχων*, without lawful heirs; but it is sufficiently evident that relations, who succeeded to the estates of persons without children, were called *χηρωσταί*.[o] Persons who had relations were usually succeeded by them in their estates; and the possessions of those who died without lawful heirs belonged to the prince, the commonwealth, or the supreme magistrate, as the laws of each state directed.

The Grecian practice concerning wills was not the same in all places: in some states of Greece men were permitted to dispose of their estates; in others they were entirely deprived of that privilege. Solon was much commended for his law concerning wills;[p] for before his time all the wealth of deceased persons belonged exclusively to their families; but he permitted them to bestow their property on whom they pleased, and placed every man's estate at his own disposal. He did not allow, however, all sorts of wills, but required the following conditions in all persons who made them:—

[h] Isæus de Hæred. Astyphili.
[i] Id. de Hæred. Aristarch. Id. de Hæred. Philoctem. Harpocr.
[k] Tzetz. Chiliad. vi. Hist. 49.
[l] Hom. Odys. ξ'. v. 200. sqq.
[m] Hesiod. Theogon, v. 606.
[n] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 158. sq.
[o] Hesych. v. *Χηρωσταὶ*; Pollux.
[p] Plut. Solone.

1. That they were to be citizens of Athens, not slaves, nor foreigners, whose estates were confiscated to the public use.

2. That they were to be men who had arrived at twenty years of age; for women and men under that age were not permitted to dispose by will of more than one medimn of barley.[q]

3. That they were not to be adopted; for when adopted persons died without issue, the estates returned to the relations of the persons who had adopted them.

4. That they should have no male children of their own, for then the estates belonged to them. If they had daughters only, the persons to whom the inheritance was bequeathed were obliged to marry them.[r] Men, however, were allowed to appoint heirs to succeed their children, in case they happened to die under twenty years of age.[s]

5. That they should be in their proper senses, and have the full use of their understanding, because testaments extorted in the phrenzy of a disease, or in the dotage of old age, were not in reality the wills of the persons who made them.

6. That they should not be under imprisonment or other constraint, their consent being then forced, and not to be considered voluntary.

7. That they should not be seduced into it by the artifice or insinuations of a wife.[t]

Wills were usually signed before several witnesses, who put seals to them for confirmation, and then placed them in the hands of trustees, called *ἐπιμεληταὶ*, who were obliged to see them performed. At Athens, some of the magistrates, especially the astynomi, were frequently present at the making of wills.[u] Sometimes the archons were also present; and whatever was given in the presence of the archons was called *δόσις*;[v] which word, though commonly used for any sort of gift or present, was peculiarly applied to legacies and things disposed of by will. Hence *δοῦναι* and *διαθέσθαι* are sometimes synonymous terms;[w] and to succeed *κατὰ δόσιν καὶ κατὰ διάθεσιν*, by gift and will, is opposed to succession *κατὰ γένος*, by natural right. Sometimes the testator declared his will before sufficient witnesses, without committing it to writing.[x]

They began the form of their wills by wishing for life and health, adding afterwards, that, in case they should be deprived of these blessings, their will was as followed, in this manner: *Ἔσται μὲν εὖ, ἐὰν δέ τι συμβῇ, ταῦτα διατίθεμεν.*[y]

From the estates of parents, we proceed to their virtuous and noble actions, the rewards of which were frequently inherited by their posterity. These rewards consisted not merely in empty titles of honor, or expressions of respect, but in more substantial acknowledgements, which were thought due to the memory and the relations of men who had been eminently useful in the service of their country.

[q] Isæus de Hæred. Aristarchi.
[r] Id. de Pyrrhi Hæred.
[s] Demosth. Orat. ii. in Stephan. Test.
[t] Plut. Solone.
[u] Isæus de Hæred. Cleonymi.
[v] Harpocrat. et Suid. v. *δόσις*.
[w] Isæus in *λόγοις κληρικοῖς*.
[x] Plut. Alcibiade.
[y] Diogen. Laert. Aristot. Theophrast.

In many places their children, if left without property, were provided for by the state, and educated suitably to their birth at the public expense. The regard, which the Athenians paid to the posterity of those who had deserved well of the republic, was evidently great. Aristides dying poor, they bestowed on his son Lysimachus one hundred Attic pounds of silver, with a plantation of as many acres of ground; and on the motion of Alcibiades, they also ordered that four drachms a day should be paid him. Lysimachus leaving a daughter named Policrite, the people voted her the same provision of corn with those who obtained a victory in the Olympic games. They also allowed to each of the two daughters of Aristides three hundred drachms from the public treasury for their portions.[z]

The disgrace attending men's vices and dishonorable actions was likewise participated by their children; for it was thought only reasonable that those who shared in the prosperity and good fortune of their parents should also partake of their losses and miscarriages:

Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τίσετε λώβην.[a]
Now rue ye both the baseness of your sire. Cowper.

This practice was not owing to the passions and prejudices of particular persons, but was deemed agreeable to justice and reason. It may be sufficient in this place to mention the famous Macedonian law, by which it was ordered that men guilty of conspiring against their king should not only suffer death with their children, but that all those who were nearly allied to them should share the same punishment.[b]

It remains to add something concerning the grateful returns of children to their parents, which appear from their assiduous attendance on them in the lowest offices, even in washing and anointing their feet:

——— Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπονίζῃ, καὶ τὼ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ προκύψασα φιλήσῃ.[c]

First my dear child did wash her father's feet,
Then she anointed them, and bending down,
Gave them a sweet endearing kiss.

They were anxious in vindicating the honor, and revenging the injuries, of their parents.[d] They were careful to provide a comfortable subsistence for their old age, which was called γηροβοσκεῖν, and to perform their funeral rites with decency:[e]

Τοὶ γὰρ φυτεύων παῖδας οὐκ ἔτ' ἂν φθάνοις
Οἳ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιστελοῦσι, καὶ προθήσονται νεκρόν;[f]

——— Other sons
Wilt thou not, therefore, speed thee to beget,
To cherish thy old age, to grace thee dead,
With sumptuous vests, and lay thee in the tomb? Potter.

[z] Plut. Aristide.
[a] Hom. Il. λ'. v. 142.
[b] Quint. Curt. lib. vi. haud procul a fine.
[c] Aristophanes.
[d] Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 208.
[e] Eurip. Medea v. 1032.
[f] Id. Alcest. v. 662.

They were so much concerned about these matters, that when they undertook any hazardous enterprise, it was customary to engage some of their friends to maintain and protect their aged parents.[g] Thus, when the Thebans living in exile at Athens conspired to free their native country from the yoke of Lacedæmon, they divided themselves into two companies, and agreed that one should endeavour to get possession of the city and surprise the enemy, whilst the other should remain in Attica, and provide for the parents and children of their associates, if they perished in the attempt.[h] The provision made by children for their parents was termed *τροφεῖα*, and by the poets *θρεπτήρια*, or *θρέπτρα*, and sometimes *θρέννα*.[i] To be negligent in this matter was accounted the greatest impiety, and most worthy of the divine vengeance.[k] No crime was thought to be followed with more certain and inevitable judgments than the disobedience and disrespectful behaviour of children to their parents; for the furies and other infernal deities were believed to be always ready to execute the curse of parents thus injured by their children:[l]

——— Ἀλλὰ δὲ δαίμων
Δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσετ' Ἐρινῦς
Οἶκου ἀπερχομένη, νέμεσις δέ μοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
Ἔσσεται.[m]

How from my father should I vengeance dread!
How would my mother curse my hated head!
And while in wrath to vengeful fiends she cries,
How from their hell would vengeful fiends arise!
Abhorr'd by all, accursed my name would grow,
The earth's disgrace, and human kind my foe. POPE.

Various instances of this kind occur, as those of Œdipus, Theseus, and others.[n] Nor was the punishment of this crime left to be executed by the gods only, but was frequently inflicted by human appointment. Solon ordered that all persons, who refused to make due provision for their parents, should be punished with *ἀτιμία*, infamy.[o] The same penalty was incurred by those who beat their parents; nor was this limited to their parents only, but extended to their grandfathers, grandmothers, and other progenitors. When any person offered himself for the office of archon, he was examined with respect to his life and behaviour; and if it appeared that he had not honored his parents, he was rejected.

However, there were some cases in which Solon excused children from maintaining their parents, as when they had been brought up to no trade or profession by which they might be enabled to subsist in the world; for the care and trouble of parents in educating their children being the chief foundation of those duties which they were to expect from them, their default in that respect was considered sufficient to absolve children from their allegiance. In like manner, they who were prostituted by their parents were not obliged to maintain them.[p] The sons of harlots were also declared to lie under no

[g] Virg. Æn. lib. ix. v. 283.
[h] Plut. Pelopida.
[i] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 478.
[k] Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. lib. i. v. 13.
[l] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 454.
[m] Id. Odys. β'. v. 134.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. xi.
[o] Laert. Solone.
[p] Æschin. Orat. in Timarch.

obligation of relieving their fathers, who made their very birth a scandal and reproach to them.[q]

As the unkindness of parents was thought a sufficient excuse for children to deny them relief in their old age, so the disobedience or extravagance of children, whether natural or adopted,[r] frequently deprived them of the care and estate of their parents. However, the Athenian lawgiver did not allow fathers to disinherit their children from passion or prejudice, but required their appearance before certain judges appointed for that purpose; and if the children were found deserving of so severe a sentence, the public crier was ordered to proclaim that they were disinherited: hence to disinherit a son is called ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱὸν; and the person disinherited, ἀποκήρυκτος.[s] To be disinherited was also denominated ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους; and to be received again, ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος. It may be farther observed that parents were allowed to be reconciled to their children, but could never again abdicate them, lest the punishment of children should become endless, and their fears perpetual.[t]

When any man, either through dotage or other infirmity, became unfit to manage his estate, his son was allowed to impeach him before the φράτορες, men of his own ward, who were empowered to invest the son with the immediate possession of his inheritance.[u] There is a remarkable story concerning Sophocles, who being accused by Iophon and his other sons of neglecting his affairs through dotage, read to the judges his tragedy called *Œdipus Coloneus*, which he had then lately composed, and was acquitted.[v]

CHAP. XVI.

Education of Youth.

In order to prevent the vices inseparable from idleness, the Greeks, especially the Athenians, took great care to accustom boys and girls to industry, to exercise them in some useful labor, and to instruct them in arts and discipline.[w] For the first five years, however, no labor that required application was to be imposed on children;[x] that period was allotted for the growth and strengthening of the body. Both boys and girls were instructed in the public schools. The girls were allowed little food;[y] and their waists were bound about to render them elegant.[z] Some of them are said to have been taught music and literature: the Spartan virgins were skilled in music;[a] the Theban Corinna excelled in poetry;[b] and Aspasia was more famous for her eloquence and the charms of her conversation, than even for her beauty.[c]

[q] Plut. Solone.
[r] Demosth. in Spudiam.
[s] Hesych. in ἀποκήρυκτος.
[t] Isæus de Hæred. Cironis.
[u] Aristoph. Nub. act. iii. sc. 1.
[v] Cic. de Senect. Aristoph. Schol. ad Ranas.
[w] Plut. Solone; Xenoph. Memor. iv. 1. 2.
[x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. vii. cap. 17.
[y] Terent. Eunuch. act. ii. 3. 23.
[z] Id. ib. v. 22.
[a] Plut. Lycurgo.
[b] Pausan. Bœot. cap. xxii.
[c] Athen. v. 19.

If the fathers of boys were rich, and persons of distinction, they kept in their houses private teachers, who were called παιδαγωγοὶ,[d] or παιδοτρίβαι,[e] and who might instruct them in useful learning. It would appear, however, that the office of the παιδοτρίβαι consisted chiefly in exercising the bodies of their scholars in the palæstra.[f]

The Greeks, except the Lacedæmonians, were accustomed to have their sons taught letters, the gymnastic exercises, music,[g] and sometimes painting.[h] To understand the form and value of letters, to trace them with elegance and facility,[i] to give the proper length and intonation to syllables, formed the first studies of boys. They repaired to the house of their teacher, who gave instructions to a great number of disciples.[k] They were enjoined to pay the most scrupulous attention to punctuation, till it was time to instruct them in the rules.[l] They often read the fables of Æsop,[m] and frequently repeated verses which they knew by rote; and to exercise the memory of their pupils, the professors of grammar taught them passages of Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric poets;[n] but as the poets attribute passions to the gods, and justify those of men, the children became familiar with vice before they knew its pernicious nature. For this reason, collections of select pieces of pure morality were formed for their use;[o] and to this were sometimes added the enumeration of the troops who went to the siege of Troy, as we find it in the Iliad.[p]

By γράμματα, letters, is understood γραμματικὴ (sc. τέχνη), which at first denoted ἐπιστήμην τοῦ γράψαι καὶ ἀναγνῶναι, the art of writing, and with propriety.[q] The same became afterwards so extensively used as to signify φιλολογία, by which was comprehended a knowledge of history, poetry, eloquence, and literature in general.[r]

Young men of liberal fortunes were instructed in philosophy.[s] For this purpose there were gymnasia and public schools in different parts of Greece. At Athens, the principal were the Academy,[t] the Lyceum,[u] and the Κυνόσαργες.[v] At Corinth was a public school called Κράνειον;[w] and in the isle of Rhodes was another.[x]

As the education of the Spartan children differed so much from that of the other Greeks, it may be necessary to give an account of it in the remaining part of this chapter.

At the age of seven years domestic education commonly ended;[y] and the father was asked whether he was willing that his son should

[d] Plut. de Puer. Educat. cap. vii. Hom. Il. ι'. v. 442. sq. Auson. Idyll. iv. v. 21. Theocrit. Idyll. xxiv. v. 103. sq.
[e] Aristoph. Nub. v. 969.
[f] Æschin. in Timarch.
[g] Terent. Eunuch. iii. 2. 23. Plut. de Musica.
[h] Aristot. Polit. viii. 3.
[i] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[k] Plat. Alcib. Demosth. de Coron.
[l] Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. iii. c. 5.
[m] Aristoph. Pac. v. 128. Av. v. 471. Aristot. ap. Schol. Aristoph. ibid.
[n] Plat. in Protag. de Rep. lib. ii. Lucian. de Gymnas.
[o] Plat. de Leg. lib. vii.
[p] Eustath. in Il. β'.
[q] Aristot. Topic. vi. 3.
[r] Cic. de Orat. i. 42. Senec. Epist. lxxxviii. Quintil. i. 4.
[s] Terent. Andr. i. 1. v. 30.
[t] Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. 9.
[u] Id. ib. ix. 10 et 29. Cic. de Divin. i. 13. Acad. Quæst. i. 17.
[v] Hesych. Diog. Laert. vi. 13. Pausan. Attic. xix.
[w] Lucian. Dial. Mort. Laert. vi. 77.
[x] Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. ii. 61. Sueton. in Tiberio xi.
[y] Plut. Lycurgo.

be brought up according to the laws. If he refused, he was himself deprived of the rights of a citizen;[a] but if he consented, the youth had for his guardians, besides his parents, the laws, the magistrates, and all the citizens, who were authorized to interrogate, to advise, and to chastise him, and who would themselves have been punished if they had spared him when he was guilty.[c] At the head of the children was placed one of the most respectable men in the republic.[b] He distributed them into different classes, over each of which presided a young chief, who was distinguished by his sense and courage, and was called εἴρην. They submitted to his orders without a murmur, and to the chastisements which were imposed by him, and which were inflicted with rods by young persons arrived at the age of puberty.[c]

The regulations to which they were subjected became daily more rigid. Their hair was cut off; and they walked without stockings or shoes to accustom themselves to bear the rigor of the seasons. They sometimes exercised quite naked.[d] At the age of twelve years they laid aside the tunic, and wore only a cloak, which was to last them a whole year.[e] They were seldom permitted the use of baths and perfumes. Each company lay together on the tops of reeds, which grew out of the river, and which they broke off with their hands without employing any iron instrument.[f]

The εἴρην was a youth of twenty years of age, who, as a reward for his courage and prudence, was appointed to give lessons to a number of other youths committed to his care.[g] He was at their head when they encountered each other, when they swam over the Eurotas, when they hunted, wrestled, ran, or engaged in the different exercises of the gymnasium. On their return home they took a wholesome and frugal meal,[h] which was prepared by themselves. The strongest furnished wood; and the weaker, herbs and other provisions, which they had conveyed away by stealth from the gardens, or from the halls in which the public repasts were held. If they were discovered, they were sometimes whipped, and prohibited from approaching the table;[i] and sometimes they were dragged to an altar, around which they sang verses in ridicule of themselves.[k] When the supper was over, their young leader ordered some of them to sing, and proposed questions to others, from their answers to which he judged of their wit or sentiments. They who spoke without reflection were slightly chastised in presence of the magistrates and aged men, who attended at these conversations, and were sometimes dissatisfied with the sentences of the εἴρην, but who, through fear of weakening his authority, waited till he was alone before they punished him for his severity or indulgence.[l]

The youth of Lacedæmon received only a slight tincture of learn-

[a] Plut. Instit. Lacon.
[b] Id. ib.
[c] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[d] Idem.
[e] Plut. Lycurgo.
[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Lycurgo; Justin. lib. iii. cap. 3.
[g] Plut. Lycurgo.
[h] Id. ib.
[i] Id. Instit. Lacon.
[k] Id. Lycurgo.
[l] Id. Instit. Lacon.
[m] Id. Lycurgo.

ing; but they were taught to express themselves with purity, and to perform in the choruses of dancing and music. To perpetuate the memory of those who had died for their country, and the shame of those who had betrayed it, they also composed poems, in which great ideas were expressed with simplicity, and elevated sentiments with an animated warmth.[m]

Every day the ephori attended on their youthful pupils, and examined whether their education was carefully conducted, whether any improper delicacy had been suffered to insinuate itself into their beds or apparel, and whether they were disposed to corpulency.[n] This last article was considered of great importance, for excessive corpulence seemed to be a proof of luxurious indolence;[o] and in order to guard against it, they were employed the greatest part of every day in the gymnasium.

At the age of eighteen they engaged in combats with each other in the Platanistas;[p] and at the same period their leaders required from them more modesty, submission, temperance, and ardor.[q] The education of the Spartans continued, if the expression may be allowed, during their whole life.[r]

CHAP. XVII.

Times of Eating.

ACCORDING to some authors,[s] the times of eating were four every day. 1. Ἀκράτισμα, the morning meal, was so termed, because it was customary at this time to eat pieces of bread dipped in wine unmixed with water, which was called ἄκρατον. This meal is denominated by Homer[t] ἄριστον, which was derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀείρειν, from its being first taken away; or rather ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριστᾶν, because the heroes went immediately from this meal to war, where they behaved themselves valiantly.[u] Sometimes it was termed διανηστισμὸς, breakfast, and was taken about the rising of the sun.[v] 2. Δεῖπνον was so named because after this meal, δεῖ πονεῖν, it was usual to return to the war, or other labor; whence it is sometimes synonymous with ἄριστον, being taken for the morning meal.[w] 3. Δειλινὸν, which was also sometimes termed ἐσπέρισμα, was the afternoon meal. 4. Δόρπος[x] was the supper, which afterwards, among the latter Greeks, was termed δεῖπνον; and the word δόρπος is said to be derived from ἰαύερπος, that meal being eaten the last before going to sleep.[y] Some

[m] Plut. Lycurgo.
[n] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. c. 7.
[o] Id. ib.
[p] Lucian. de Gymnas.
[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[r] Plut. Lycurgo.
[s] Athen. lib. i. cap. 9.
[t] Hom. Odys. π'. v. 2.
[u] Schol. in Hom. Il. β'.
[v] Id. ib.
[w] Athen. loco citato.
[x] Hom. Odys. β'. v. 20.
[y] Schol. in Hom. Il. β'.

enumerate the times of eating as follows:— 1. ἀκράτισμα; 2. ἄριστον; 3. ἐσπέρισμα; 4. δεῖπνον. However, the generality of authors agree that the ancient Greeks took only three meals a day, and omit the third meal called δειλινὸν; and that they who considered δειλινὸν, or ἐσπέρισμα, as a meal distinct from the δόρπος, seem to have no good foundation for that opinion.[z] Afterwards, the names being changed, ἄριστον denoted dinner, δόρπος the afternoon repast, and δεῖπνον supper.[a]

Others are of opinion that the primitive Greeks had only two meals a day, the ἄριστον and δόρπος, and that the rest are only different names of these.[b] It is, indeed, not to be doubted that in those early ages the mode of living was very frugal and temperate. Among the Greeks, to breakfast or dine to the full was accounted extravagance; and it was thought sufficient, after the business and labor of the day, to refresh themselves with a plentiful meal.[c]

CHAP. XVIII.

Several Sorts of Entertainments.

In the primitive ages, πᾶσα συμποσίου συναγωγὴ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε, all meetings at entertainments were occasioned by devotion to the gods.[d] Nor was it usual to indulge themselves in the free use of wine or dainties, unless on a religious account.[e] At festivals they rested from their labors, and lived more plentifully than at other times, believing that on such occasions the gods were present at their tables.[f] This induced them to conduct themselves with piety and decency, and not to drink to excess; but having refreshed themselves with moderation, they offered a libation to the gods, and then returned home.[g]

Afterwards, when a more free manner of living was introduced, we meet with three sorts of entertainments; εἰλαπίνη, γάμος, and ἔρανος, which are all enumerated in the following verse:—

Εἰλαπίν', ἠὲ γάμος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τὰ δέ γ' ἐστίν;[h]

Is this a bridal or a friendly feast?
For one at common charge it cannot be.

Hence, there are commonly said to have been three separate kinds of entertainments among the ancient Greeks; but these may be reduced to two, εἰλαπίνη and ἔρανος, under one of which γάμος, the marriage feast, may be comprehended. Εἰλαπίνη is sometimes termed εὐωχία, and ἀσύμβολον δεῖπνον, and was an entertainment provided at the

[z] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4.
[a] Id. lib. i. c. 9. Eustath. ad Odys. β'. et ad Odys. π'.
[b] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4.
[c] Plut. Sympos. viii. Quæst. 6.
[d] Athen. lib. v.
[e] Id. lib. ii.
[f] Ovid. Fast. lib. v.
[g] Athen. lib. viii. cap. 16. sub finem.
[h] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 226.

expense of one person.[i] On the contrary, *ἔρανος* was an entertainment made at the common charge of all present, and received its name *ἀπὸ τοῦ συνερᾶν καὶ συμφέρειν ἕκαστον*, because every man contributed his proportion.[k] This entertainment was sometimes termed *θίασος*; and hence the guests were called *συνθιασῶται*, though more commonly *ἐρανισταί*. What each guest contributed was termed *συμφορὰ, εἰσφορὰ, καταβολὴ, συμβολὴ*, &c.; and hence the entertainment was named *δεῖπνον συμφορητὸν, συμβολιμαῖον, τὸ ἀπὸ συμβολῆς, καταβόλιον*, and sometimes *τὸ ἐκ κοινοῦ*, &c. At Argos the contribution was called by a peculiar name, *χῶν*. The persons who collected the contributions had the same denomination as the guests, and were called *ἐρανισταί*.

Hither may be referred *δεῖπνον συναγώγιμον* or *συναγώγιον*, derived from *συνάγειν*, which by a peculiar signification denotes to drink together; but whether this entertainment was the same as *ἔρανος* is uncertain.[l]

Δεῖπνα ἐπιδόσιμα, or *ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων*, were entertainments in which some of the guests contributed more than their exact proportion; to do which was termed *ἐπιδιδόναι*.

Τὸ ἀπὸ σπυρίδος was when any person, having provided his own supper, put it into a basket, and went to eat it at another man's house.[m] Different from this was the Roman *sportula*, which consisted of alms received by clients from their rich patrons, in a basket so denominated. *Ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δειπνεῖν* signifies also to receive in a basket a piece of silver, or fragments of meat instead of a supper.[n]

The *ἔρανοι* being provided at less expense than other entertainments, in which one person sustained the whole charge, were generally most frequented, and were recommended by many as conducive to friendship and good neighbourhood.[o] They were also for the most part conducted with more order and propriety, because the guests who ate of their own collation only were usually more sparing than when they were feasted at another man's expense;[p] for it appears that their behaviour at public feasts was different from that at private entertainments, in which intemperance and unseemly actions frequently prevailed.[q] They who were present without contributing towards the expense of the entertainment, were termed *ἀσύμβολοι*; in which condition were poets and singers, and others who diverted the company:

Ἄκαπνά γὰρ ἀεὶ ἀοιδοὶ θύομεν.[r]
We singers always feast without smoke.

for *ἄκαπνα θύειν*, to feast or kill without smoke, was a proverbial phrase for those who partook of entertainments without being at the charge and trouble of providing them; hence the following expression:—

[i] Schol. Hom. ad Odys. *α'*. v. 226. Athen. viii. 16. Eustath. ad Hom. Od. *α'*.
[k] Schol. ad Odys. *α'*. v. 226. Athen. viii. 16. Plaut. Curcul. iv. 1. 13.
[l] Athen. lib. viii. sub finem.
[m] Id. ib.
[n] Hesychius.
[o] Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. lib. ii. v. 340.
[p] Eustath. ad Odys. *α'*.
[q] Hom. Odys. *α'*. v. 226. sq.
[r] Athen. lib. i. cap. 7.

Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἄκαπνον ἀεὶ θύος.[s]
Calliope always kills without smoke.

By this was meant that the Muses and their favorites were always entertained at the expense of others. Hence also ἀσύμβολος sometimes denotes a useless person, who is maintained by other men, and contributes nothing towards the charge.[t]

Lastly, in many places were public entertainments, at which a whole city, a tribe, or any other body or fraternity of men, were present. These were designated by the general names συσσίτια, πανδαισίαι, &c.; or sometimes from the body of men who were admitted, δημοθοινίαι, δεῖπνα δημόσια, and δημοτικὰ, φρατρικὰ, φυλετικὰ, &c.; according as those of the same δῆμος borough, φρατρία fraternity, or φυλὴ tribe, met together. The provision was sometimes furnished by contributions, sometimes by the liberality of the rich, and at other times from the public revenue. The design of these entertainments, which in some places were appointed by the laws, was to accustom men to frugality, and to promote peace and good neighbourhood. They were first instituted in Italy by Italus, king of that country.[u] Next to these, in order of time, were those appointed in Crete by king Minos, after whose example Lycurgus instituted the public entertainments at Sparta, though the name was varied; for the Cretans termed their syssitia, or public entertainments, ἀνδρεῖα, and the Lacedæmonians, φειδίτια;[v] but some affirm that, anciently, the Lacedæmonians did not use the word φειδίτια, but ἀνδρεῖα, which was the Cretan name.[w] These entertainments of the Spartans were conducted with the greatest frugality, and persons of all ages were admitted; the young being obliged to repair thither as to διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης, schools of temperance and sobriety, in which by the example and useful discourse of those who were more advanced in years, they were taught good manners and useful knowledge.[x] The Athenians had also their syssitia, particularly that in which the senate of five hundred, together with others who, on account of the public services or eminent merit of themselves or their ancestors, were thought worthy of the honor, were entertained at the public expense. There were also many others at Athens, and in other places of Greece.

CHAP. XIX.

The Materials of which Entertainments consisted.

In the primitive ages, men lived on such fruits as grew without art or cultivation, and desired no other beverage than water from fountains and rivers.[y] Anciently, at Argos, the people fed chiefly on pears; at Athens, on figs; in Arcadia, on acorns;[z] and so celebrated

[s] Leonid. Epigram.
[t] Plut. Coriolano.
[u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. vii. cap. 10.
[v] Plut. Lycurgo.
[w] Aristot.
[x] Plut. Lycurgo.
[y] Lucret. lib. v.
[z] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 39.

were the Arcadians for living on that sort of food, that they were distinguished by the name of *βαλανηφάγοι*, acorn-eaters.[a] Most other nations in Greece also used acorns. Hence it was customary at Athens, when marriage festivals were observed, for a boy to enter with a bough full of acorns, and a plate covered with bread, and to proclaim, *Ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, I have escaped the worse, and found the better;* which was done in memory of their leaving the use of acorns for that of bread. Hence, also, some of the trees which bore acorns were termed *φάγοι*, from *φάγειν*, to eat, and in Latin *esculi*, from *esca*, food.[b] Ancient authors relate that in the first ages men lived on acorns and berries, and that they were for a long time unacquainted with the art of ploughing the earth for corn;[c] but they believed that in the golden age, when men enjoyed all kinds of plenty and prosperity, the ground produced corn without cultivation.[d] Afterwards, the earth became unfruitful, and men fell into extreme ignorance and barbarity, till Ceres taught them the art of sowing and several other useful inventions, the memory of which was celebrated many ages after on their festival days.[e] The first that Ceres instructed in sowing and tilling the ground was Triptolemus, by whom that knowledge was communicated to his countrymen the Athenians. Afterwards, she imparted the same art to Eumelus, a citizen of Patræ in Achaia, by whom it was first introduced into that country, as it was also by Arcas into Arcadia.[f] Some ascribe the invention of making and baking bread to Pan. At first, barley was used before any other sort of corn, and is said to have been the first food that the gods imparted to mankind;[g] but it was afterwards in use only among the poor, who were unable to furnish their tables with better provision.

Bread was called *ἄρτος*; and being the chief and most necessary kind of food,[h] it sometimes denoted all sorts of meat and drink.[i] By a metonymy it was also denominated *σῖτος*.[k] The Greeks used to carry it in a basket which was made of twigs or cane, and which was called *κάνεον* and *κανοῦν*.[l] They baked their bread either under the ashes, and then the loaves were called *σποδῖται ἄρτοι*[m] and *ἐγκρυφίαι*;[n] or in the *κριβάνῳ*, oven, when they were denominated *κριβανῖται*,[o] and the same bread was also termed *ἰπνίτης*.[p] They had likewise another kind of bread called *μάζα*, which was common food, and was made of meal, salt, and water; to which, some say, was added oil.[q] *Ἄλφιτον*, barley-meal, was chiefly in use;[r] and the flour of barley was dried at the fire, or fried after it had been soaked in water;[s] and that barley-meal was in great request appears from the portico at Athens

[a] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 482.
[b] Isidor. Orig. lib. xvii. cap. 7.
[c] Macrob. in Somnium Scipionis lib. ii. cap. 10.
[d] Hesiod. Oper. lib. i. v. 116.
[e] Macrob. in. Somn. Scip. lib. ii. c. 10.
[f] Pausan. Attic. Achaic. Arcad.
[g] Artemidor. lib. i. cap. 71.
[h] Athen. iv. 15.
[i] Matth. xv. 2.
[k] Hom. Il. ε'. v. 341. θ'. v. 507. Hesiod. Oper. lib. i. v. 146.
[l] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 147. Theocrit. Idyll. xxiv. v. 135. Virg. Æn. i. v. 705.
[m] Athen. lib. iii. cap. 27.
[n] Id. ib. cap. 25. Suid. Hesych.
[o] Athen. lib. iii. cap. 26.
[p] Id. ib.
[q] Hesych. in *Μάζα*; Aristoph. Schol. ad Pac. v. 1. Athen. lib. xiv.
[r] Eustath. ad Il. λ'. v. 639.
[s] Plin. viii. 7.

in which it was sold, and which was called *ἀλφίτων στοὰ*,[t] and *στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις*.[u] They also used *θρῖον*, which was a composition of rice, cheese, eggs, and honey, and was wrapped in fig leaves, whence it obtained its name.[v] *Μυττωτὸν* was made of cheese, garlick, eggs, and some other ingredients, mixed together.[w]

The poor excavated their bread, and into the hollow put sauce, which they supped. This kind of bread was called *μιστύλλη*,[x] or *μιστύλη*, and hence the verb *μιστυλλᾶσθαι*.[y] The poor of Attica also lived on garlick and onions.[z] The Greeks had many sorts of cakes, as *πυραμοῦς*, a cake made of wheat mixed with honey;[a] *σησαμοῦς*, a cake made of honey and sesame;[b] *ἄμυλος*, a cake made of very white flour;[c] *ἰτρία*, very sweet cakes;[d] *μελιττοῦντα*, a cake of honey and wheat;[e] *οἰνοῦντα*, a cake of wine and wheat,[f] &c.

In the first ages, men abstained entirely from flesh, from an opinion that it was unlawful to eat it, or to pollute the altars of the gods with the blood of living creatures.[g] Of all animals swine were the first that were used for food, being wholly unserviceable for every other purpose.[h] On the contrary, for several ages after flesh was eaten, it was thought unlawful to kill oxen, because they were very serviceable to mankind, and assisted in cultivating the ground. It was also unusual to kill young animals; and hence Priam reproved his sons for feasting on young lambs;[i] the reason of which was either that it appeared cruel to deprive of life those which had scarcely tasted its joys, or that it tended to the destruction of the species: hence at a time when there were only few sheep at Athens, a law was enacted which forbade *ἀπέκτον ἀρνὸς γενέσθαι*, to eat lambs that had never been shorn. The ancients were not anxious to obtain delicacies or rarities, but were content with sheep, goats, swine, oxen (after it became lawful to kill them), animals which they caught in hunting, and what could be most easily provided, and afforded the most healthy nourishment. Hence all the Greeks in Homer are represented as living on a simple diet; and both young and old, kings and private men, were satisfied with the same provision. The courtiers of Penelope, though devoted to all kinds of pleasure, were not entertained with either fish or fowl, or any delicacies; and it has been observed that Homer's heroes neither boiled their meat, nor dressed it with sauces, but only roasted it.[k] In most places, indeed, the ancient manner of dressing meat was to roast it; and some say that in the heroic ages they never ate boiled flesh;[l] but this is denied by others,[m]

[t] Hesych.
[u] Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. v. 682.
[v] Schol. Aristoph. ad Equit. v. 1100. et ad Ran. v. 134.
[w] Id. ib. ad Acharn. v. 173. et ad Equit. v. 768.
[x] Id. ib. ad Plut. v. 627.
[y] Id. ib. et ad Equit. v. 824.
[z] Id. ib. ad Plut. v. 819. et ad Equit. v. 597.
[a] Aristoph. Equit. v. 277. cum Schol.
[b] Id. Thesmoph. v. 577.
[c] Id. Pac. v. 1194.
[d] Id. Acharn. v. 1091.
[e] Id. Nub. v. 507. Lucian. Lexiphan. Poll. vi. 11. seg. 76.
[f] Aristoph. Plut. v. 1122.
[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. vi. Porphyr.
[h] Cic. de Natura Deor. lib. ii.
[i] Athenæus.
[k] Id. lib. i. cap. 10.
[l] Servius in Æn. li b. i.
[m] Athen. i. 19.

who show that, even in the time of Homer, boiled meat was sometimes provided, from Ulysses receiving at an entertainment the foot of an ox, which it is well known is never roasted; and also from the following passage in the Iliad:

> Ὡς δὲ λέβης ζεῖ ἔνδον, ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ πολλῷ,
> Κνίσσῃ μελδόμενος ἁπαλοτρεφέος σιάλοιο.[n]
> As when the flames beneath a cauldron rise,
> To melt the fat of some rich sacrifice. POPE.

This was the manner of living among the ancient Greeks; nor were the Lacedæmonians of later ages less temperate than their ancestors, as long as they observed the laws of Lycurgus. They constantly ate at the συσσίτια, public entertainments, in which the food was extremely simple, and was distributed to each person in a certain proportion. The chief part of the provision was μέλας ζωμὸς, the black broth, which was so unpleasant, that a citizen of Sybaris, who was entertained at Sparta, observed that, "he no longer wondered that the Lacedæmonians should be the most valiant soldiers in the world, when any man in his senses would choose rather to die a thousand times than to live on such vile food."[o] Agesilaus distributed among the slaves certain sweetmeats, which had been presented to him by the Thasians, and observed that the servants of virtue ought not to indulge in such delicacies, it being unworthy of men of free birth to share those pleasures by which slaves are allured. For this reason the cooks of Lacedæmon were ὀψοποιοὶ κρέως μόνου, dressers of flesh only; and they who understood any thing more in the art of cookery were expelled from Sparta, as persons infected with the plague.[p] This custom was not unlike that of the ancient heroes, who kept no cooks, but sometimes dressed their own victuals:

> ——τάμνεν δ' ἄρα δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς,
> Καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίστυλλε, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρε.[q]
> Achilles at the genial feast presides,
> The parts transfixes, and with skill divides. POPE.

Sometimes the κήρυκες, heralds, those servants ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, of both gods and men, as they are called, who were employed not only in civil and military affairs, but also in performing many of the holy rites at sacrifices, served as cooks; and hence the ancient cooks are said by some to have been θυτικῆς ἔμπειροι, skilled in the art of divining by sacrifices, and προΐσταντο γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν, managed marriage feasts and sacrifices.[r]

But in other cities of Greece, and in later ages, the art of cookery was held in greater esteem, though some Greeks still thought it unworthy of the meanest person that was freeborn.[s] The Sicilian cooks were prized above all others;[t] and the Sicilians were so remarkable for their luxurious manner of living, that Σικελικὴ τράπεζα, a Sicilian table, was a proverbial expression for one furnished very profusely.[u]

[n] Hom. Il. φ'. v. 362.
[o] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 6.
[p] Ælian. lib. xiv. cap. 7. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. vii.
[q] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 209.
[r] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 23.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Suidas.

Next to the Lacedæmonian tables, those of Athens are said to have been furnished most frugally, the Athenian soil being unfruitful, and supplying no more provision than was barely necessary for the support of its inhabitants. The entertainments at Athens were so very parsimonious, that Dromeas, an Athenian parasite, being asked whether the suppers at Athens, or those at Chalcis, were more sumptuous, replied, that at Chalcis the *προοίμιον*, first course, was preferable to the whole feast at Athens.[v] Hence to live *'Αττικηρῶς*, like an Athenian, signifies to live penuriously.[w]

The poor were accustomed to feed on grasshoppers,[x] and also on the extremities of leaves.[y] The Greeks were very fond of fish ;[z] and yet no where in the Iliad of Homer, do we find that fish were set before heroes ;[a] but it is certain that in the heroic ages all did not abstain from eating them.[b] In like manner they were lovers of eels dressed with beets; and the eels thus dressed were called *ἐγχέλεις ἐντετευτλανωμέναι*.[c] They also ate *τάριχος*, salt fish, of which the neck and the belly were their favorite parts.[d] Their *δευτέραι τράπεζαι*, second courses,[e] consisted of sweetmeats, apples, almonds, nuts, figs, peaches, &c., which were called *τρωκτὰ*,[f] *τραγήματα*,[g] *ἐπιδορπίσματα*,[h] *πέμματα*,[i] &c.; but it seems doubtful whether these were not sometimes used in the first course.[k] Lastly, they used *ἅλας*, salt, in almost every kind of food.[l]

From the Grecian meat, we proceed next to their drink. In the primitive ages, as has been already observed, the common beverage was water,[m] with which they were supplied from the nearest fountain. Afterwards, hot fountains were in great request, from the example of Hercules, who, being very much fatigued with labor, refreshed himself at a hot fountain, which was fabled to have been discovered to him by Minerva or Vulcan; and this sort of water was thought very beneficial.[n] Hence, Homer relates that one of the fountains of the river Scamander was extremely cold, and the other hot;[o] but it will be difficult to infer from the poet that hot waters were drunk in the heroic ages ;[p] and they seem to have been used only for bathing, unless prescribed by the physicians, as was usually done in the cases of old men, and others with weak stomachs. Certain, however, it is, that, in ages later than the time of Homer, hot water, as a beverage, was in request among the ancient Greeks, from whom the custom of drinking it came to the Romans.[q]

[v] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 3.
[w] Id. ibid. cap. 5.
[x] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 1115. sq. et v. 871.
[y] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 26. Ovid. Fast. iv. v. 393.
[z] Aristoph. Ran. v. 1100. Athen. lib. viii. cap. 14.
[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. iii.
[b] Athen. lib. i. cap. 8. Plut. Sympos.
[c] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 894. Pac. v. 1014. Athen. lib. vii. cap. 13.
[d] Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 966. Athen. lib. iii. cap. 33.
[e] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 31.
[g] Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. v. 190.
[h] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
[i] Id. ex Antiphane lib. xiv. c. 12.
[k] Id. lib. ii. cap. 13.
[l] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 214. Plut. Sympos. vi.
[m] Hom. Il. β'. v. 825. vel Catalog. Nav. v. 332. Pind. Olymp. Od. vi. str. ε'. v. 2. Athen. ii. 4.
[n] Plat. Critia.
[o] Hom. Il. χ'. v. 147.
[p] Poll. lib. ix. cap. 6. Athen. iii. 35.
[q] Plaut. Curcul. Horat. lib. iii. od. 19. Athen. lib. ii. cap. 2.

But the Greeks used cold more frequently than hot water; and in order to drink it extremely cold, they tempered it with ice, which they preserved during the heat of summer by different means, and chiefly by wrapping it in cloth and straw.[r] When Alexander the Great besieged Petra, a city of India, he filled thirty ditches with ice, which being covered with oaken boughs, remained entire for a long time.[s]

The invention of wine was ascribed by the Egyptians to Osiris, by the Latins to Saturn, and by the Greeks to Bacchus, to whom divine honors were paid on that account. It is said that the use of wines was discovered in Ætolia by Orestheus the son of Deucalion, whose grandson Œneus, the father of Ætolus, from whom that part of Greece received its appellation, was so called from *οἰναὶ*, which was the ancient name of vines. Some derive *οἶνος*, the name of wine, from this Œneus, who, as they say, was the first that discovered the art of pressing wine from grapes:

Ἐπώνυμος, ὦ δέσποτ', οἶνος Οἰνέως.[t]

Some are of opinion that the vine was first discovered in Olympia, near the river Alpheus. Some report that it was first known at Plinthion, a town of Egypt; and hence the Egyptians are thought to have derived their immoderate love and use of this liquor, which they considered so necessary to the human frame, that they invented a sort of wine made of barley for the poor, who could not afford to purchase that which was pressed from grapes.[u] The Athenians pretended that in the reign of Pandion the First, fifth king of Athens, they communicated to all Greece the art of making wine.[v] Others ascribe that honor to one Eumolpus, who was a native of Thrace, and migrating from that country settled in Attica.[w]

Certain, however, it is, that to the use of water succeeded that of wine; and in Homer, bread and wine are every where found mentioned together.[x] In Greece, not only the men, but also matrons and virgins drank wine;[y] and because the same freedom was seldom allowed to females in other countries, the Grecian women were less esteemed on that account.[z] It was also customary to give it to children, unless the management of Achilles was different from that of other infants.[a] The wine was generally mixed with water; and hence drinking cups were called *κρατῆρες*, *παρὰ τὸ κεράσασθαι*, from the mixture made in them.[b] To this derivation of the word there are allusions in Homer; for the custom of drinking wine tempered with water obtained in the time of the Trojan war and the most early ages:

Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ.[c]
Then they in cups with water mix their wine.

[r] Plut. Sympos. lib. vi.
[s] Athen. lib. iii. cap. 36.
[t] Id. initio lib. ii.
[u] Id. sub finem lib. i.
[v] Apollod. lib. iii. Hygin. fab. 130. Pausan. lib. i. cap. 2.
[w] Plin. lib. vii. seg. 57. Strab. lib. vii.
[x] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 702. τ'. v. 161. aliisq. loc.
[y] Hom. Odys. ζ'. v. 77.
[z] Athen. lib. x.
[a] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 484. sq.
[b] Athen. v. 4. Eustath. ad Il. β'.
[c] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 110.

Some ascribe the first use of mixing wine with water to Melampus;[d] and some to Staphylus, the son of Silenus. Others relate that Amphictyon, king of Athens, learned to mix wine with water from Bacchus himself, on which account he dedicated an altar to that god under the name of Ὄρθιος, because from that time men began to return from entertainments sober and ὀρθοὶ, upright.[e] The same king enacted a law, that only wine mixed with water should be drunk at entertainments; and this law having fallen into disuse was revived by Solon.[f] No certain proportion was observed in this mixture: some to one vessel of wine poured two of water; some with two of wine mixed five of water; and others more or less, as they pleased.[g] The Lacedæmonians εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐῶσι τὸν οἶνον, ἕως ἂν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀφεψηθῇ, καὶ μετὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη χρῶνται, used to boil their wine on the fire till the fifth part was consumed, and after the expiration of four years began to drink it.[h]

Yet most of the Greeks, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, were sometimes wont ἀκρατέστερον πίνειν, to drink wine with little or no water, which they termed ἐπισκυθίσαι, to act like a Scythian, for the Scythians were very much addicted to drunkenness, and used wine without water: hence ἀκρατοπιεῖν is commonly termed σκυθιστὶ πιεῖν, or σκυθοπιεῖν; and ἀκρατοποσία is called σκυθικὴ πόσις; and these expressions came into use at Sparta, from the time that Cleomenes the Spartan, by living and conversing with the Scythians, learned to drink to excess.[i] The Thracians also drank their wine unmixed with water; and both they and the Scythians were in general such lovers of it, that the women and all the men thought it a most happy life to drink plenty of unmixed wine, and to pour it on their garments.[k] Hence also by Θρακία πρόποσις, the Thracian manner of drinking, was meant ἀκρατοποσία, drinking wine not mixed with water.[l]

The Greeks kept their wine either in κεράμοις, earthen vessels,[m] in ἀσκοῖς, bottles or skins,[n] or in casks.[o] Old wine was in the greatest repute.[p] The most famous wines of the Greeks were the οἶνος Πράμνειος, Θάσιος, Λέσβιος, Χῖος, Κρῆς, Κῶος, and Ῥόδιος;[q] but the οἶνος Μαρεώτης is most commended in Homer.[r] The wines of Zacynthus and of Leucas were thought unwholesome, on account of the plaster that was mixed with them.[s] The wine of Corinth was disliked, because it was harsh;[t] and that of Icaria, because in addition to that fault, it was also heady.[u] The old wine of Corcyra was reckoned extremely pleasant;[v] and the white wine of Mende, remarkable for its

[d] Athen. vi. 2.
[e] Plin. vii. 56.
[f] Athen. lib. ii. cap. 2.
[g] Id. lib. x. cap. 8.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 7.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Id. ibid. sub finem cap. 9.
[l] Pollux lib. vi. cap. 3.
[m] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 465. Eustath. ad Il. ε'. v. 387. Poll. lib. vii. cap. 33. seg. 161.
[n] Hom. Il. γ'. v. 247. Odys. ξ'. v. 78.
[o] Id. Odys. β'. v. 340.
[p] Id. ibid. v. 340. γ'. v. 391. Pind. Olymp. Od. ix. antistr. β'. v. 15. 16. Athen. lib. i. cap. 19.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 31.
[r] Hom. Odys. ι'. v. 194. Athen. i. 20. Plin. xiv. 4.
[s] Athen. i. 25. Eustath. ad Odys. η'.
[t] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. i.
[u] Id. ibid.
[v] Id. ibid.

delicacy.[w] Archilochus compared that of Naxos to nectar;[x] others compared the wine of Thasos to that divine liquor,[y] and preferred it to every kind of wine except that of Chios, when of the first quality, for there were three sorts of it.[z]

It was the custom of some to perfume their wine, which was then termed *οἶνος μυῤῥινίτης*,[a] and sometimes *μυῤῥίνης*, which signifies a potion mixed with odours.[b] Different from this was the murrhina of the Romans, and also the *ἐσμυρνισμένος οἶνος*, wine mingled with myrrh,[c] with which malefactors were commonly intoxicated before they suffered. Several other ingredients were mixed with wine, as *ἀλφίτα*, meal; hence *οἶνος ἀπηλφιτωμένος*, wine thickened with meal, which was very much used by the Persians.[d] So fond, indeed, were the Greeks of sweet and odoriferous wines, that almost every where origanum,[e] aromatics, fruits, and flowers, were infused in them. On opening one of the casks, the odour of violets and roses instantly exhaled, and filled the cellar.[f] Care, however, was taken that one sense was not too much gratified at the expense of another. The wine of Byblos, in Phœnicia, surprised at first by the strength of the perfumes with which it was impregnated; but it was held greatly inferior to that of Lesbos, which, though less highly scented, was infinitely more grateful to the palate.[g] To produce an agreeable and wholesome beverage, they mixed fragrant and rich wines with those of an opposite quality. Such was the mixture of the wine of Erythræa with that of Heraclea.[h] Sea-water mixed with wine was said to aid digestion, and prevent the wine from flying into the head; but it was not to be too predominant as in the Rhodian wines,—a fault that was avoided in those of Cos.[i] The Greeks had also many kinds of made wine, as *οἶνος κριθίνος*, wine made of barley, and *οἶνος ἐψητὸς*, palm-wine, which was sometimes termed *ὄξος ἐψητὸν*, for *ὄξος* was a general name for all made wine.

In the primitive ages, the Greeks drank from the horns of oxen.[k] Afterwards they used cups of earth,[l] wood,[m] glass,[n] brass,[o] gold,[p] and silver.[q] The principal names of the cups were *φιάλη*, *ποτήριον*, *κύλιξ*, *δέπας*, *κύπελλον*, *ἀμφικύπελλον*, *σκύφος*, *κυμβίον*, *κισσύβιον*, *γαστὴρ*, *κώθων*, *δεῖνος* and *δεινιὰς*, *θηρίκλειος*, *βαυκάλιον*,[r] &c., of which some received the name from their form, some from the materials of which they were made, and others from different circumstances. The *βαυκάλιον* was a vessel with a narrow mouth, which, when any thing was poured into it, produced a sound that seemed *βαύζειν*, to resemble the barking of a dog.[s]

[w] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. i.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Aristoph. Plut. v. 1022. Schol. ibid. Id. Lysistr. v. 196. Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 7.
[z] Athen. lib. i.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 31.
[b] Hesych.
[c] Marc. xv. 23.
[d] Athen. lib. x. cap. 9.
[e] Aristot. Problem. seg. 20.
[f] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. i.
[g] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. i.
[h] Theophr. ap. Athen.
[i] Athen. lib. i.
[k] Id. lib. xi. cap. 7. Eustath. ad Il. ν'.
[l] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 3.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 6.
[n] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 73.
[o] Pollux x. 26. seg. 122.
[p] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 3.
[q] Id. ibid.
[r] Id. xi.
[s] Poll. lib. vi. cap. 16. seg. 95. sqq.

To drink to excess was reckoned disgraceful by the Greeks;[t] but when they wished to indulge themselves, they had larger goblets than those which they commonly used.[u] At the entertainments of the Spartans, each person emptied his own cup, which was immediately filled by the slave that waited at table.[v] The Spartans drank as oft as they had occasion,[w] which was a permission that was seldom abused.[x] The disgusting sight of a slave who was made drunk, and brought before them when children, inspired them with a rooted aversion to drunkenness.[y] Besides wine, they frequently assuaged their thirst with whey.[z]

To the pleasures of the table the Greeks added singing, dancing, and conversation.[a] On these occasions, the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton was frequently sung by the company.[b]

CHAP. XX.

Customs before Entertainments.

The person by whom the entertainment was provided was commonly named ὁ ἑστιάτωρ, ἑστιῶν, ξενίζων, τῆς συνουσίας ἡγεμὼν, συμποσίου ἄρχων, συμποσίαρχος, and by the tragedians, οἰκοδέμων, &c. The persons entertained by him were called δαιτυμόνες, δαιταλεῖς, συμπόται, σύνδειπνοι, &c., and very often κλητοὶ, σύγκλητοι, ἐπίκλητοι, in which names is expressed the immediate cause of their meeting, which was κλῆσις, an invitation by the entertainer.

The persons employed to invite the guests were called by the Greeks κλήτορες, or δειπνοκλήτορες. The same were also, though not so frequently, denominated ἑλεατροὶ, and ἐλειατροὶ, from ἑλεὸς, the name of the table on which the provision was placed in the kitchen.[c] Sometimes, to invite was termed καταγράφειν, to write down, from the custom of inscribing on a tablet the names of the persons to be invited. The hour was signified at the invitation; and because they then numbered the hours by the motion of the sun, frequent mention is made on these occasions of σκιὰ, the shadow of the sun, and of στοιχεῖον, the letter of the dial:[d]

——σοὶ δὲ μελήσει,
Ὅταν ἡ δεκάπουν στοιχεῖον λιπαρῶς χωρεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.[e]
When the gnomon's shade shall be ten feet long,
You will be careful to attend the feast.

Relations often went uninvited:[f]

[t] Athen. lib. x. cap. 6.
[u] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 202. sq. Cic. in Verr. lib. i., Alex. ap. Athen. x. 8.
[v] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. x. xi. cap. 3.
[w] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.
[x] Plat. de Legg. lib. i.
[y] Plut. Inst. Lacon. Athen. lib. x.
[z] Hesych. in Κιββός.
[a] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 152. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. v. 1377. et Vesp. v. 1217. Plut. Inst. Lacon.
[b] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 15.
[c] Id. lib. iv. cap. 21.
[d] Suid. Hesych.
[e] Aristoph. Concionatr. et Schol.
[f] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 26.

Αὐτόματος δέ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.[g]
Of his own accord came Menelaus
Bold in war.

They who, without invitation, were brought to the entertainment by some of those invited, were termed σκιαὶ, shades, from their following the principal guests, as shades do bodies.[h] The same persons were called umbræ by the Romans.[i]

They who intruded themselves into other men's entertainments were called μυῖαι, flies, which was a general name of reproach applied to such as insinuated themselves into any company in which they were not welcome:

Δειπνεῖν ἄκλητος, μυῖα.
Uncalled to the feast, he comes a fly.

In Plautus,[k] an entertainment free from unwelcome guests is called an entertainment without flies. In Egypt a fly was the hieroglyphic of an impudent man, because that insect, though driven away, still returns.[l] The same persons, who were termed μυῖαι at entertainments, were also denominated Μυκόνιοι, Myconians, from the poverty of that nation, which induced them to frequent other men's tables oftener than was consistent with good manners.[m] However, the most common appellation of such men was that of παράσιτοι, parasites, which word, in its primitive sense, signified only the companions of princes and men of quality, or those who had their diet at the tables of the gods; but it afterwards became a name of reproach for those who, by flattery and other mean arts, were accustomed to insinuate themselves to the tables of other men.[n] Yet, it was common for friends and persons of distinction to visit at the houses of each other, at the times of entertainment, without waiting for a formal invitation:[o]

Ἄκλητοι κωμάζουσιν εἰς φίλους φίλοι.[p]
Friends uninvited come to eat with friends.

The number of guests was not limited; and some invited three or four, or five at the most;[q] but among the ancients, it was not usual for more than five to sup together.[r] Afterwards, however, the number was indefinite. In the συσσίτια, common meals, not more than ten were admitted, which some think was the ordinary number of guests at entertainments in the primitive times;[s] and hence when Homer speaks of distributing the Grecian army at an entertainment, he mentions only δεκάδες, tens.[t] This, however, is to be understood only of the entertainments of private persons; for princes often invited greater numbers; and Alexander of Macedon, before his expedition against Persia, is said to have furnished a tent with one hundred beds at an entertainment.[u] The same vanity gradually insinuated itself among private men; and, as has been already observed, ψαμ-

[g] Hom. Il. β'. v. 408.
[h] Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. qu. 6.
[i] Horat. lib. ii. sat. viii. v. 22.
[k] Pœnul. act. iii. sc. 3. v. 26.
[l] Hor. Apoll. Hieroglyphic.
[m] Athen. lib. i. cap. 7.
[n] Id. lib. vi. c. 7. Poll. lib. vi. cap. 7.
[o] Plat. Symposio.
[p] Eustath. in Il. β'.
[q] Athen. lib. i. cap. 4.
[r] Id. lib. xv. cap. 3.
[s] Eustath. in Il. β'.
[t] Hom. Il. β'. v. 126. sq.
[u] Diod. Sicul.

μακόσιοι, infinite numbers were invited.[v] Hence, in order partly to prevent tumult and sedition, and partly to restrain the expensiveness and prodigality of the people, some lawgivers thought it necessary to limit the number of guests; at Athens, in particular, no person was allowed to entertain more than thirty at once. For the purpose of enforcing this law, certain magistrates, called γυναικονόμοι, were obliged to attend at entertainments, and to expel from them such as exceeded that number; and the cooks, who were commonly employed to dress victuals at entertainments, were compelled to give in their names every time they were hired.[w]

It must be also observed concerning the guests, that men and women were never invited together.[x] In Greece, the mistress of a family never appeared at an entertainment except when relations only were invited; but she constantly lived in the innermost part of the house, called γυναικωνίτις, the women's apartment, into which no man, unless a near relation, had admission.[y]

Before the Greeks went to an entertainment, they washed and anointed themselves; for it was thought very indecent to go thither defiled with sweat and dust.[z] They who came off a journey were washed and clothed with suitable apparel in the house of the entertainer, before they were admitted to the feast:

> Ἐς β' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐϋξέστας λούσαντο·
> Τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμωαὶ λοῦσαν, καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίῳ,
> Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας οὔλας βάλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνας,
> Ἐς ῥα θρόνους ἕζοντο παρ' Ἀτρεΐδην Μενέλαον.[a]
>
> From room to room their eager view they bend;
> Thence to the bath, a beauteous pile, descend;
> Where a bright damsel-train attend the guests
> With liquid odors, and embroider'd vests.
> Refresh'd, they wait them to the bow'r of state,
> Where circled with his peers Atrides sate. Pope.

The same persons also washed their hands before they sat down to meat.[b] It was also customary to wash between every course, and after supper. Hence Homer introduces his heroes δειπνοῦντας, ὁμιλοῦντας, εἶτα ἀπονιψαμένους πάλιν δειπνοῦντας, supping, conversing, then washing, and after that, again supping; and Aristophanes[c] speaks of bringing ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρος μετὰ τραπέζας, water to wash the hands after the courses. By those who spoke accurately, to wash the hands before supper was termed νίψασθαι, and to wash after supper ἀπονίψασθαι. Hither may be referred the words ἀπομάξασθαι, ἐναπομάξασθαι, ἀποψῆσαι, &c., which signify to wipe the hands. The towel was termed ἐκμαγεῖον, χειρόμακτρον, &c., instead of which the ancient Greeks used ἀπομαγδαλίαι, which were the soft and fine parts of the bread that were afterwards cast to the dogs; and hence ἀπομαγδαλία is called by the Lacedæmonians κύνες.[d] It is also to be observed that, in washing after supper, they used some sort of σμῆγμα, ἀπορύψεως χά-

[v] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 3.
[w] Id. lib. vi. cap. 11.
[x] Cic. Orat. iii. in Verrem.
[y] Cornel. Nep. Præfat. in Vit. Imper.
[z] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 27.
[a] Hom. Odys. δ'. v. 48.
[b] Id. ibid. sq.
[c] Aristoph. Vesp.
[d] Homer.

ριν, stuff for scouring the hands.[e] Lastly, after washing, the hands were perfumed with odours.[f]

It may not be improper in this place to add something more, by way of digression, concerning the custom of washing and anointing, which was so frequent in Greece. To wash is ἀποθετικὸν μὲν ῥύπου, ἀναψυχῆς δέ τινος αἴτιον, a means both of cleansing and refreshing the body.[g] Whenever, therefore, they ceased from sorrow and mourning, it was usual to bathe and anoint themselves; and hence Penelope, in ceasing to lament, is advised

Χρῶτ' ἀπονιψαμένη, καὶ ἐπιχρίσασα παρειάς.[h]
To wash her body, and anoint her face.

The ancient Greeks commonly bathed ἢ πόλεμον καταστρεψάμενοι, ἢ μεγάλου παυσάμενοι πόνου, after they returned from war, or ceased from any great fatigue.[i] In the heroic ages, men and women, without distinction, bathed themselves in rivers.[k] If, however, the sea was within a convenient distance, they commonly bathed in it rather than in rivers, the salt water being thought μάλιστα τοῖς νεύροις πρόσφορος, conducive in strengthening the nerves by drying up superfluous humors:

——ἱδρῷ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσσῃ
Ἐσβάντες.[l]
To cleanse from sweat, into the sea they went.

They who lived at a greater distance from the sea, sometimes removed thither for the sake of their health.[m]

Hot baths were also very ancient. Ἡράκλεια λουτρὰ, the hot baths shown to Hercules by Vulcan, or, as others say, by Minerva, at a time when he had undergone great fatigue, are celebrated by the poets. Pindar[n] speaks of θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ, the hot baths of the nymphs. Homer[o] commends one of the fountains of the Scamander for its hot water. Andromache provided a hot bath for Hector against his return from the battle.[p] Nestor ordered Hecamede to prepare a hot bath.[q] The Phæacians are said to have placed their chief delight in changes of apparel, hot baths, and couches.[r] Hot baths, however, do not appear to have been so much used in ancient as in latter ages.[s] In the primitive times, instead of baths, they washed in certain vessels called ἀσάμινθοι, which signifies πύελον or λεχάνην, a large basin or vessel to wash in, being derived παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἄσην μινύθειν, from taking away the filth of the body;[t] and hence ἀσάμινθος is mentioned among the vessels that belonged to baths.[u] Public baths were unknown till later times; and anciently no such places were al-

[e] Athen. lib. x. cap. ult.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Eustath.
[h] Hom. Odys. σ'. v. 170.
[i] Artemidor. lib. i. cap. 66.
[k] Hom. Odys. ζ'. Mosch. Idyll. β'. v. 31. Theocrit. Idyll. ιη'. v. 22.
[l] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 572. Athen. lib. i. cap. 19.
[m] Minut. Felix.
[n] Pind. Olymp. Od. xii.
[o] Hom. Il. χ'.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Id. ibid. λ'.
[r] Id. Odys.
[s] Artemidor. lib. i. cap. 66.
[t] Phavorin. in v. ἀσάμινθος et v. βαλανεῖον.
[u] Pollux.

lowed within the city.[v] The baths commonly contained the following rooms:—1. *ἀποδυτήριον*, in which *ἀπεδύοντο τὰ ἱμάτια*, they put off their clothes; 2. *ὑπόκαυστον*, or *πυριατήριον*, the sweating room, which was most commonly of a circular form, and provided with *πῦρ ἄκαπνον*, fire that did not smoke, for the benefit of those who wished to sweat, and which was also termed Laconicum, from the frequent use of this manner of sweating in Laconia; 3. *βαπτιστήριον*, a hot bath; 4. *λουτρὸν*, a cold bath; and 5. *ἀλειπτήριον*, the room in which they were anointed.

After bathing they always anointed, either to close the pores of the body, which was especially necessary after the use of hot baths, or lest the skin should become rough after the water was dried off it.[w] It is said that in the Trojan war they had no better ointment than oil perfumed with odoriferous herbs, especially with roses;[x] and hence mention is made of *ῥοδόεν ἔλαιον*, oil mixed with roses:

> ——*ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ*
> *Ἀμβροσίῳ.*[y]
> With rosy oil his body she anoints.

To the same ointments are also applied by the poet the epithets *ἀμβρόσιον*, *ἑδανὸν*, and *τεθυωμένον*:

> *Ἀμβροσίῃ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς ἱμερόεντος*
> *Λύματα πάντα κάθηρεν, ἀλείψατο δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ,*
> *Ἀμβροσίῳ, ἑδανῷ, τὸ ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν.*[z]
> ——First, she laved all o'er
> Her beauteous body with ambrosial lymph,
> Then polish'd it with richest oil divine
> Of boundless fragrance. Cowper.

Some are of opinion that Homer was acquainted with the use of more precious ointments, but that he calls them oil, with the addition of an epithet, to distinguish them from common oil.[a] It appears, however, that the ancient heroes never used *μῦρα*, costly ointments; and Homer never introduces any of his heroes anointed with any ointment besides oil except Paris, a soft and effeminate person. In succeeding ages, when much of the primitive simplicity was laid aside, many still thought it indecent for men to anoint themselves with precious ointments. Solon prohibited men from selling ointments; and the laws of Sparta forbade any person to sell them. Yet women, and some effeminate men, were so curious in their choice of ointments, that they could tell with great nicety what sort suited best with each part of the body.[b] Lastly, the feet being most exposed to dust were oftener washed and anointed than other parts of the body; on which account some think that they are called *λιπαροὶ πόδες*.[c] Women were generally employed to wash and anoint the feet, both in the heroic and later ages; and it was customary for them to kiss the feet of those to whom they thought a more than common respect was due.[d]

[v] Athen. lib. i. cap. 14.
[w] Eustath. in Il. *κ'*.
[x] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 1.
[y] Hom. Il. *ψ'* v. 186.
[z] Id. ib. *ξ'*. v. 170.
[a] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 11.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 10.
[c] Homer.
[d] Aristoph. Vesp.

Thus the woman in the gospel kissed the feet of our blessed Saviour, whilst she anointed them.

From this digression we return to the entertainment. The first ceremony after the guests arrived at the house of entertainment was the salutation, which was performed by the master of the house, or by one appointed in his place, and which was termed by the general name of ἀσπάζεσθαι, though this word, in its strict sense, signifies to embrace a person with arms around him, being derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν σπᾶσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἕτερον, from forcibly drawing another to one's self.[e] The most common salutation, however, was by the conjunction of their right hands, the right hand being accounted a pledge of fidelity and friendship. This ceremony was very ancient.[f]

Hence δεξιοῦσθαι is sometimes joined with ἀσπάζεσθαι, with which it is nearly synonymous:

———αὐτὸν ἠσπάζοντο καὶ
Ἑδεξιοῦνθ' ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.[g]
For joy they all well pleased saluted him,
And join'd their right hands to his.

Sometimes it is used figuratively for any sort of entertainment or reception; as δεξιοῦσθαι δαιτὶ, δεξιοῦσθαι τραπέζῃ, δεξιοῦσθαι δώροις, δεξιοῦσθαι χρηστοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, &c.

Sometimes they kissed the lips, hands, knees, or feet, in salutations, according as the person deserved more or less respect. There was a particular sort of kiss, which was called χύτρον,[h] and χύτρα,[i] the pot, when they took the person, like a pot, by both his ears; and this was practised chiefly by and towards children,[k] though it appears to have been sometimes used by men and women.[l]

The guests being admitted did not immediately sit down at the table, which was accounted ill-breeding, but spent some time in viewing and commending the room and furniture.[m]

CHAP. XXI.

The Ceremonies at Entertainments.

THE ancient Greeks sat at meat.[n] Homer mentions three different sorts of seats:

1. Δίφρος, which contained two persons, as the name imports, and was commonly placed for those of the meanest rank.

2. Θρόνος, on which they sat upright, having under their feet a footstool, termed θρῆνυς.

3. Κλισμὸς, on which they sat leaning a little backwards, as the word imports.[o]

[e] Schol. Aristoph. Pluto.
[f] Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 35.
[g] Aristoph. Pluto.
[h] Suidas.
[i] Pollux.
[k] Eunic. in Antia, apud Poll. Tibull. lib. ii.
[l] Theocrit. Idyll. ε'. v. 132.
[m] Aristoph. Vesp. Athen. l. iv. c. 27.
[n] Hom. Il. κ'. v. 578. ω'. v. 315. Athen. lib. i. cap. 10.
[o] Id. lib. v. cap. 4.

Afterwards, when men began to be effeminate, they exchanged their seats for beds called κλίναι, that they might drink at more ease;[p] but they who drank sitting were still worthy of praise; and some who accustomed themselves to the primitive mode of living, retained the ancient posture.[q] In Macedonia, no man was allowed to sit at meals till he had killed a boar without the help of nets.[r] Alexander the Great sometimes observed the ancient custom, and, on one occasion, entertained four hundred commanders, whom he placed on seats of silver covered with purple cloth.[s] In the most luxurious and effeminate ages, children were sometimes not permitted to lie down, but had seats at the bottom of the beds.[t] The same place was usually assigned to men of mean condition, when entertained by persons of rank.[u]

The manner of lying at meat was as follows:—the table was placed in the middle, round which stood the beds or couches covered with cloth or tapestry, according to the rank of the master of the house. The coverings of the beds were called στρώματα.[v] Upon these beds they lay, inclining the superior part of their bodies on their left arms, the lower part being stretched out at length, or a little bent; their heads were raised up with pillows called προσκεφάλαια;[w] and their backs also sometimes supported with the same. If several persons reclined on the same bed, the first lay on the uppermost part, with his legs stretched out behind the second person's back; the head of the second person lay below the bosom of the former, his feet being placed behind the third person's back; and in like manner the rest. At Rome it was accounted mean to place more than three or four persons upon one bed; but the Greeks crowded five, and often a greater number, into the same bed.[x] Persons beloved commonly lay in the bosoms of those who loved them;[y] thus the beloved disciple in the gospel lay in the bosom of our blessed Saviour at the celebration of the passover.[z] At the beginning of the entertainment, it was customary to lie flat on their stomachs, that their right hand might more easily reach the table; but afterwards, when their appetites decreased, they reclined on their sides.[a] Among the more opulent, the feet of some of the beds were made of ivory,[b] and some of silver and gold.[c]

It was customary, in the heroic and all succeeding ages, to arrange the guests according to their rank. It is evident that, in Homer, the chief persons had the uppermost seats at entertainments.[d] Afterwards, at public entertainments, there was ὀνομακλήτωρ, a nomenclator, who was a person appointed to call every guest by name to his proper place. It is, however, more difficult to determine in what order they sat, and which were accounted the chief places. It seems

[p] Athen. l. i. c. 14. Poll. vi. 1. seg. 9.
[q] Plaut. Stich. act. v. sc. 4. v. 22.
[r] Athen. lib. i. cap. 14.
[s] Id. ib.
[t] Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. Sueton. Augusti cap. 64.
[u] Plut. Sympos.
[v] Athen. lib. ii. cap. 9.
[w] Id. ib. cap. 8.
[x] Cic. in Pisonem.
[y] Juvenal. Sat. ii. v. 120.
[z] Joann. Evangel.
[a] Plut. Sympos. lib. v. quæst. 6.
[b] Athen. lib. ii. cap. 9.
[c] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 7.
[d] Eustath. in Il. ζ'. v. 498.

probable that the heroes sat in long ranks, and that the chief persons were placed at the head of each rank, on both sides of the table, which is the meaning of the word ἄκροι, uppermost.[e] Thus Achilles, entertaining the ambassadors of Agamemnon, places himself uppermost in one rank, and Ulysses, as the principal ambassador, in the other:

——— ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
Αὐτὰρ δ' ἀντίον ἷζεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο
Τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέροιο.[f]

——— Achilles served the guests:
Beside the tent-wall, opposite he sat
To the divine Ulysses. COWPER.

Neptune, though entering the last at an entertainment of the gods, ἕζετ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι, sat in the middle, that place being reserved as a right belonging to him. Jupiter was at the head of one rank; next to him, on the same side, sat his daughter Minerva, who, on a certain time, gave place to Thetis, probably from her being a stranger.[g] Juno sat at the head of the opposite rank, and being the wife and sister of Jupiter, she gave place neither to Thetis nor any other.[h] The most honorable places in beds at entertainments were not the same in all nations. In Persia, the middle place was the chief, and was always assigned to the king, or to the chief guest; in Greece, the first or nearest to the table; and among the Heracleotæ, and the Greeks who inhabited the shores of the Euxine sea, the first place of the middle bed was the most honorable. At Rome, on the contrary, the last or uppermost place of the middle was preferred to any other.[i] Some disposed their guests in such order as seemed best adapted to promote harmony and good humor, placing men of the same years, of the same profession or disposition, next to each other; but in matters of this nature no general rule was adopted, every man acting according to his own fancy.[k] It is said to have been a very ancient custom at Lacedæmon for the eldest person present to go before the rest to the beds or couches at the common-hall, unless the king gave the precedence to another by calling him first.[l]

The table was accounted a very sacred thing, by means of which honor was paid to the god of friendship and hospitality. This god was Jupiter, who, from his protection of guests and friends, received the titles of Ξένιος and Φίλιος. Honor was also paid to Hercules, who was hence denominated Τραπέζιος, and Ἐπιτραπέζιος. Nor were the other gods thought to be wholly unconcerned; for it was customary to place their statues upon the tables, and to offer libations to the gods.[m] Hence we may learn why so much veneration was paid to the tables, that to dishonor them by any indecent or irreverent behaviour was thought a very great crime.[n]

In the heroic ages, the tables were made of wood, and polished with art; and the feet were sometimes painted with various colors,

[e] Eustath. in Il. ζ'. v. 498.
[f] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 217.
[g] Id. ib. α'. v. 100.
[h] Plut. Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.
[i] Id. lib. cit. quæst. 3.
[k] Id. Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.
[l] Eustath. in Il. β'.
[m] Plut. Conviv. Sept. Sap.
[n] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 136.

whence the epithets ξεστὴ, εὔξοος, κυανόπεζα, &c. are applied to them.[o] Some say that the form of them was circular, in imitation of the world, which the Greeks believed to be spherical;[p] but others, with greater probability, suppose them to have been extended in length.[q] In those times the tables were not covered with linen, but only carefully cleaned with wet sponges:[r]

Οἱ δ' αὖτε σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοισι τραπέζας,
Νίζον καὶ προτίθεντο, ἴδὲ κρέα πολλὰ δατεῦντο.[s]

——— With bibulous sponges those
Made clean the tables, set the banquet on,
And portion'd out to each his plenteous share. Cowper.

In later ages, the tables of men of inferior condition were commonly supported by three feet, and made of plain and ordinary wood; but those which belonged to men of higher rank were formed of more costly materials. The most curious kinds of wood were sought after for this purpose. They were also adorned with plates of silver, or other metals, and supported by one or more feet curiously wrought, and called, after the name of some ancient hero, Atlantes, Telamones, &c. The most common support of these tables was an ivory foot, cast in the form of a lion, a leopard, or some other animal. Some have thought that in Homer every guest had a separate table, and that the ancient Greeks used to eat by themselves;[t] but this seems to want confirmation, and was certainly accounted unsociable in later ages.[u]

Τράπεζα is an ambiguous word, and signifies not only the table, but also the meat placed upon it.[v] Hence by πρῶται, δεύτεραι, τρίται τράπεζαι, are understood the first, second, and third courses of meat; and this ambiguity of signification is thought by some to have been occasioned by the custom which then prevailed, of bringing and taking away the tables and the meat upon them together.[w] There were, therefore, three distinct parts of the supper, which was the chief meal.

1. Δείπνου προοίμιον, sometimes termed πρόπομα, was, as the name imports, a preparation for supper, rather than any part of it; and it consisted of bitter herbs, and in particular, at Athens, of coleworts, eggs, oysters, οἰνόμελι, a mixture of honey and probably of the sharpest wines, and of other things which were thought to create an appetite.

2. Δεῖπνον was the supper, which was sometimes called κεφαλὴ δείπνου. This course was always more plentifully furnished than the former.[x]

3. Δεύτερα τράπεζα was the second course, which consisted of sweetmeats of all kinds, called τραγήματα, τραγηματισμὸς, ματτύαι, τρωγάλια, ἐπιδόρπισμα, ἐπιδορπίσματα, ἐπιφορήματα, ἐπίδειπνα, μεταδόρ-

[o] Homer.
[p] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 12.
[q] Eustath. in Hom. Odys. α'. v. 138.
[r] Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 26. Martial. Hom. Odys. υ'. v. 150.
[s] Id. ib. α'. v. 112.
[t] Athen. lib. i. cap. 8.
[u] Id. ib. cap. 8 et 10.
[v] Poll. lib. vi. cap. 12.
[w] Athen. lib. ix. cap. 2.
[x] Id. lib. iv. cap. 4.

πια, &c.; and by the Dorians, who called entertainments αἶκλα and συναίκλεια, they were termed ἑταίκλεια.[y] This course was furnished with the greatest splendor and profusion, especially in ages addicted to luxury; and hence, by way of eminence, it was sometimes called τράπεζα, the course;[z] but in provisions of this kind, the Greeks were greatly excelled by the Persians.[a]

Sometimes these three provisions were termed πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη τράπεζα, the first, second, and third course; the προοίμιον δείπνου being reckoned a part of the supper, and constituting the first course. When there was a great variety of dishes, a paper was usually delivered to the master of the feast, containing an account of the different dishes which the cook had provided; and this was communicated by him to the guests, as occasion required, that every one might choose what he pleased. It must not, however, be imagined that the Grecian suppers always consisted of such a variety of dishes or courses. On the contrary, the Greeks were contented with mean provision for their ordinary diet; and in the heroic ages they had seldom more than one course; but on the festivals of the gods, or on other special occasions, they allowed themselves greater freedom.[b]

The Greeks were so convinced of the superintendence of the gods, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered to them a part of their provision as a sort of first-fruits; and this custom was religiously observed in the heroic,[c] as well as in succeeding ages:[d]

—— Θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνάγει
Πάτροκλον δν ἑταῖρον, ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.[e]
The first fat off'rings to the Immortals due,
Amidst the greedy flames Patroclus threw. POPE.

The neglect of this duty was accounted an act of great impiety, of which only those who did not worship the gods would be guilty.[f] The first of these oblations was always made to Vesta, the chief of the houshold gods; afterwards they worshipped some of the other gods; and lastly, they offered a libation to Vesta.[g] The reason of paying this honor to this goddess was, either because she was the protectress of the house, and the keeper of things most concealed from public view;[h] or because being the same as the earth in the opinion of the people, she was the common principle from which all things are produced, and into which they are again resolved;[i] or lastly, this privilege was conferred by Jupiter for the services rendered by Vesta in his war with the giants:[k] hence originated the proverb, which was commonly used, ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι, to begin with Vesta,[l] by which was intimated that our domestic concerns ought to be our first and principal care.

During the entertainment, all the guests were apparelled in white,

[y] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 8.
[z] Id. lib. xiv. cap. 11.
[a] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 133. Athen. lib. iv. cap. 10.
[b] Id. lib. xv. cap. 10.
[c] Hom. Odys. ι'. v. 231.
[d] Plato; Xenophon.
[e] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 219.
[f] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 27.
[g] Hom. Hymn. in Vest. et Mercur.
[h] Cic. de Natura Deor. lib. ii.
[i] Phurnut.
[k] Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp.
[l] Plat. Euthyphron.

or some gay color, black being used only in times of mourning.[m] It was also customary to deck themselves with flowers, or with garlands composed of flowers, which were provided by the master of the house, and brought in before the second course, or, as some think, at the beginning of the entertainment.[n] They adorned not only their heads, necks, and breasts, but often bestrewed the couches on which they lay, and all parts of the room. The head, however, was chiefly regarded.[o]

Garlands are thought by some to have been an invention of Prometheus, who first prescribed the use of them, that men, by that emblem of his bonds, should commemorate the punishment which he had suffered for their sake.[p] Some say that Janus invented garlands, ships, boats, and the art of coining money; and hence in several cities of Greece, and also of Italy and Sicily, it was usual for the coin to bear on one side the image of two-faced Janus, and on the other a boat, a ship, or a garland.[q] Others think that the first garlands were used by Bacchus, and composed of ivy.[r] In later ages they commonly employed ivy and amethyst as preservatives against drunkenness; and hence amethyst derives its name from the privative particle ἀ and μέθη.[s] Some affirm that the most ancient garlands were made of wool:

Στέψον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέῳ οἴδς ἀώτῳ.[t]
Crown the cup with garlands of purple wool.

It is not certain whether garlands were commonly used at the time of the Trojan war; but as they are not employed by any of Homer's heroes, though sometimes alluded to by the poet, it seems probable that garlands were unknown in the heroic ages, but introduced before the time of Homer.[u]

The flowers and herbs of which garlands were composed were various. In the primitive times, they made entertainments only on the festivals of the gods; when the garlands, hymns, and songs, were such as the gods were thought to approve.[v] In later ages, on the public festival of any god, they used the particular herb or flower which was sacred to him; but at other times they employed all sorts which the season afforded, or which were thought most conducive to pleasure, refreshment, or health.[w] Some were very curious in the choice of their garlands, which they believed to have a great influence on the bodies of men.[x] The rose being dedicated by Cupid to Harpocrates, the god of silence, to induce him to conceal the lewd actions of Venus, was an emblem of silence. Hence, to present or hold up this flower to any person in discourse, admonished him to be silent; and at entertainments it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private.

[m] Cic. in Vatin.
[n] Athen. lib. xxv. cap. 10.
[o] Ovid. Fast. lib. v.
[p] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[q] Id. ib. cap. 13.
[r] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 1.
[s] Plut. Sympos. lib. iii. qu. 1.
[t] Theocrit. Idyll. β'. v. 2.
[u] Athen. lib. i. cap. 15.
[v] Id. lib. v. cap. 4.
[w] Id. lib. iii. cap. 21. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[x] Plin. lib. xxi. cap. 3.

The ancient Greeks anointed their heads with some common and ordinary kind of ointment, which was intended to keep themselves cool and temperate, and to prevent fevers and other complaints arising from the immoderate use of wine.[y] Afterwards, however, from the use of what appeared really necessary, the Greeks proceeded to what tended only to pleasure and luxury, and employed precious ointments and perfumes. These, with the distribution of garlands, the second courses at entertainments, and all the arts of luxury and effeminacy, were first introduced into Greece by the Ionians, who, from conversing with the Asiatics, were taught to lay aside the primitive plainness of their manners sooner than the other Greeks; hence *Ionicus risus* and *Ionicus motus* became proverbial expressions for immoderate laughter and unseemly motions.[z] The chief part to which ointments were applied was the head. Other parts of the body, however, had sometimes their share both of ointments and garlands, and in particular the breast, from its being the seat of the heart, which, as well as the brain, was thought to be refreshed by these applications.[a] The room in which the entertainment was made was sometimes perfumed by burning myrrh or frankincense, or with other odours.[b]

The officers and attendants at entertainments were the following:—

In the first place, *συμποσίαρχος*, sometimes called *συμποσίου ἐπιμελητὴς*, *τραπεζοκόμος*, *τραπεζοποιὸς*, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης*, *ἀρχιτρίκλινος*, *ἑλέατρος*, &c. was chief manager of the entertainment. This office was sometimes performed by the person at whose charge the entertainment was provided, sometimes by another appointed by him; and sometimes, especially at entertainments provided at the common expense, he was elected by lots, or by the suffrages of the guests.

Next to him, and sometimes the same person, was the *βασιλεὺς*, otherwise termed *στρατηγὸς*, *ταξίαρχος*, &c. the king, whose business it was to determine the laws of good fellowship, and to observe whether every man drank his just proportion, whence he was called *ὀφθαλμὸς*, the eye. He was commonly appointed by lots.[c] The guests were obliged to be conformable in all things to the commands of the *βασιλεύς*.[d] The chief magistrates were not exempted from yielding obedience, if the lots gave another the pre-eminence.[e]

Δαιτρὸς, the carver or distributor,[f] was so called *ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίεσθαι*, from dividing and distributing to every guest his portion; and hence entertainments were also denominated *δαῖτες*.[g] In the primitive times, the master of the feast carved for all his guests:[h]

—— *ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς*.[i]

Achilles served the guests.

In later ages, the same office was executed by some of the chief men

[y] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 13.
[z] Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 6.
[a] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[b] Id. lib. iii. cap. 22.
[c] Aristoph. Plut. v. 973. Laert. lib. viii. seg. 64. Plut. Sympos.
[d] Cic. in Verrem; Arrian. in Epictet.
[e] Plut. Apophth. et Sympos.
[f] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 141. δ'. v. 57.
[g] Athen. lib. i. cap. 10.
[h] Hom. Il. ω'. v. 626.
[i] Id. ib. ι'. v. 217.

at Sparta.[k] This custom of distributing to every guest his portion was derived by some from the time in which the Greeks ceased to live on acorns, and learned the use of corn, which being at first very scarce occasioned continual quarrels: hence ἀτασθαλία, which originally signified the disturbances committed at feasts, became a general name for all sorts of injurious treatment. To prevent these disturbances, it was agreed to appoint a person who should distribute to every man his portion; and hence, as some think, originated the phrase δαῖς ἐΐση, equal entertainment, which frequently occurs in Homer.[l] They to whom particular respect was due were helped to the best parts, and very often to a larger share than the other guests. Hence Eumeus gives to Ulysses the νῶτος, chine, which was esteemed the chief part;[m] and Sarpedon, one of the Lycian kings, is honored with the first seat, the best share of meat, and full cups:

Ἕδρῃ τε, κρέασίν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσι.[n]

The kings of Sparta had διπλάσια πάντα, a double portion of every dish.[o] In the sacred writings, the mess of Benjamin, the beloved brother of Joseph, was five times as large as any of the other messes.[p] They who received this honor had the privilege of gratifying whom they pleased with a part of their portion, as was done by Ulysses, who gave to Demodicus a part of the chine which had been set before him.[q] Afterwards, when Greece had learned the arts of luxury, the primitive manner of dividing to every man his portion was laid aside, and the guests were allowed to carve for themselves, as suited them best;[r] but the ancient custom was retained for a long time at entertainments after sacrifices, and by those who preferred the primitive temperance and frugality to the modern profuse and luxurious mode of life. It is also observed that so long as every man had his portion allotted, the entertainments were managed with greater decency, and fewer disturbances arose.[s]

The distributors of drink were commonly termed οἰνοχόοι,[t] and about the Hellespont ἐπεγχύται.[u] At entertainments in the heroic ages, the κήρυκες, heralds, commonly performed this office:

Κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπώχετο οἰνοχοεύειν.[v]

Mercury, the herald of the gods, is said to be introduced filling the goblets at the celestial banquets;[w] and it is well known that the κήρυκες were deputed to all sorts of ministrations. It was also customary for κοῦροι, boys, or young men, to fill the cups:

Κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.[x]

Ancient authors affirm that wine used to be filled by virgins;[y] and

[k] Athen. lib. i. cap. 10.
[l] Hom. Il. η'.
[m] Id. Odys.
[n] Id. Il. μ'. v. 311.
[o] Herodotus.
[p] Genes. xliii. 34.
[q] Athen. i. 11. Eustath. in Homer.
[r] Athen. loco cit.
[s] Plut. Sympos. lib. ii. quæst. ult.
[t] Hom. Il. β'. v. 128.
[u] Athen. lib. x. cap. 7.
[v] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 142.
[w] Athen. lib. x. cap. 7.
[x] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 149.
[y] Eustath. in Il. γ'.

this is agreeable to the manners of those times, in which the guests were attended by virgins without any suspicion of immodesty. Indeed, it was so common in the primitive ages for young persons of both sexes to be employed in all kinds of service, that δοῦλοι, servants, were termed by the names of παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι, boys and girls, because persons of that age were usually occupied in serving.[z] Nor was this performed only by children of mean fortune or birth; but, in the primitive times, those of the highest quality filled out the wine, as was done by the son of Menelaus:

Ὠινοχόει δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.[a]

In later and more refined ages, the same custom was still retained at entertainments in the temples, where many of the ancient practices were observed for a long time after they had been laid aside in other places; especially at the public sacrifices of the Ætolians, boys of the greatest quality performed the office of distributing the wine; and this was also the practice at Rome, where the Ætolians were imitated in all things, even to the very tone of the voice.[b] Hence, probably, the opinion of some, that the custom of employing young persons of birth and education to fill the wine was derived from the sacrifices of the gods, at which no slave was permitted to minister;[c] but this is to be ascribed rather to the plainness and simplicity of the ancient Greeks and other nations, among whom the sons and daughters of kings, and others of the first rank, were employed in tending flocks, and performing almost all kinds of service. Another reason for appointing young persons to serve at feasts, in preference to those in years, was, because by their beauty and cheerfulness they were thought more apt to exhilarate the guests, whose eyes were to be entertained as well as their other senses. On this account the most comely persons were deputed to this ministration, even in the primitive times. Among the gods,

——— πότνια Ἥβη
Νέκταρ ἐφυοχόει.[d]
Fair Hebe fill'd the nectar.

Ganymedes, the most beautiful of mortals, was translated into heaven by the gods, to serve at the table of Jupiter.[e] Hence it appears that in the most remote times, which were thought the age of the gods, as those which followed were the age of heroes, this practice was observed. Hence, also, by the names of places which are said to be used by the gods, are to be understood the first and most ancient names; and thus the poet tells us that a certain place in Troas was called by the gods, that is most anciently, Marina's Tomb; but by men, that is in later times, Batiæa.[f] That at the time of the Trojan war, it was customary for youths of beautiful countenances, and well dressed, to serve at entertainments, is sufficiently evident.[g] In later ages, when the arts of luxury were in greater esteem, it was usual to

[z] Eustath. in Il. γ'. Hesych. in v. Παῖδες.
[a] Athen. lib. x. cap. 7.
[b] Id. ib.
[c] Id. lib. v. cap. 4.
[d] Hom. Il. δ'. v. 2.
[e] Id. ib. υ'. v. 232. sq.
[f] Id. ib. β'. v. 813.
[g] Id. Odys. σ'. v. 327.

give high prices for beautiful youths;[k] and we are told that it was common to procure most beautiful slaves to attend at entertainments, not so much for the service which they were to perform, as to gratify the sight of the company: the younger boys were the οἰνοχόοι who filled the wine, those of riper age ὑδροφόροι, who served up the water; and they were washed and painted, and had their hair curled in various forms.[l]

In Homer, every guest seems to have used a distinct cup, from which he drank when he pleased.[k] On this account, the cups in the heroic ages were very capacious; and the cup of Nestor was so weighty, that a young man could scarcely carry it;[l] but the custom of using large cups was derived from the barbarous nations, and in the primitive times was confined to the heroes.[m] However, the cups which the Greeks used after supper were larger than those from which they drank at supper.[n] In the houses of rich men there was commonly a large κυλικεῖον, cupboard, which was filled with cups of all sorts and sizes, rather for ostentation than use. The cups used by the ancient Greeks were very plain, and agreeable to the rest of their furniture, being generally made of wood or earth. Afterwards, when they began to imitate the pride and vanity of the Asiatics, their cups were made of silver, gold, and other costly materials, curiously wrought, inlaid with precious stones, and variously adorned; but the primitive cups appear to have been composed of the horns of animals, which persons of rank tipped with gold or silver;[o] and such were also used by some in later ages, and particularly by Philip of Macedon. Hence some are of opinion that Bacchus was surnamed Taurus from his being worshipped by the Cyzicenians in the shape of a bull, and painted with horns in several other countries; and some think that the words κρατῆρες, cups, and κεράσαι, to mix wine with water, are derived from κέρατα, horns.[p]

The cups were surrounded with garlands, and filled to the brim:[q]

Κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.[r]

The youths with wine the cups fill'd to the brim.

The word ἐπεστέψαντο signifies they filled up to the brim; and στέφειν denotes a sort of fulness. Hence it was customary στέφειν κρητῆρας, to fill the cups to the brim, when libations were offered to the gods, because nothing imperfect, and only that which was whole and entire, was to be offered to the gods; and that which is full is entire.[s] The cups are said ἐπεστέφεσθαι, to be crowned with wine, which signifies that they were filled above the brim, so that the wine rose in the manner of a crown, for the sake of good luck.[t]

In the heroic ages, the young men who ministered always presented

[k] Juvenal. Sat. v. v. 60.
[l] Philo Jud. Libro de Vit. Contempl.
[k] Hom. Il. β'. v. 262.
[l] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 2.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Virg. Æn. lib. i. v. 727.
[o] Pindar; Æschylus; Xenophon.
[p] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 7. Eustath. in Il. γ'. γ'. θ'.
[q] Virg. Æn. iii. v. 525.
[r] Hom. Il. α'. v. 470.
[s] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[t] Id. lib. i. cap. 11.

full cups to men of great quality, and distributed wine to the rest in equal proportions:[u]

Τυδείδη, περὶ μέν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπωλοι
Ἕδρῃ τε, κρέασίν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσι.[v]
Tydides, the Achaian heroes thee
Were wont to grace with a superior seat,
The mess of honor, and the brimming cup. COWPER.

Another respect was paid to the most honorable guests, by drinking to them first; for it was customary for the master of the feast to drink to his guests in order, according to their quality.[w] The manner of doing this was by drinking part of the cup, and sending the remainder to the person whom they named, which was termed προπίνειν. This, however, was only a modern custom, for anciently they drank μεστὸν τὸν σκύφον, the whole cup, and not a part of it; and to do this some think should be termed προεκπιεῖν, rather than by the old name προπίνειν.[x] The form of salutation was various. Sometimes they who drank to another used to say, Χαῖρε.[y] Sometimes the person who sent the cup saluted his friend in this form, Προπίνω σοι καλῶς; to which the other replied, Λαμβάνω ἀπό σου ἡδέως; and it being a testimony of friendship to drink in this manner to another, this was sometimes termed προπίνειν φιλοτησίαν, to drink to a person on account of friendship.[z] The person who received the cup was said ἀντιπροπίνειν, or ἀντιπροπίνειν ὅμοια; it being required by the rules of good fellowship to drink whatever remained in the cup, or, if the cup was emptied, to take another of the same size.[a]

This salutation in drinking proceeded towards the right hand, unless the superior rank of some of the guests obliged them to alter the method. Hence it was termed δεξίωσις; and hence δειδίσκεσθαι is interpreted προπίνων δεξιοῦσθαι:[b]

Πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλῆα.[c]

In this passage δείδεκτο is interpreted by ἐδεξιοῦτο, which signifies that he drank to Achilles, delivering the cup with his right hand.[d] In the following passage, however, drinking towards the right hand is expressly mentioned:

——θεοῖς ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν
Ὠινοχόει.[e]
Beginning from the right, he fill'd to each.

This was, therefore, commonly termed ἐνδέξια πίνειν;[f] but it was sometimes called ἐν κύκλῳ πίνειν, and the action itself ἐγκυκλοποσία, because the cup, beginning at the uppermost seat, was conveyed round the table.[g] The method of drinking, however, was not the same in all places. The Chians and Thasians drank out of large cups to the right; the Athenians out of small cups to the right; the Thes-

[u] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4. Hom. Il. δ'. v. 261.
[v] Hom. Il. θ'. v. 161.
[w] Plut. Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.
[x] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4.
[y] Schol. Pind. Nemeonic.
[z] Ælian.
[a] Athen. lib. x. cap. 9.
[b] Schol. Hom. Il. α'.
[c] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 224.
[d] Eustath. in Il. μ'.
[e] Hom. Il. α'. v. 597.
[f] Poll. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[g] Plaut. Pers. act. v. sc. 1.

salians out of large cups to whom they pleased, without observing any certain order. At Lacedæmon, every man had a distinct cup, which a servant filled as soon as it was emptied.[h]

It was also customary to drink to persons absent. First, the gods were remembered; then their friends; and at every name, one or more cups of wine, unmixed with water, was drunk off.[i] The Greeks likewise used ἐπιχεῖν τῇ γῇ, to pour some of the wine on the earth, as often as they mentioned any person's name;[k] and as this was the manner of offering libations, it seems to have been a form of adoration when any of the gods were named, and of prayer for their friends when they were mentioned. Among their friends they commonly named their mistresses;[l] and sometimes the number of cups equalled the number of letters in the name of their mistresses.[m] There were also several other methods of numbering the cups to be drunk off at once. Thus, three were taken off, because that was the number of the Graces; and nine, according to the number of the Muses:[n] the Greeks thus expressed this custom, Ἢ τρὶς, ἢ τρὶς τρία, Either three, or three times three. There was another saying, which forbade the drinking of four cups, that being an unlawful number, Ἢ τρία πίνε, ἢ μὴ τέτταρα. However, they did not always observe the number three, but sometimes drank off ten cups to the health of a person.[o] Sometimes they contended who should drink most. Alexander of Macedon having drunk a cup containing two congii to Proteas, who pledged him, and afterwards drank another of the same dimensions to the king, the latter pledged Proteas in the same cup, and brought on the disease of which he shortly died.[p] Sometimes prizes were awarded to the conquerors; and at the funeral of Calanus, the Indian philosopher, Alexander promised to the first a talent, to the second thirty μναῖ, and to the third ten μναῖ.[q] When any person drank off a large cup ἀμυστὶ, that is ἀπνευστὶ, ἄνευ τοῦ ἀναπαύεσθαι, without intermission, or taking his breath, the company applauded him in this form, Ζήσειας, Long may you live.[r] At Athens were three public officers who attended at entertainments, and observed whether every person drank his portion: they were called from their office οἰνόπται, and sometimes by a metaphorical name ὀφθαλμοὶ, eyes.[s] They who refused to drink were in most places obliged to depart by that celebrated law of good fellowship, Ἢ πῖθι, ἢ ἄπιθι, Drink, or be gone.[t]

Hence it appears how much the Greeks were addicted to drinking. Cato of Utica sometimes spent whole nights in drinking;[u] and the elder Cato, and also Corvinus the stoic philosopher, seem to have indulged in this vice.[v] Others, however, blamed the immoderate use of wine. Some lawgivers enacted laws against it; and others prohibited all drinking where more wine was used than was necessary for

[h] Athen. lib. vi. cap. 3.
[i] Cic. Orat. iii. in Verrem.
[k] Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xiv. v. 18.
[l] Tibull. Horat. lib. i. od. 27.
[m] Martial. lib. i. epigr. 72.
[n] Auson. Horat. lib. iii. od. 19.
[o] Anthолog. vii.
[p] Athen. lib. x. cap. 9.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 10. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 41.
[r] Suid. in vocibus.
[s] Athen. lib. ix. cap. 6 et 7.
[t] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v.
[u] Plutarch.
[v] Horat. lib. iii. od. 21.

health. Some of the Grecian sages allowed no more than three cups; one for health, another for cheerfulness, and a third for sleep.[w] Some allowed only two cups; the first to the Graces, Hours, and Bacchus, and the second to Venus and Bacchus; and they who proceeded to the third cup dedicated it to Lust and Strife.[x] Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, prohibited unnecessary drinking, which debilitates both the body and mind; and he ordered that no man should drink for any other purpose than to satisfy his thirst.[y] To impose on the Spartans the necessity of keeping themselves within the bounds of sobriety, the same lawgiver also enacted that all men should return from entertainments without a torch to show them the way. Hence the Spartans lived temperately; and the manner of drinking practised in other cities was unknown at Sparta.[z] At Athens, an archon convicted of being drunk was put to death by the laws of Solon;[a] and others, who were addicted to drinking and company, were punished by the senate of Areopagus, for consuming in idleness and prodigality that time which they ought to have employed in rendering themselves useful to the commonwealth.[b] Lastly, to mention only another example, in order to restrain the inhabitants of Mitylene from the immoderate use of wine with which that island abounded, Pittacus their lawgiver, and one of the seven sages, enacted, that whoever, when drunk, committed a crime, should suffer double punishment.[c]

Ancient authors mention some particular and solemn cups, which it is necessary to describe:

Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος κρατὴρ, the cup of Good Genius, by whom was understood Bacchus, the inventor of wine;[d] in memory of which benefit, a cup full of pure wine was carried round the table, which all the guests tasted, at the same time offering a prayer to the god, that he would preserve them from committing any indecency through an immoderate use of that liquor:[e] hence ὀλιγοποτοῦντες, persons who drank very little, were termed ἀγαθοδαιμονισταί.[f] Whether this cup was brought in before the table on which they supped was taken away, or afterwards, is not agreed; but that it was sometimes brought in before the table was removed seems probable from what is related of Dionysius the Sicilian, who, being entertained at a table of gold in the temple of Æsculapius at Syracuse, as soon as he had tasted the cup of Good Genius, commanded the table to be taken away.

Κρατὴρ Διὸς Σωτῆρος, the cup of Jupiter the Saviour, which was mixed with water, and dedicated to Jupiter, president of the air, which is the most humid element; in memory of the invention of tempering wine with water.

Κρατὴρ Ὑγιείας, the cup of Health, is by some added, and, as well as that of Jupiter, is termed μεταιπτρὶς, or μετάνιπτρον, from its being drunk after the washing of their hands, the entertainment being

[w] Athen. initio lib. ii.
[x] Id.
[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. i.
[a] Laert. Solone.
[b] Athen.
[c] Laertius Pittaco.
[d] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 5.
[e] Schol. Aristoph. ad Equit. v. 85. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 20. Athen. lib. xv. cap. 13. 14.
[f] Hesychius.

ended; and for the same reason, the same names are given by some to the cup of Good Genius.[g]

Κρατὴρ Ἑρμοῦ, the cup of Mercury, to whom a libation was offered before they went to bed, when they left off drinking.[h]

Some give the order of the solemn cups in a different manner. Three cups, say they, were brought in at supper: the first dedicated to Mercury; the second to Charisius, which is a surname of Jupiter, from χάρις, favor or grace, he being the god by whose influence men obtain the favor and affection of one another, and in this, respect was probably observed to the invention of tempering wine with water; and the third to Jupiter the Saviour.[i] Others mention one cup of wine mixed with water, dedicated to Olympian Jupiter; a second to the heroes; and a third and last to Jupiter the Saviour, so called on this occasion, to intimate that the third cup might be safely taken without disordering either mind or body:[k] this cup was called τέλειος, either because it was the last, which is one signification of that word, or because it perfected the number three, which having a beginning, a middle, and an end, was reckoned the first complete number, whence it was commonly applied to divine things, and particularly to human souls, which, according to the Platonic philosophy, consisted of this number. It is observable that the first and last cups were sacred to Jupiter, who is the supreme deity, the beginning and the end of all things; and that the middle cup was dedicated to the heroes, who were thought to be of a middle nature between gods and men.[l] It may be also observed that most authors, though variously describing them in other respects, agree that the sacred cups were three in number; hence the following saying:

Μέχρι γὰρ τριῶν φασὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς.[m]

The entertainment being ended, before they proceeded to the diversions used at such times, a libation of wine, with a prayer, was offered, and a hymn sung to the gods.[n] This ceremony being finished, the company was entertained with diversions, discourses on various subjects, the reading of books suitable to the tempers and inclinations of those who were present, which was also frequently done during supper; with music of all kinds, tricks of jugglers, mimicry, buffoonery, and whatever could tend to excite mirth and cheerfulness.[o]

From the most ancient times, music and dancing were the diversions at entertainments:[p]

Μολπή τ' ὀρχηστύς τε, τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός.[q]
Dancing and song, the pleasures of the feast.

At an entertainment of the gods, Apollo is introduced playing on the harp, whilst the Muses sing alternately.[r] Dancing was also used among the gods; and hence Apollo is called Ὀρχηστὴς, the Dancer.[s]

[g] Athen. lib. ii. cap. 2. xi. cap. ii. xv. cap. 5. 14. Pollux; Suidas, &c.
[h] Poll. lib. vi. 16. seg. 100.
[i] Suidas v. κρατήρ.
[k] Pind. Isth. Od. vi. str. α'. v. 5 et 11.
[l] Schol. ibid.
[m] Athen. lib. x. cap. 11.
[n] Xenoph. Conviv. Virg. Æn. i. sub finem; Plat. Sympos. cap. 4.
[o] Plato; Xenophon.
[p] Athen. lib. i. cap. 12.
[q] Hom. Odys. α'. v. 152.
[r] Id. Il. α'. v. 603.
[s] Pindar.

Homer introduces the same god playing on the harp, and dancing at the same time:

Καλὰ καὶ ὄψι βιβάς.[t]

Hence, it appears that in the early ages dancing was accounted becoming in persons of honor and wisdom;[u] and the Athenians were passionately fond of this exercise;[v] but wanton and effeminate dances were thought indecent in men of reputation.[w] Greece abounded with skilful musicians; and all persons learned the art of music.[x] The Ionians delighted in wanton dances and songs more than the rest of the Greeks, their manners being more corrupted than those of any other Grecian people; their mode of singing differed from the ancient, and the harmony was more loose;[y] and wanton gestures were proverbially termed Ionic motions.[z]

At the φειδίτια, public repasts of the Spartans, kings, magistrates, and private citizens, all assembled to eat together in certain halls, in which a number of tables were spread, most frequently with fifteen covers each.[a] The guests at one table never interfered with those at another, and formed a society of friends, into which no person could be received but with the consent of all those who composed it.[b] They reclined on hard couches of oak, and leaned with their elbows on a stone or a block of wood.[c] They had black broth, and afterwards boiled pork, which was distributed to each guest in equal portions, sometimes so small that they scarcely weighed a quarter of a mina each.[d] They had also wine, cakes, and barley-bread in plenty; and at other times, by way of supplement to their ordinary portions, they had fish and different kinds of game.[e] They, who, after sacrificing or hunting, ate at home, sent to their companions at the same table a part of the game or the victim.[f] Near each cover was a small piece of bread, on which they wiped their fingers.[g] Decorum was accompanied by gaiety;[h] and with this view Lycurgus ordered a statue of the god of laughter to be placed in the hall.[i] The oldest of the company, showing the door to those who entered, reminded them that nothing they heard was to go out there.[k] At these repasts, the different classes of youth were present without partaking of them: the young carried off from the table some portion which they shared with their companions; and the others received lessons of wisdom and pleasantry.[l] Whether these repasts were instituted in a city in imitation of those in a camp, or from some other cause,[m] in a small state they tended wonderfully to maintain the laws.[n] During peace

[t] Hom. Hymn.
[u] Athen. lib. i. cap. 19.
[v] Theophrast. Charact. cap. 15.
[w] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 28.
[x] Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i.
[y] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 5.
[z] Horat. lib. iii. od. 6.
[a] Plut. Lycurgo; Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. iv. seg. 4.
[b] Plut. Lycurgo.
[c] Athen. lib. xii. Suid. in Λυκ. et in Φιλίτ.
[d] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 8.
[e] Id. ibid.
[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Lycurgo.
[g] Poll. vi. 14. seg. 93. Athen. lib. ix.
[h] Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 1228.
[i] Plut. Lycurgo.
[k] Id. Instit. Lacon.
[l] Id. Lycurgo.
[m] Id. de leg. lib. i et vi.
[n] Id. ibid. Id. Lycurgo; Id. Apophth. Lacon.

they produced union, temperance, and equality; and in war they excited the citizens to succour those with whom they had participated in sacrifices and libations.[o] The expense attending them was defrayed by individuals, who furnished, every month, a certain quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, figs, and even money;[p] and by this contribution, the poorest class were in danger of being excluded from the common meal.[q]

In the primitive ages, the Grecian entertainments, in general, were seldom made except on the festivals of the gods; and the songs were commonly hymns in praise of their deities, the singing of which was accounted a part of divine worship. Wanton and effeminate songs were then unknown; and it would appear that music was not introduced at entertainments for the sake of any mean or vulgar pleasure, but to compose the passions, and amend the heart.[r] The songs used at entertainments about the time of the Trojan war consisted chiefly of hymns, in which the actions of the gods and heroes were celebrated;[s] but in later ages, it was so uncommon to sing sacred hymns at entertainments, that Aristotle was accused of an act of impiety, for singing a pæan every day at his meals.[t]

The most remarkable songs at entertainments were those termed *σκόλια*, with the accent on the first syllable, which distinguishes it from the adjective *σκολιὰ*, accented on the last syllable.[u] These *σκόλια* consisted generally of short verses; whence *σκόλιον* is interpreted a sonnet of short verses, and derived from *σκολιὸν*, *crooked*, *difficult*, and *obscure*, which, by the figure antiphrasis, may signify *easy*.[v] Others observe that *σκόλια* cannot be derived from *σκολιὸς*, difficult or obscure, because these songs were commonly light and cheerful; that at entertainments were three sorts of songs, of which the first was sung by the whole company joining in chorus, the second by all the company in their turns,[w] and the third by a few who were best skilled in music; and that this last was termed *σκόλιον*, from the adjective *σκολιὸν*, which signifies crooked, as being sung out of course, and not by every man in his own place, as were the former.[x] The custom was as follows:—after the company had all sung in a chorus, or one after another, a musical instrument, which was commonly a harp or lute, was carried round to every person, that those who understood music might entertain the company. They who did not play on the instrument were presented with a branch of laurel or myrtle, which they held in their hands, and to which they sang;[y] and this was termed *πρὸς δάφνην*, or *πρὸς μυρρίνην ᾄδειν*, to sing towards the laurel or the myrtle.[z] This branch was also denominated *ἄϊσακος*, or *ἄσακος*, *παρὰ τὸ ᾆσαι τὸν δεξάμενον*, because the person who received it was obliged to sing.[a] Hence, more agreeably

[o] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. ii.
[p] Plut. Lycurgo; Athen. lib. iv. cap. 8.
[q] Aristot. de Repub. lib. ii. cap. 9 et 10.
[r] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 6.
[s] Homer.
[t] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 16.
[u] Eustath. in Odys. *η'*.
[v] Aristoph. Ran. et Vesp.
[w] Athen. xv. 14.
[x] Id. ibid. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp.
[y] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 1367. in Vesp. v. 1217.
[z] Hesychius.
[a] Plut. Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.

to the former account, and perhaps to truth, it is observed that the σκόλια were not sung by all who could not play on the musical instrument, but only by those who understood music; and hence is derived the name from σκολιὸς, difficult to sing one of these songs, which could be done only by proficients in music.[b] Some also thought that the branch of myrtle was not delivered to the company in a direct order, but carried from couch to couch, so that when the first person in the uppermost couch or bed had finished his song, he delivered it to the first in the second couch or bed, from whom it was transmitted to the first person in the third couch; that the second persons in each couch delivered to one another in the same manner, and so on till it had passed through the whole company; and that on this account the songs were termed σκόλια, from σκολιὸς, crooked, by reason of the several windings employed in carrying about the branch of myrtle.[c] These σκόλια were used chiefly by the Athenians; but they were not unknown in other parts of Greece, in which lived several celebrated writers of this species of composition, as Anacreon of Teos, Alcæus of Lesbos, Praxilla of Sicyon, and others.[d] The subjects on which the σκόλια treated were various: some of them were σκωπτικὰ, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικὰ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖα, ludicrous and satirical, some amorous, and many of them serious.[e] Those on serious subjects sometimes contained παραίνεσίν τινα καὶ γνώμην χρησίμην εἰς τὸν βίον, a practical exhortation or sentence;[f] and sometimes they consisted of the praises and illustrious actions of great men, and commonly bore the names of the persons whom they celebrated. Thus, Ἁρμοδίου μέλος, the song of Harmodius, was the scolium composed by Callistratus on Harmodius the famous patriot, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, by killing him.[g] Ἀδμήτου λόγος was a scolium on Admetus, king of Thessaly.[h] Many examples of the ancient scolia are preserved in the Greek authors.[i]

Next, perhaps, entered dancing girls and female performers on the flute.[k] On this, most of the company immediately rose from table, and began to dance, especially if they were inhabitants of Attica; for the Athenians were so passionately fond of this exercise, that they considered it as a want of politeness not to join in it whenever circumstances required.[l] Several relishes for the purpose of stimulating the appetite were brought in at the same time; as grasshoppers,[m] sliced radishes pickled in vinegar and mustard,[n] roasted vetches,[o] and olives taken fresh out of pickle.[p] This new service was accompanied with a fresh stock of wine, and with larger goblets than had been before used.[q]

Anciently, from the songs they passed to the sports and pas-

[b] Plut. Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.
[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 14.
[e] Eustath. in Odys. η'.
[f] Athen. loc. cit.
[g] Hesychius.
[h] Aristoph. Vesp.
[i] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 15.
[k] Plat. in Conviv. et in Protag.
[l] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. iv. cap. 4. Theophrast. Charact. cap. 15.
[m] Aristoph. ap. Athen. lib. iv.
[n] Athen. ibid. Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. v. cap. 30.
[o] Schol. Aristoph. Eccles. v. 45.
[p] Athen. ibid.
[q] Diog. Laert. lib. i. seg. 104.

times which followed entertainments; for after the entertainment had been taken away, and the music ended, the guests were invited to wrestle, leap, run races, throw the quoit, and perform other bodily exercises.[r] In later ages, the Greeks rested after meals; and laying aside the violent exercises which were anciently used, they diverted themselves with such sports and recreations as required less toil and labor. The Greeks practised several kinds of sports and games, which are too numerous to be noticed in this place; but an account of the *κότταβος*, which was more peculiar to entertainments than the rest, must not be omitted.[s] This pastime was first invented in Sicily, whence it was introduced into most of the other parts of Greece, especially into Attica, where it obtained great repute. The form of it was as follows:—a piece of wood being erected, another was placed upon the top of it, with two dishes suspended from each extremity, in the manner of scales; beneath each dish was placed a vessel full of water, in which stood a statue composed chiefly of brass, and called *μάνης*. They who engaged *κοτταβίζειν*, to play at the *κόταβος*, stood at some distance holding a cup of water or wine, which they endeavoured to throw into one of the dishes, that the dish by that weight might be knocked against the head of the statue under it. The person who threw in such a manner as to spill the least water, and to knock the dish with the greatest force on the statue, was conqueror, and thought to reign in the affections of his mistress; which was the thing to be learned by this pastime. The sound made by the projection was, by an onomatopœia, termed *λάταξ*; and the wine projected, *λατάγη*, and sometimes *λάταξ*. The action, as also the cup out of which the wine was projected, was called *ἀγκύλη*, because they turned round their right hand with some art and dexterity, on which they valued themselves very much. Hence we find mention made of *κότταβοι ἀγκυλητοί*.[t] The vessels were named *κότταβοι*, or *κοτταβίδες*; and the prizes, *κοττάβια*, *κοταβεῖα*, and also *κότταβοι*, which were sweetmeats, kisses, or whatever else the company had determined. The play itself, to distinguish it from others of the same name, was termed *κότταβος κατακτός*. The Greeks were so fond of this pastime, that they not only prepared for it vessels with the greatest art and care; but they also built circular houses in such a manner, that the *κότταβος* being placed exactly in the middle, they who played might stand at equal distances on all sides.

There was another sort of *κότταβος*, in which was placed a vessel full of water, with empty vials swimming upon it; into this vessel they threw wine out of cups; and he who sank the greatest number of vials obtained the prize.

There was another kind of cottabus, in which they threw dice.

Lastly, there was another sort of cottabus, which was a contest who should keep awake the longest: the prize was commonly a cake made of honey and sesame, or wheat,[u] and thence termed *σησαμοῦς*, or *πυραμοῦς*; but the latter seems to have been most common;[v] and as

[r] Hom. Odys. *η'*. v. 97.
[s] Pollux; Athenæus.
[t] Æschylus.
[u] Pollux; Schol. Aristoph. in Equit.
[v] Artemidor. lib. i. cap. 74.

the πυραμοῦς was anciently the prize, that word became a general name for any other prize :[w]

Τοῦ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς.[x]

These were the most usual forms of this pastime.[y]

Sometimes jugglers amused the company with the deceptions which they practised. One placed under dice-boxes a certain number of shells, or little balls, which he caused to vanish or appear at his command, with such dexterity as to escape the eye.[z] Another wrote or read, and at the same time whirled round with the greatest rapidity.[a] Some vomited flames from their mouths, or walked on their hands with their heads downwards, imitating the motions of dancers with their feet.[b] A woman, perhaps, held twelve brass hoops in her hand, with several small rings of the same metal strung in their circumference; and whilst she danced, she successively threw into the air and catched the twelve hoops.[c] Another rushed into the midst of several naked swords.[d] Most of these tricks were usually performed to the sound of the flute.

It was also considered necessary to entertain the guests with suitable discourses, as well as with sports and pastimes. In the opinion of the ancient Greeks, it was more requisite and becoming to gratify the company with agreeable conversation, than with a variety of dishes.[e] In the heroic ages, it was customary at entertainments to consult on affairs of the greatest importance;[f] and it was believed, that at such times the faculties of men were more quick and inventive :

Οἴνου γὰρ εὕροις ἄν τι πρακτικώτερον;[g]

It is said to have been also the custom in Persia to consult at entertainments concerning warlike preparations and other serious affairs, after the manner of the ancient Greeks.[h] We are likewise told that those things on which they resolved when *νήφοντες*, sober, were deliberated upon over their cups; and that whatever they determined when *μεθυσκόμενοι*, in their drink, was again examined in their sober hours.[i] The manner of the syssitia in Crete was as follows :—supper being ended, they first delivered on civil affairs; afterwards the discourse turned on war, in which they recounted the praises of illustrious persons, that they might excite the young men to deeds of courage and bravery.[k] The Lacedæmonian youth frequented the syssitia *ὡς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης*, as schools of temperance and prudence, in which they heard discourses on public affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best informed teachers.[l] The Cretan *ἀνδρεῖα* and

[w] Aristoph. Equit.
[x] Id. Thesmophor.
[y] Athen. lib. x. xi. xv. Poll. lib. vi. cap. 19. Aristoph. Schol. in Pace; Eustath. in Il. β'. Tzetz. Chil. vi. hist. 85. Suidas; Hesychius.
[z] Athen. lib. i. cap. 15. iv. cap. 1.
[a] Xenoph. in Conviv.
[b] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 129.
[c] Xenoph. in Conviv.
[d] Id. ibid. Athen. lib. iv.
[e] Athen. lib. x. cap. 5.
[f] Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. cap. 9. Hom. Il. θ'. v. 70. sq.
[g] Aristoph. Equit.
[h] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xviii. cap. 5. Strab. lib. xv. Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. 9. Eustath. in Il. ι'.
[i] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 133.
[k] Dosiad. Rerum Critic. lib. iv.
[l] Plut. Lycurgo.

the Spartan φειδίτια, that is, their public entertainments, βουλευτηρίων ἀπορρήτων καὶ συνεδρίων ἀριστοκρατικῶν τάξιν εἶχεν, were instead of councils, in which the chief men of the commonwealth met to consult on the most secret affairs; and the Prytaneum and Thesmothesium, or public halls, in the city of Chæronea, seem to have been used for the same purpose.[m] The same custom appears to have prevailed in several other places, and particularly at Athens, in which the supreme council supped every day in the Prytaneum; and at Rhodes, the chief magistrates were obliged, by an express law, to entertain every day at a public table the principal men of that city, who deliberated what should be done the day following.[n] Hence some are of opinion that Bacchus obtained the surname of Εὐβουλὴς, Prudent Counsellor; and that the night was called εὐφρόνη, as being the time of wise and prudent counsels.[o] On these occasions, they who were concerned in public business discoursed on public affairs; the conversation of philosophers was commonly on some subject of philosophy; grammarians disputed on critical subjects; and others conversed on matters in which they were chiefly employed; and every art and science was cultivated and improved at these entertainments. Hence, it seems evident that the Greeks did not drink to excess at their public entertainments, but only for the purpose of supporting the conversation on serious matters.[p]

It was, however, customary occasionally to unbend their minds, and divert them from serious affairs, by discourses on ludicrous subjects. Hence συμπόσιον, the Greek name for an entertainment, is defined a mixture of gravity and mirth, of discourses and actions.[q] At the syssitia of the Lacedæmonians, in which the most grave and important subjects were discussed, they used to sport and jest, without that scurrility which is apt to give offence.[r] It appears to have been the ancient custom among the Greeks to employ such topics of discourse as would both entertain and instruct the company; but in later ages they seldom conversed on any serious matter at public entertainments; and hence, when a discourse was begun at the house of Nicostratus on a subject which was to be discussed in the popular assembly at Athens, some of the company, who had never heard of the ancient Greek custom, maintained that it was in imitation of the Persians.[s] On these occasions, some delighted in telling stories, and repeating ancient fables; and others chose to read some diverting discourse, or to hear a poem recited, which was very common among men of letters; but the most usual diversion was to propose and answer difficult questions. Such of the questions as were intended merely for amusement were termed αἰνίγματα; but those containing something serious and instructive were called γρίφοι, which word, in its primary acceptation, signifies a fishing net.[t] Hence the griphi consisted of philosophical disquisitions in which the ancient Greeks gave specimens of their learning; and this pastime demonstrated every

[m] Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. 9.
[n] Eustath. in Il. ι'.
[o] Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. 9.
[p] Eustathius.
[q] Plut. Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. 6.
[r] Id. Lycurg. et Sympos. lib. ii. quæst. 1.
[s] Id. Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. 9.
[t] Poll. lib. vi. cap. 19.

person's proficiency and acquirements.[u] He who solved the question proposed was honored with a reward; and he who could not solve it underwent a certain punishment. The rewards were *στέφανος καὶ εὐφημία*, a garland and the applause of the company; and the punishment was, to drink, without taking breath, a cup of wine mixed with salt.[v] According to some, the reward was a dish of meat; and the penalty, a salt cup.[w] Some say that the prize was a cup of wine, which was adjudged to the person who solved the problem; or, if no man solved it, to the person by whom it was proposed.[x] Others tell us that *γρίφος* was an enigmatical question, which whoever could not solve was obliged to drink that which was set before him, whether unmixed wine or water;[y] and, without doubt, the rewards and penalties varied according to the disposition of the company. The common name of these, and of all other questions used on similar occasions, was *κυλίκεια ζητήματα*; and they were also called *μνημόνια ζητήματα*, because many of them were generally got by heart by those who frequented public entertainments.[z] That the custom of proposing riddles was very ancient, and introduced into Greece from the eastern nations, appears from the story of Samson, who proposed a riddle to the Philistines at his nuptial feast.[a] Nor were these questions confined to entertainments, but, in the primitive times, were proposed on other occasions by those who wished to prove each other's wisdom and learning. Hence mention is made of the queen of Sheba's question to king Solomon, of those which passed between Hiram and Solomon, and of several others.[b]

Sometimes he who gave the entertainment distributed presents to all his guests. Lysimachus of Babylon having entertained Himerus the tyrant of the Babylonians and Seleucians, and three hundred other guests, gave to every man a silver cup which weighed four pounds;[c] and Alexander, at his marriage feast at Susa in Persia, paid the debts of all his soldiers from his own treasury, and presented a golden cup to each of the guests, who were not fewer than nine thousand.[d] Hence it appears that cups were commonly given on these occasions. This was done from its being customary for the company, before they separated, to pour out wine as a libation to Mercury, who was accounted president of the night, and believed to send sleep and pleasing dreams; and hence he is called *νυκτὸς ὀπωπητὴρ*, and *ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων*.[e] To the same god they also sacrificed the tongues of the animals which had been killed for the entertainment. Some thought that the reason of this rite was that Mercury, being the president of eloquence, was chiefly delighted with that member; some are of opinion that by this sacrifice he was invoked as a witness of the discourse which had passed; some, that by burning the tongues at the conclusion of the meeting, was intimated, that whatever had been said should be kept secret; and several other conjectures respecting

[u] Athen. lib. x. cap. ult.
[v] Id. ibid.
[w] Poll. lib. vi. cap. 19.
[x] Phavorin. v. *γρίφος*; Eustath. Il. *ι'*.
[y] Hesychius.
[z] Pollux.
[a] Judic. cap. xiv. 14.
[b] Reg. lib. iii. cap. 10. Joseph. adv. Apio. lib. i. Herodot. Plutar. &c.
[c] Athen. lib. xi. cap. 3.
[d] Plut. Alexandro.
[e] Hom. Hymn. in Mercurium.

its origin have been formed by learned men.[f] This custom was observed chiefly by the Athenians, Ionians, and Megarensians; and some say that it originated with one of the kings of Megara, who, at the conclusion of an entertainment, sacrificed the tongue of a lion which had wasted his country. It was certainly very ancient:[g]

——— τέως ἐπὶ γλώσσῃσι χέοντο
Αἰθομέναις.[h]
Then on the flaming tongues libations pour. Fawkes.

The ancient Greeks offered libations chiefly to Mercury; but those of later times to Jupiter, surnamed Τέλειος, Perfect.[i] However, several other gods frequently shared in these offerings; and in particular, at entertainments which followed any solemn sacrifice, it was customary to remember the god to whom they had before sacrificed. Hence, at a sacrifice offered to Neptune, Minerva, who was present under the assumed form of Mentor, advises the company to sacrifice the tongues, and to pour libations to Neptune and the rest of the gods, before they departed:

Ἀλλ' ἄγε, τάμνετε μὲν γλώσσας, κεράασθε δὲ οἶνον,
Ὄφρα Ποσειδάωνι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
Σπείσαντες.[k]
Now immolate the tongues, and mix the wine,
Sacred to Neptune and the Powers divine. Pope.

It was considered unlawful to stay long at entertainments which followed sacrifices:

——— οὐδὲ ἔοικε
Δηθὰ θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαασσέμεν, ἀλλὰ νέεσθαι.[l]
Nor fits it to prolong the heavenly feast,
Timeless, indecent, but retire to rest. Pope.

Anciently, at some entertainments after sacrifices, the company were obliged to depart before sunset;[m] but at common entertainments, in which more liberty was allowed, the company very often stayed till the morning approached.[n] It was also customary, as has been already observed, to contend who should keep awake longest; and the prize assigned to the victor was most commonly the sort of cake called πυραμοῦς,[o] which word hence became a general name for the prize of any victory. To depart from an entertainment was called γίνεσθαι ἐκ δείπνου, ἀναλύειν ἐκ συμποσίου,[p] τοῦ συμποσίου ἀποστῆναι[q] or ἀπολύεσθαι,[r] and ἀπὸ τῶν δείπνων ἀναλύειν.[s]

[f] Schol. Apollon. in Argon. i. v. 516. Eustath. in Odys. γ'.
[g] Homer.
[h] Apollon. Argon. i. v. 517.
[i] Athen. lib. i. cap. 14.
[k] Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 332.
[l] Id. loco citato.
[m] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4.
[n] Plat. Sympos. Hom. Odys. Virg. Æn. lib. iv.
[o] Artemidor. lib. i. cap. 74. Aristoph. Schol. ad Equites.
[p] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 23.
[q] Athen. lib. v. cap. 4.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. lib. i. cap. 13.

CHAP. XXII.

The Manner of entertaining Strangers.

THE keeping of public inns for the reception of strangers was considered an illiberal and mean employment, and was assigned to foreigners, or to the lowest order of citizens.[t] The ancient Greeks had no public inns, which were the usage of later ages. In the primitive times men lived at home, neither cultivating the friendship of foreigners, nor improving themselves and their estates by commerce. Indeed, it was unsafe to travel without a strong guard, both the land and the sea being very much infested with robbers or pirates, who seized the goods of those whom they took, and treated their persons with the greatest cruelty, as appears from the stories of Procrustes, Sinnes, Sciron, Periphetes, and others. To live on the plunder of others was thought in that barbarous age an honorable way of subsisting; and they considered it a species of glory to overcome and spoil their neighbours, believing that the rules of humanity and justice were observed only by those who were destitute of power.[u] Hence, among the ancient Greeks strangers and enemies were both designated by the same name, *ξένος*, all strangers being accounted enemies at that time; and the Persians, who waged war with Greece for several ages, were particularly signified by that word.[v] The Lacedæmonians are said to have termed the barbarous nations, whom the Greeks considered as their common enemies, by the name *ξένοι*;[w] and among the primitive Latins, the word *hostis*, afterwards appropriated to enemies, signified a stranger.[x]

The sea was cleared of pirates by Minos, king of Crete, who with a strong fleet maintained for a long time the dominion of all the seas in that neighbourhood. The land robbers were destroyed by Hercules, Theseus, and other ancient heroes; after which time, till a much later period, no man injured strangers.[y] Indeed, in the earliest ages, all who were not entirely void of humanity are said to have treated strangers with respect; and it was the custom at that time to supply them with victuals and other necessaries, before they inquired their names, or asked them any questions.[z] It is also said to have been an ancient custom to forbear such enquiries till the tenth day, if the stranger seemed willing to stay till that time:[a]

> Ἐννῆμαρ ξείνισσε, καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἱέρευσεν.
> Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς,
> Καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε, καὶ ἤτεε σῆμα ἰδέσθαι,
> Ὅττι ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο παρὰ Προίτοιο φέροιτο.[b]
>
> There Lycia's monarch paid him honors due,
> Nine days he feasted, and nine bulls he slew;

[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. xi.

[u] Plut. Theseo; Thucyd. Hist. principio.

[v] Hesych. voce ξένοι.

[w] Herodot. Calliope cap. 10. Poll. lib. i. cap. 10.

[x] Varro lib. iv. Cic. Offic. lib. i. cap. 2. Potter. in Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 464.

[y] Xenoph. Ἀπομνημ. lib. ii.

[z] Hom. Odys. δ'. v. 61. γ'. v. 69. ξ. v. 45. α'. v. 170.

[a] Eustath. in Il. ζ'.

[b] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 174.

But when the tenth bright morning orient glow'd,
The faithful youth his monarch's mandate show'd;
The fatal tablets, till that instant seal'd,
The double secret to the king reveal'd. Pope.

In later ages, the Cretan hospitality was very much celebrated. In the *συσσίτια*, public halls of Crete, were constantly two apartments: one was termed *κοιμητήριον*, in which strangers were lodged; the other, *ἀνδρεῖον*, being the place of eating, in which all the Cretans supped together. In the uppermost part of this latter room was a constant table, which was set apart for strangers, and called *τράπεζα ξενία, ξενική*, or *Διὸς ξενίου*; but others say that two tables were appointed for this purpose.[c] In the distribution of victuals, the strangers were always served before the king or any of the Cretan nation; and some of them were permitted to bear high offices in the state.[d]

The other Greeks, and especially the Athenians, were generally courteous to strangers. The Lacedæmonians, however, were blamed for their want of hospitality; and hence they are described as most opposite to the Athenians in their behaviour to strangers.[e] For the same reason the Lacedæmonians were called by some *διειρωνόξενοι*,[f] and by others *ξενηλάται*, from their imposing on strangers, and driving them away; and this is the more to be wondered at, because Lycurgus, in the regulations which he instituted at Sparta, adopted chiefly the laws and manners of Crete. Yet, it is very certain that strangers were treated at Sparta with great care and attention; and to make provision for them formed a part of the royal office.[g] We are told that, whilst the Lacedæmonians themselves lay down without distinction of places, strangers were assigned a convenient situation in the shade.[h] The opinion of their uncivil treatment of strangers seems to have prevailed chiefly on two accounts: first, because foreigners, when they lived on the Spartan diet, which was extremely coarse, thought themselves ill-entertained;[i] and secondly, because strangers were admitted into Sparta only on *ὡρισμέναι ἡμέραι*, certain days.[k] This last was a provision against the promiscuous and frequent concourse of other nations, and was enforced by the law called *ξενηλασία*, which was intended to hinder foreigners from observing the faults of Sparta,[l] or rather to prevent the manners of the Spartan citizens from being corrupted by a too frequent and unlimited conversation with other people.[m] For the same reason, an edict was passed at Rome, by which strangers were forbidden to enter that city.[n] The Lacedæmonians were prohibited from travelling into foreign countries, lest they should introduce foreign vices and customs into Sparta.[o] That these and similar laws were not enacted without sufficient cause, appears from the conduct of Lysander and Agesilaus, of whom the former returning from Athens, and the latter from Asia, contri-

[c] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 9.
[d] Heraclid. de Repub.
[e] Tzetz. Chiliad. vii. Hist. 130.
[f] Aristoph. Pace.
[g] Herodotus.
[h] Antonin. lib. xi. ad seipsum.
[i] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 6.
[k] Aristoph. Schol. Pace.
[l] Liban. Declam. xxiv. Thucyd. lib. ii. in Orat. funebri.
[m] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. Plut. Lycurgo, Instit. Laconic.
[n] Cic. de Offic. lib. iii. cap. 11.
[o] Plut. locis citat. Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 6. Harpocrat. v. *κάθετος*.

buted greatly to the general corruption of manners, which soon after destroyed the ancient Lacedæmonian discipline and mode of living.

To induce the Greeks to treat strangers with kindness and respect, the ancient poets and lawgivers inspired them with an opinion that all strangers were under the peculiar care of certain gods, who avenged all the injuries inflicted on them. In the number of these gods were reckoned Minerva, Apollo, Venus, Castor, and Pollux, and chiefly Jupiter, who hence obtained the surname of Ξένιος, Hospitable, which designation was also sometimes given to other gods, who were believed to protect strangers:[p]

———πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες
Ξεῖνοί τε, πτωχοί τε.[q]
For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor. POPE.

For the same purpose, the gods were feigned to travel in the habit of strangers.[r]

———εἰ δή πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεός ἐστι;[s]
———If in this low disguise
Wander, perhaps, some inmate of the skies? POPE.

It is observable that salt was commonly set before strangers before they tasted the victuals provided for them; by which was intimated, that as salt consists of aqueous and terrene particles mixed and united together, so the stranger and the person by whom he was entertained should maintain a constant union of love and friendship, from the time of their tasting salt together. Some say that, as salt preserves flesh from corruption, it signified that the friendship which was then begun should be lasting; and others think that a regard was paid to the purifying quality of salt, which was commonly used in lustrations, and that it imported that friendship ought to be free from all design, jealousy, and suspicion.[t] It is possible, however, that this custom may have originated from salt being constantly used at all entertainments both of the gods and men. Hence it was supposed to possess a peculiar sanctity; and hence it was called θεῖος ἅλς, divine salt,[u] and ἱεροὶ ἅλες, holy salt; and by the placing of salt on the tables they were thought to be endowed with a kind of holiness.[v] Indeed, whatever tended to promote love and concord was held sacred, especially in those early times in which men lived by spoil and rapine; and hence the table, as well as the salt, was thought to possess an inherent holiness. Τὸ ὁμοτράπεζον, to have eaten at the same table, was considered an inviolable obligation to friendship; and ἅλα καὶ τράπεζαν παραβαίνειν, to transgress the salt and the table, that is, to break the laws of hospitality, and to injure those by whom they had been entertained, was accounted one of the greatest crimes:[w] Ποῦ δὲ ἅλες; ποῦ τράπεζαι; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῳδεῖ παριών.[x] "Where is the salt? where the hospitable tables? for in despite of them he is

[p] Hom. Odys. ι'. v. 269.
[q] Id. ib. ξ'. v. 56.
[r] Ovid. Met. lib. i. v. 213. viii. v. 626.
[s] Hom. Odys. ρ'. v. 490.
[t] Eustath. in Il. α'. Lycophr. Scholiast. in Cassandr. v. 135. 137.
[u] Homer.
[v] Arnob. contra Gentes lib. ii.
[w] Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 134.
[x] Demosth. de Falsa Legat.

the author of these troubles." Τὸ *ὁμόσιτεγον*, to converse under the same roof, was thought to be a kind of engagement to love and friendship.[y]

The alliance which was contracted by hospitality, was termed *προξενία*. It was held very sacred, and was observed by the ancient Greeks with greater inviolability than even the ties of kindred and consanguinity.[z] The alliances of hospitality descended from parents to their children; nor were they contracted only by private and single persons, but by these with whole families and cities.[a] Thus Nicias, the Athenian, is called *πρόξενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, allied by hospitality to the Lacedæmonians.[b]

Hence it was customary for men thus allied to give each other *σύμβολα*, certain tokens, the producing of which was a recognition of the covenant of hospitality:

Ξένοις τε πέμπειν σύμβολ', οἳ δράσουσί σ' εὖ.[c]

These tokens were mutual presents and gifts, which were called *ξένια* or *δῶρα ξενικὰ*, and which were deposited by the ancient Greeks among their treasures, to perpetuate the memory of their friendships to succeeding generations.[d]

Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξεινήϊα καλά.[e]
The parting heroes mutual presents left. Pope.

The later Greeks used to break *ἀστράγαλος*, a die, into two parts; one of which the guests carried away, and the other remained with the person who had entertained them.[f] The same custom was used at Rome, where each part of the die was termed *tessera hospitalis*.[g] Upon these *tesseræ* were commonly engraven their names, or some other character of distinction, and also the image of Jupiter Hospitalis.[h] When they renounced their hospitable alliance, it was customary to break in pieces the hospitable *tessera;* and hence *tesseram frangere* signifies to violate the laws of hospitality.[i]

They who entertained private strangers were called *ἰδιοπρόξενοι*. They who received ambassadors, and other foreigners invested with any public functions, were termed *πρόξενοι*; but this name is often applied to men who entertained their own private friends of other nations. If the person who received the foreigners invested with a public character did it voluntarily, he was denominated *ἐθελοπρόξενος*.[k] More commonly, however, the *πρόξενοι* were appointed to that office, either by the suffrages of the people in popular governments, or by the nomination of the kings in monarchical states.[l] The office of proxeni consisted not only in providing lodging and entertainment for the strangers before-mentioned, but it was also their duty to conduct them to the king or the popular assembly, to procure for them

[y] Eustath. in Il. ι'. v. 635.
[z] Id. ib. ζ'.
[a] Plato de Leg. lib. i. Cornel. Nep. Cimone; Herodot. Clione.
[b] Plut. Nicia.
[c] Eurip. Medea v. 613.
[d] Eustath. in Il. ζ'.
[e] Hom. Il. ζ'. v. 218.
[f] Eurip. Schol. in Med. v. 613.
[g] Plaut. Pœnul. act. v. sc. 2. v. 92.
[h] Id. ib. sc. 1. v. 22.
[i] Id. Cistellaria.
[k] Thucyd. lib. iii. cap. 70.
[l] Eustath. in Il. γ'. Poll. lib. v. cap. 4. Herodot. lib. vi. Suidas.

convenient places in the theatre, and to serve and assist them on all other occasions. Hence καλοῦ τινὸς ἢ κακοῦ αἴτιος, he who occasioned good or evil to another person, was called πρόξενος; the author of another man's ruin or misery was denominated πρόξενος ἀπωλείας, or πρόξενος φθορᾶς; the author of his safety and happiness, πρόξενος σωτηρίας, or πρόξενος ὑγιείας.[m] By the more modern Greeks the office of proxeni was called παροχὴ, which is interpreted χάρισμα, δώρημα, a present or gift;[n] and the officers were denominated πάροχοι and ξενοπάροχοι.

They who undertook a journey first implored the divine protection. Before their departure into any foreign land, it was customary to salute and take leave of the deities of their own country by kissing the earth.[o] The same form of salutation was commonly practised on their arrival in any country:[p]

——κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.[q]
He kiss'd the fertile earth.

By this rite they paid homage to, and invoked the assistance and protection of, the ἐπιχώριοι θεοὶ, gods who were the patrons of that country; and during the time of their residence in that place they worshipped the same gods.[r] Lastly, when they returned home, they saluted the gods of their own country in the same manner, and gave them thanks for their safe return. This was done by Ulysses at his return to Ithaca;[s] by Agamemnon, when he returned to Mycenæ;[t] and by Hercules, when he came from the infernal regions.[u]

CHAP. XXIII.

Music of the Greeks.

THE word μουσικὴ, music, was applied by the Greeks indifferently to melody, measure, poetry, dancing, gesticulation, the union of all the sciences, and the knowledge of almost every art; and they thought that even the motions of the heavenly bodies,[v] and the operations of the mind,[w] were subjected to the laws of harmony.

Μουσικὴ, music, is said by some to have derived its name from the nine muses;[x] by some, from the Hebrew word mosar, which signifies art;[y] and by others, from מוצא motsa, inventress.[z] Some have ascribed to Pythagoras the invention of this art;[a] but this seems without any foundation; and he only improved what had before been invented.[b] It appears from the history of Moses that Jubal was the first that played on the harp and organ,[c] a kind of flute.

[m] Eustath. in Il. δ'.
[n] Hesychius.
[o] Ovid. Met. lib. xiii. v. 420.
[p] Id. ib. lib. iii. v. 24.
[q] Hom. Odys. ε'. v. 460.
[r] Quint. Curt.
[s] Hom. Odys. ν'. v. 354.
[t] Æschyl. Agamemnon. v. 819.
[u] Eurip. Hercul. Furent. v. 523.
[v] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 22.
[w] Plut. de Music.
[x] Isidor. Hispal. Orig. ii. cap. 14.
[y] Vossius de Idolol. i. 13.
[z] Cleric. ad Hesiod. Theogon. v. 52.
[a] Isidor. Hispal. Orig. ii. 15.
[b] Vossius de Scient. Mathem.
[c] Genes. iv. 21.

In music the Greeks distinguished sounds, intervals, concords, genera, modes, rhythmus, mutations, and melopœia.[d] The notes or sounds of the voice were seven, each of which was attributed to some particular planet: 1. *ὑπάτη*, to the moon; 2. *παρυπάτη*, to Jupiter; 3. *λίχανος*, to Mercury; 4. *μέση*, to the sun; 5. *παραμέση*, to Mars; 6. *τρίτη*, to Venus; and 7. *νήτη*, to Saturn.[e] Some, however, take them in a contrary order, and ascribe *ὑπάτη* to Saturn, and *νήτη* to the moon. The tone or mode, which the musicians used in raising or depressing the sound, was called *νόμος*;[f] and they were called *νόμοι*, as being laws or models by which they sang or played.[g] There were four principal *νόμοι* or modes; the Phrygian, the Lydian, the Doric, and the Ionic.[h] To these some add a fifth, which they call the Æolic, but which is not mentioned by ancient authors.[i] The Phrygian mode was religious; the Lydian, plaintive; the Doric, martial; the Ionic, gay and cheerful; and the Æolic, simple.[k] The mode used in exciting soldiers to battle was called Ὄρθιος:[l]

Ἔνθα στᾶσ' ἤϋσε θεὰ μέγα τε, δεινόν τε,
Ὀρθὴ Ἀχαιοῖσιν, μέγα δὲ σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἑκάστῳ
Καρδίῃ, ἀλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.[m]

Hence, if a warlike nation was to be animated to combat, or entertained with the recital of its exploits, the Doric harmony lent its force and majesty;[n] if it was necessary to exhibit to the people great examples of calamity and suffering, in order to instruct them in the science of misfortune, elegies and plaintive songs borrowed the piercing and pathetic tones of Lydian harmony;[o] and to inspire them with awe and gratitude towards the gods, the Phrygian notes were appropriated to the sacred hymns.[p] It is, however, to be observed that authors are not agreed respecting the character of Phrygian harmony. Some say that it was more tranquil than the Doric, inspired moderation, and was suitable to devotion;[q] others, that it was turbulent, and fitted for enthusiasm.[r]

Afterwards, *νόμοι* began to be applied to the hymns which were sung in those modes.[s] Most of the hymns called *νόμοι* were generally divided into several parts, but containing only one action; and as they were intended more especially to mark the immutable character of the particular deity to whom the homage was addressed, they were made subject to rules, from which they scarcely ever departed.[t]

To music belonged also rhythm, which was in general a successive motion, subject to certain proportions.[u] In poetry it was the relative

[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. iii. Euclid. in Introduc. Harmon. Aristid. Quintil. de Mus. lib. i.

[e] Aristot. Probl. seg. 19. Philand. ad Vitruv. v. 4.

[f] Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 70. Aristoph. Equit. v. 9.

[g] Aristot. Probl. xix. n. 28. Plut. de Musica; Suid. in voc.

[h] Lucian. Harmon. Aristot. Polit. iv. 3. Athen. xiv. 5.

[i] Plat. de Rep. lib. iii.

[k] Apulei. Florid. Lucian. Harmon. Aristot. Polit. viii. 5. 7.

[l] Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 16. Suidas in *Ὀρθιασμάτων*.

[m] Hom. Il. λ'. v. 10.

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. iii. Plut. de Musica.

[o] Plut. de Musica.

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. iii.

[q] Id. ibid.

[r] Id. ib. lib. viii.

[s] Schol. Aristoph. Equit. v. 9.

[t] Plut. de Musica; Plat. de Leg. lib. iii.

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. iii.

duration of the moments employed in pronouncing the syllables of a verse; and in music, the relative duration of the sounds which enter into the composition of an air. In the origin of music, its rhythm was formed exactly on the model of that of poetry. In the Greek language every syllable was short or long. One instant was necessary to pronounce a short syllable, two to articulate a long one. From the union of several long and short syllables the foot was formed; and from the union of feet, the measure of the verse. Each foot had a movement, a rhythm, divided into two times, one for the sinking of the hand or other instrument, which by an equable motion denoted the time, and the other for its rising.

Homer, and the poets of his time, commonly employed heroic verse, consisting of six feet, each of them containing two long syllables, or a long one followed by two short ones; and thus four syllabic instants constituted the duration of a foot, and twenty-four of these instants formed a verse. It was then discovered that the measure of this verse was regulated by a movement too uniform; that it excluded several sonorous and expressive words, from the impossibility of subjecting them to its rhythm; and that in order to introduce others, it was necessary to make them rest upon an adjoining word. This discovery produced attempts to introduce new rhythms into poetry.[v] The number of these was afterwards considerably increased by Archilochus, Alcæus, Sappho, and others.

The rhythm was marked by lines placed at the top of a piece of music; and the coryphæus signified it to the dancers and musicians attentive to his motions, from the most elevated part of the orchestra.[w] The leaders of choruses beat time sometimes with the hand, and sometimes with the foot; and some of them with sandals armed with iron. The character of the rhythm was so determinate, that the transposition of a syllable sufficed to change it. Into versification were often admitted two feet, the iambic and the trochee, both composed of a long and short syllable, with this difference, that the iambic begins with a short, and the trochee with a long one. The latter was adapted to the ponderousness of a rustic dance; and the other, to the vivacity of an animated dialogue.[x] As the iambic seemed to redouble, and the trochee to lose its ardor at every step, satiric writers attacked their enemies with the former, whilst dramatic authors often employed the latter in their choruses of aged men on the stage.[y] Every movement in nature, or in the passions, met, in the various species of rhythms, with other movements which corresponded with it, and became its image;[z] and hence music was in a great measure indebted for its success to the beauty of execution, and especially to the scrupulous attention with which the choruses[a] observed the time that was given them.

If a voice, accompanied by some instrument, addressed itself even in a very simple melody, subject, however, to certain rules, to men

[v] Aristot. de Poet.
[w] Id. Probl.
[x] Idem de Poet. cap. 4. Id. de Rhetor. lib. iii. cap. 8.
[y] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 203. Schol. ib.
[z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. viii.
[a] Id. Probl. xxii.

who could testify their pleasure only by tumultuous exclamations, they would soon appear transported with delight, and would express their admiration by the most violent hyperboles. This was what the Greeks experienced before the Trojan war. Amphion animated by his songs the workmen who built the fortress of Thebes;[b] and fame reported that the walls sprang up at the sound of his lyre. Orpheus drew from his lyre a small number of pleasing sounds; and it was said that tigers laid aside their ferocity, and crouched at his feet. In later ages, the Lacedæmonians, when divided among themselves, were suddenly reconciled by the harmonious modulations of Terpander;[c] the Athenians were incited by the songs of Solon to invade and recover the isle of Salamis, in defiance of a decree which condemned to death the orator who should dare even to propose the conquest of that island;[d] and the manners of the Arcadians were civilized by music.[e]

The music of the Greeks was either vocal or instrumental.[f] The music of those who only played on instruments was called *μουσικὴ ψιλὴ*; that of those who also sang to the instrument, *μουσικὴ μετὰ μελῳδίας*.[g] The musical instruments were divided into *ἐμπνευστὰ*, wind instruments, and *ἔντατα* or *νευρόδετα*, stringed instruments.[h] The lyre, the flute, and the pipe, were the three principal instruments;[i] but there were several others.[k]

Of the instruments to which chords or strings were applied, the most famous was the lyre, which was called in Greek *κιθάρα* and *φόρμιγξ*,[l] though some affect a distinction between the harp and the lyre.[m] This instrument is said to have been invented by Apollo:

——*εὗρεν*——
——*κίθαριν δ' ὡς ἀδὸς Ἀπόλλων.*[n]

Hence he was called *Φορμικτής*.[o] In ancient times, heroes and the greatest kings learned to play on the lyre.[p] This instrument was used when they sang of love,[q] and the exploits of valiant men,[r] and was also employed on both divine and human subjects.[s] Hence the lyre was sometimes called *μήτηρ ὕμνων*, the mother of songs.[t] At first, the strings were made of linen thread,[u] and afterwards of the intestines of sheep.[v] Anciently, the chords or strings were three in number, whence such lyre was called *τρίχορδος*; and the lyre with three strings is said by some to have been invented in Asia, a city of Lydia, whence it was sometimes denominated *ἀσιάς*.[w] Afterwards, it was rendered more perfect by having seven strings, and hence was called *ἑπτά-*

[b] Pausan. Bœotic. cap. v.
[c] Plut. de Music. Diod. Sic. Fragm.
[d] Plut. Solone.
[e] Polyb. lib. iv. Athen. lib. xiv.
[f] Aristid. Quintilian. i.
[g] Aristot. Polit. viii. 5.
[h] Poll. lib. iv. cap. 8. seg. 58.
[i] Plut. de Musica.
[k] Poll. iv. 9. seg. 59. Aristot. Polit. viii. 6.
[l] Eustath. in Il. σ'. v. 569. Aristoph. Nub. v. 1358. sq.
[m] Perizon. ad Ælian. iii. 32.
[n] Bion. Idyll. iii. 7.
[o] Aristoph. Ran. v. 234.
[p] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 32.
[q] Hom. Odys. θ'. v. 266. Anacreon Od. i.
[r] Hom. Il. ι'. v. 186. sq.
[s] Virg. Æn. i. v. 744.
[t] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 130.
[u] Eustath. in Il. σ'. v. 570.
[v] Hom. Odys. φ'. v. 408.
[w] Aristoph. Thesmophor. v. 126. Plut. de Musica.

χορδος,[q] ἐπτάφθογγος,[r] and ἑπτάγλωσσος.[s] They struck the strings sometimes with a bow,[a] and sometimes only with the fingers;[b] and to play on this instrument was called in Greek κιθαρίζειν,[c] κρούειν πλήκτρῳ,[d] or διώκειν,[e] δακτυλίοις κρούειν, and ψάλλειν.[f] To learn to play well on the lyre, an apprenticeship of three years was necessary. This instrument was invented in Arcadia, which abounded with tortoises, of the shell of which the lyre was made.[g]

The flute was a celebrated instrument, and was called in Greek αὐλός. It was used in the sacrifices of the gods, at festivals,[h] games,[i] entertainments,[k] and funerals.[l] Minerva is said to have invented the straight, and Pan the oblique flute:

Ὡς εὗρεν πλαγίαυλον ὁ Πὰν, ὡς αὐλὸν Ἀθάνα.[m]

In scripture, Jubal is mentioned as the inventor of the flute.[n] Among the Greeks the first inventor of the flute is said to have been Hyagnis, a Phrygian,[o] who lived in the time of Joshua. Flutes were made of the bones of stags or fawns,[p] and hence called νέβρειοι αὐλοὶ;[q] and the invention of making them of these materials is ascribed to the Thebans.[r] They were also made of the bones of asses,[s] and of elephants;[t] and likewise of reed,[u] box,[v] and lotus.[w] The Bœotians excelled all the other Greeks in playing on this instrument; and they probably owed this excellency to the peculiar situation of their country, which abounded with marshes and lakes that produced very great quantities of canes and reeds.[x] Notwithstanding the imperfections of the Bœotian flute, it was better adapted than the lyre to support and animate the song.[y] If Plato banished the Bœotian flute from his republic, and preferred the lyre for schools of music, it proceeded from his being afraid of contradicting the decree, by which the Athenians had prohibited all kinds of wind instruments in public education, because they changed the lineaments of the countenance, and were also injurious to the organs of respiration.[z] The Theban flute, however, was an instrument much easier to be managed than the lyre.

The pipe was called σύριγξ, and differed in sound from the flute. The tone of the pipe was sharp and shrill; and hence its sounds were

[q] Plut. de Musica. Macrob. Saturn. i. 19. Hom. Hymn. in Mercur. v. 51.
[r] Eurip. Ion. v. 881.
[s] Pind. Nem. Od. v. str. β'. v. 10.
[a] Id. ib. v. 11. Hom. Hym. in Mercur. v. 419. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 23.
[b] Athen. lib. iv. xiv. Virg. Æn. vi. v. 645.
[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Aristot. Polit. lib. i. cap. 4.
[d] Anthol. iv. 16. 4.
[e] Pind. Nem. Od. v. str. β'. v. 11.
[f] Athen. lib. iv. cap. 25.
[g] Hom. Hymn. in Mercur.
[h] Suid. in αὐλητοῦ; Ovid. Fast. vi. 659. Plin. xxviii. 2.
[i] Aristoph. Pac. v. 530. Horat. Epist. ii. 1. v. 98. Athen. xiv. 2.
[k] Terent. Adelph. v. 7. v. 6. sqq. Athen. xv. 1.
[l] Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 43. Plut. de Musica.
[m] Bion. Idyll. iii. 7.
[n] Gen. iv. 21.
[o] Plut. de Musica; Athen. xiv. 5. Anthol. i. cap. 11.
[p] Schol. Aristoph. ad Acharn. v. 863.
[q] Anthol. iv. 28. epigr. 13.
[r] Athen. iv. Poll. iv. 10. seg. 74.
[s] Plut. in Conviv.
[t] Athen. iv. Propert. iv. 6. v. 8.
[u] Athen. iv.
[v] Poll. iv. 10. seg. 74.
[w] Eurip. Alcest. v. 346. Helen. v. 170. Herc. Fur. v. 684. Ovid. Met. iv. v. 760.
[x] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. iv. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi.
[y] Aristot. Probl. Sect. xix.
[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. iii.

called λεπταλέαι.[a] On the contrary, the sound of the flute was grave, full, and mellow; and hence the flute was denominated βαρύβρομος.[b]

Music formed a part of the education of the Greeks.[c] It had a great influence not only on the minds,[d] but also on the bodies of men; and it is said that some diseases have been cured by the power of music.[e] The Greeks were fully persuaded that music not only served to exhilarate the spirits, but that it even contributed greatly to form the heart.[f]

The Ionians, who were unable to defend their liberty against the Persians, and who, in a fertile country and under the finest sky in the world,[g] consoled themselves for the loss of it in the bosom of the arts and of luxury, were the first that brought contempt on the Grecian music.[h] Their light and brilliant airs, decked out with all the graces, partook at the same time of the congenial softness peculiar to that happy climate.[i] Timotheus, an Ionian, was at first hissed on the Athenian stage; but he afterwards became a favorite with the people of Athens.[k] Elated with this success, he visited Lacedæmon with his eleven-stringed lyre and his effeminate airs; but the kings and ephori of that state issued against him a decree, in which he was accused of having injured the majesty of the ancient music, and of endeavouring to corrupt the Spartan youth by the indecency, the variety, and the softness of his performances. He was ordered to retrench four strings from his lyre.[l] The Spartans had twice before repressed the audacity of musicians;[m] and they afterwards required that, in the pieces offered for competition, the modulation should be executed on a seven-stringed instrument, and turn only on one or two modes.[n]

CHAP. XXIV.

The Art of Painting.

The origin of painting is one of the most difficult questions that occurs in the history of the arts. The time of its being invented and first practised is very obscure. Some have given this honor to the Egyptians;[o] and others to the Greeks.[p] Some pretend that the invention of this art preceded the Trojan war;[q] others say that it was posterior to that epocha.[r]

It would seem that drawing owed its origin to chance; sculpture, to

[a] Callimach. Hymn. in Dian. v. 243. Ovid. Met. i. v. 708.
[b] Aristoph. Nub. v. 312. Eurip. Helen. v. 1367.
[c] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 15. Plut. de Musica; Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 5.
[d] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 5 et 6. Plut. de Musica; Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 23. Aristot. Polit. lib. viii. cap. 5.
[e] Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 5. Aul. Gell. iv. 13.
[f] Hom. Odys. γ'. v. 267. sqq.
[g] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 142.
[h] Aristid. Quintil. lib. i.
[i] Plut. in Lyc. Lucian. Harmon.
[k] Plut. an Seni, &c.
[l] Boeth. de Musica lib. i. cap. 1.
[m] Athen. Plut. Agid. et Lacon. Inst.
[n] Plut. de Music.
[o] Plin. lib. vii. sect. 57. lib. xxxv. sect. 5. Isidor. Orig. lib. xix. cap. 16.
[p] Aristot. Theophrast. apud Plin. lib. vii.
[q] Aristot. loc. citato.
[r] Theophrast. apud Plin. lib. vii. Plin. lib. xxxv. sect. 6.

religion; and painting, to the improvement of the other arts. In the earliest ages, some person amused himself with tracing on the ground, or on a wall, the outlines of the projecting shadow of a body illuminated by the sun or some other light; and hence men learned the mode of expressing the form of objects by simple lines. It was thought necessary to encourage the religious fervor of the people, by placing before their eyes the symbol or image of their worship. At first a stone,[s] or the trunk of a tree, was considered as an object of veneration; soon after, the upper extremity was formed into the shape of a head, and then lines were excavated in it to describe feet and hands. Such is said to have been the state of sculpture among the Egyptians, when that people transmitted the art to the Greeks,[t] who for a long time contented themselves with a bare imitation of their rude models. Hence those shapeless statues in the Peloponnesus, which exhibited only a sheath, a column, or a pyramid,[u] with a head on the top, and sometimes a rude representation of hands and feet not disjoined from the trunk. The statues of Mercury, called Hermæ, were remains of this ancient practice.

The Egyptians boasted that they discovered sculpture at a very early period,[v] and painting at least six thousand years before it was known to the Greeks.[w] The latter did not appropriate to themselves the invention of the first of these arts, but thought they had a just claim to the discovery of the second.[x] It is observable that there were two kinds of painting: that which merely sets off the drawing by colors laid on whole and unbroken; and that which, after long efforts, became the faithful copyist of nature. The former was discovered by the Egyptians. In the Thebais, in the porches of the grottos, which served perhaps as tombs, on the ceilings of the temples, on the hieroglyphics and figures of men and animals, were very lively and brilliant colors of an extremely ancient date; but these colors, sometimes enriched by gold-leaf attached to them by an astringent, clearly proved that painting in Egypt was only the art of coloring.

It would seem that the Greeks were very little farther advanced at the time of the Trojan war.[y] It is observable that Homer never uses any words to signify painters or painting; and hence it is probable that this art, as it afterwards existed, was not understood at that time.[z] However, towards the first Olympiad, or 776 years before Christ, the artists of Sicyon and of Corinth, who had already exhibited more intelligence in their designs,[a] signalized themselves by essays which astonished by their novelty. Dædalus of Sicyon constructed in Crete a labyrinth; in Sicily, a citadel and baths; in Sardinia, large edifices; and in all places, a great number of statues.[b] Previously to the time of Dædalus, statues had their eyes shut, their arms closely adhering to the body, and their feet joined; he opened their eye-

[s] Pausan. vii. 22. ix. 27.
[t] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[u] Pausan. ii. 9. iii. 19. vii. 22.
[v] Plat. de Leg. lib. ii.
[w] Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 3.
[x] Ib. id. Strab. lib. viii.
[y] Hom. Il. β'. v. 637.
[z] Plin. lib. xxxv. sect. 6.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 3.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56. Pausan. lib. ix. cap. 40.

lids, and detached their feet and hands.[c] At the same time, Cleophantus of Corinth was coloring the features of the human countenance.

As Cleophantus made use of pounded brick-dust,[d] it is evident that, at that time, the Greeks knew nothing of the colors employed afterwards for carnation. About the time of the battle of Marathon, painting and sculpture emerged from their long infancy, and by a rapid progress attained a very high degree of sublimity and beauty. By the advice of Eupompus, a celebrated artist, the magistrates of Sicyon ordained that the study of drawing should constitute a part of the education of the citizens; and this example was followed by the other cities of Greece.[e]

The Greek islands produced more great painters than the two continents of Europe and Asia; and in the number may be reckoned Polygnotus of the isle of Thasos, Timanthes of Samos, Zeuxis of Sicily, Protogenes of Rhodes, and Apelles of the island of Cos.

It is said that the Thebans had a law to punish painters who made little progress in their art.[f]

The art of painting was called *γραφικὴ, ἀπὸ τοῦ γράφειν*, because among other things it signifies to distinguish.[g] It was also denominated *Ζωγραφία*.[h] Among the Greeks it formed a part of the education of youth.[i] This art was at first so imperfect, that painters wrote on their pictures the names of the objects which they wished to represent, as this is an ox, a horse, a tree,[k] &c. In the infancy of painting, they used only one color;[l] to which were afterwards added other four;[m] and, lastly, many.[n]

The instruments and materials employed in this art were *ὀκρίβας* and *καλύβας*, the easel, on which was placed the canvass when they painted;[o] *πίνακες* and *πινάκια*, the tablets or canvass;[p] *λήκυθοι*, little boxes, in which painters kept their colors;[q] *κηρὸς*, the wax;[r] *χρώματα*, the unprepared colors;[s] *φάρμακα*, the prepared colors;[t] *ἄνθη*, the flowers;[u] *γραφὶς*, the style; and *ὑπογραφὶς*, the pencil.[v] The outline, or rude delineation of the picture, was called *ὑποτύπωσις*, *ὑπογραφὴ*, *σκιὰ*, and *σκιαγραφία*;[w] and the finished portrait, *εἰκών*.[x]

[c] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Themist. Orat. Suid. in Δαιδάλ.
[d] Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 3.
[e] Id. ib. cap. 18.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist.
[g] Xenophon. Memorab. iii. 10. seg. 1. Eustath. ad Il. γ.
[h] Plut. de Audiend. Poet.
[i] Aristot. Polit. viii. 3.
[k] Aristot. Topic. vi. 2. Ælian. Var. Hist. viii. 8. x. 10.
[l] Plin. xxxv. 3. Quintil. xii. 10. seg. 3.
[m] Philostrat. in Apollon. ii. 22. Cic. in Bruto cap. xxviii.
[n] Isidor. Hispal. Orig. xvi. 17.
[o] Poll. viii. 28. seg. 129.
[p] Id. ibid. seg. 128.
[q] Cic. ad Attic. i. 14.
[r] Poll. vii. 28. seg. 128.
[s] Id. ib.
[t] Id. ib.
[u] Id. ib.
[v] Id. ib.
[w] Id. ib. seg. 127 et 128.
[x] Id. ib. seg. 127. Ælian. Var. Hist. xiv. 37 et 47.

CHAP. XXV.

The Dress of the Greeks.

IN ancient times, the Greeks went with their heads uncovered;[y] but afterwards they used hats, which were called πῖλοι,[z] πιλία,[a] or πιλίδια.[b]

FEMALE DRESSES.



Women, however, had their heads always covered. The coverings and ornaments of the head of a Grecian female were the following:—κάλυπτρα, a veil;[c] ἄμπυξ, a fillet, with which the hair was tied;[d] κρήδεμνον, a veil, which came down from the head to the shoulders;[e] κεκρύφαλος, a net, in which the hair was inclosed;[f] μίτρα, a fillet, in which the hair of some women, commonly less refined, was bound;[g] ὀπισθοσφενδόνη, a particular kind of net with which the heads of some females were decorated, and which was intended to excite laughter.[h]

It has been before observed that some Athenians wore in their

[y] Lucian. de Gymnas.

[z] Hesiod. Ἔργ. v. 546. Poll. vii. 33. seg. 171.

[a] Athen. xv. 13.

[b] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 438.

[c] Hom. Odyss. ε'. v. 232. Hesiod. Theogon. v. 574.

[d] Hom. Il. χ'. v. 468.

[e] Eustath. ad Il. ξ'. Hom. Il. χ'. v. 470.

[f] Aristoph. Thesmophor. v. 145. Eustath. ad Il. χ'.

[g] Aristoph. Thesmophor. v. 264. Eustath. ad Il. π'. et ad Odys. κ'.

[h] Id. in Dionys. Perieg. 7. Poll. lib. v. cap. 16. seg. 96.

hair golden grasshoppers, called in Greek *τέττιγας*,[i] and which were intended to show the greatness and antiquity of their extraction, and that they were *αὐτόχθονες*, sprung from the same earth.[k] In the most ancient times, women given to luxury wore on the head a higher fillet, which was called *στεφάνη ὑψηλή*.[l] From their ears were suspended ear-rings, which were called *ἕρματα*,[m] *ἐνώτια*,[n] and *ἕλικες*.[o] They also adorned their necks with a necklace, which was called *ὅρμος*.[p]

The covering of the body was denominated in Greek by the general terms of *ἐσθὴς*,[q] *ἔσθημα*,[r] and *ἔσθησις*,[s] and by the poets *εἷμα*.[t] The inner garment, both of men and women, was *χιτὼν*, a tunic;[u] and they who did not wear an inner garment, were called *μονόπεπλοι*, having one garment.[v] *Χιτὼν ὀρθοστάδιος* was a floating tunic;[w] and *χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι*, signifies to be clothed with any covering,[x] and sometimes to put on armour.[y]

Women of opulence and rank wore tunics which were fastened from the shoulders to the hands with several gold or silver buckles, called in Greek *περόναι*[z] and *πόρπαι*.[a] The same persons had also a robe denominated *ἔγκυκλον χιτώνιον*, which whether worn as an inner (*χιτώνιον*), or outer garment (*ἱμάτιον*), is uncertain.[b]

In general, the Greeks were contented with throwing over a tunic, that descended to the mid-leg,[c] a mantle which almost entirely covered them. Only country people, or persons without education, tucked up the different parts of their dress above the knee.[d]

It may be observed that, in the form and disposition of the several parts of dress, the men were expected to study decency, and the women to unite elegance with taste. The usual dress of the Athenian women was, first, a white tunic, which was fastened with buttons over the shoulders, closely bound under the bosom with a broad sash,[e] and which descended in waving folds down to the heels;[f] secondly, a shorter robe, confined round the waist by a broad ribband,[g] and, like the tunic, bordered at the bottom with stripes or edgings of different colors,[h] and sometimes it had sleeves which covered only a part of the arm; and, thirdly, a robe, which was sometimes worn gathered up like a scarf, and at other times suffered to unfold itself over the body, the contours and proportions of which

[i] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 6.
[k] Schol. Aristoph. ad Nub. v. 980.
[l] Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 18.
[m] Hom. Il. ξ'. v. 182. et Odys. σ'. v. 296.
[n] Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 18.
[o] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 401. Hymn. in Ven. v. 87.
[p] Hom. Il. σ'. v. 401. Eustath. ad Il. σ'. Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 409.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 8.
[r] Id. ib. lib. i. cap. 2.
[s] Poll. x. 12. seg. 51.
[t] Hesiod. Scut. v. 159. Hom. Odys. β'. v. 3.
[u] Id. Il. β'. v. 262. Odys. τ'. v. 232. Athen. lib. xiii. cap. 6.
[v] Eurip. Hecuba v. 933.
[w] Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 45.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 16.
[y] Hom. Il.
[z] Id. Odys. τ'. v. 256.
[a] Id. Il. σ'. v. 401.
[b] Aristoph. Thesmophor. v. 260.
[c] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 61.
[d] Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Athen. lib. i. cap. 18.
[e] Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucip. Amor. lib. i. cap. 1.
[f] Poll. lib. vii. cap. 16.
[g] Id. ib. cap. 14. seg. 65.
[h] Id. ib. cap. 13. seg. 52. cap. 14. seg. 6.

it was peculiarly well adapted to display. The Athenian women painted their eye-brows black, and applied to their faces a layer of ceruse or white lead, with deep tints of rouge.[i] They sprinkled over their hair, which was crowned with flowers,[k] a yellow-colored powder.[l] In proportion as they wished to increase or lessen their stature, they wore higher or lower heels to their shoes.[m]

The dress of the Spartan women consisted in a tunic, or kind of short shift, and a robe which descended to the heels.[n] The girls, who were obliged to employ every moment of their time in wrestling, running, leaping, and other laborious exercises, commonly wore a light garment without sleeves,[o] which was fastened over the shoulders with clasps,[p] and which a girdle confined,[q] and prevented from falling below the knee.[r] The lower part was open on each side, so that half the body was naked.[s] Thus Lycurgus accustomed the youth of Sparta to blush only at vice;[t] and modesty, deprived of a part of its veil,[u] was respected by both sexes, and the women of Lacedæmon were distinguished for the purity of their manners. A Spartan woman appeared in public with her face uncovered till she was married; but after her marriage, as she was to seek to please her husband only, she never went abroad without a veil.[v]

In public the Theban women concealed their faces, and discovered only their eyes; their hair was knotted upon their heads, and their feet were confined in purple slippers, so small as to leave them almost entirely bare.[w]

Among the Spartans, kings, magistrates, and the lowest of the citizens, could not be distinguished by external appearance.[x] They wore a very short[y] and very coarse woollen tunic, over which they threw a mantle or large cloak.[z] On their feet they wore sandals, or shoes, commonly of a red color. Castor and Pollux, two heroes of Lacedæmon, were represented with caps, which, when joined at the bottom, resembled the egg from which it was pretended they derived their origin. Caps of the same form were worn by the Spartans. "The Lacedæmonians," said the poet Antiphanes, "are no longer invincible; the nets in which they bind their hair are dyed purple."[a]

Ἱμάτιον, sometimes called φάρος,[b] which in Latin was denominated *pallium*, was the exterior robe of the men among the Greeks,[c] as was

[i] Xenoph. Memor. Lysias de Cæde Eratosth. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. xiii. Etymolog. Mag. in Ἔψιμ.

[k] Simon. ap. Stob. serm. 71.

[l] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. ii. v. 88. Hesych. in Θάψ.

[m] Lys. in Simon. Xenoph. Memor.

[n] Plut. Agide.

[o] Eustath. in Il.

[p] Poll. lib. vii. cap. 13. seg. 55. Eustath. in Il.

[q] Plut. Lycurgo.

[r] Clem. Alex. Pædag. ii. 10. Virg. Æn. i. v. 320. 324 et 408.

[s] Eurip. Andromach. v. 598. Soph. ap. Plut. in Num. Plut. ibid. Hesych. in Δωρίαζ.

[t] Plat. de Rep. lib. v.

[u] Plut. Lycurgo.

[v] Id. Apophth. Lacon.

[w] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc.

[x] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 6. Aristot. de Rep. lib. iv. cap. 9.

[y] Plat. in Protag. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

[z] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 474. Schol. ib. Demosth. in Canon. Plut. in Phocic.

[a] Athen. lib. xv. cap. 8.

[b] Hom. Il. β'. v. 43. Eustath. ad Odys. β'.

[c] Hom. Il. β'. v. 43.

the toga among the Romans. To put on the *φάρος* or *ἱμάτιον* is said *περιβάλλεσθαι*[d] and *ἀναβάλλεσθαι*;[e] and more frequently we meet with *ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἱμάτιον ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ*, and *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ*, to throw the garment over the left arm, and the right arm.[f] Hence it obtained the names of *ἀναβόλαιον* or *ἀναβολὴ*,[g] *περιβόλαιον*,[h] *περιβολὴ*, *περίβλημα*,[i] and *ἀμπεχόνη*.[k]

Χλαῖνα was a thicker external robe, which was worn in cold weather,[l] and which was sometimes *ἁπλοῦς*, single,[m] and sometimes *διπλῆ*, double.[n]

Φαινόλης,[o] *φαιλώνης*, *φαιλόνης*, or *φενόλης*, a cloak, which was nearly round without sleeves, and was used in cold or rainy weather.[p]

Λῆδος, *ληδάριον*, and *ληϊδάριον*, was a garment common to both sexes,[q] and was suitable for warm weather.[r]

Ἐφεστρὶς was a kind of great coat,[s] which was made of the skins of goats,[t] and which was also called *μανδύας*, and *βήρριον*[u] or *βήρρον*.

Τρίβων and *τριβώνιον* was the cloak of philosophers[v] and of poor persons,[w] and was a threadbare and light garment.[x] It was also anciently worn by lawyers and judges;[y] and it is said to have been used by Epaminondas and Agesilaus.

Ἐπωμὶς was a short female garment, which was thrown over the shoulders.[z]

Πέπλος was an exterior robe worn by women,[a] and sometimes also by men.[b] *Ζῶστρον*, a girdle, likewise belonged to females;[c] it is said by some to be the clasp or other instrument used in binding the girdle.[d]

Στολὴ was a long garment, which reached to the heels.

Κατωνάκη was a slave's robe, which was bordered at the bottom with the skin of a sheep.[e]

Ἐξωμὶς was also a slave's garment, which had only one sleeve,[f] and which served both for a tunic and a cloak.[g] It was not, however, confined entirely to slaves, but was sometimes worn by others.[h]

[d] Id. ib. Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 16.
[e] Suid. in *Ἀναβάλλει*; Aristoph. Vesp. v. 1147.
[f] Athen. i. 18.
[g] Lucian. Hermot.
[h] Suidas in hac voce.
[i] Schol. Theocrit. Idyll. ii. 19. Herodian. iv. 7. seg. 5.
[k] Xenoph. Memor. i. 2. seg. 5.
[l] Suid. in hac voce; Hom. Il. *π'*. v. 224. Odys. *ξ'*. v. 529. 487.
[m] Id. Il. *ω'*. v. 230.
[n] Id. ib. *κ'*. v. 134. Odys. *τ'*. v. 226. Poll. vii. 13. seg. 47.
[o] Suid. in hac voce.
[p] Hor. i. epist. 11. v. 18. Juvenal. Sat. v. v. 79.
[q] Poll. vii. 13. seg. 48.
[r] Schol. Aristoph. Av. v. 716 et 916.
[s] Poll. vii. 13. seg. 61.
[t] Suid. in hac voce.
[u] Artemid. ii. 3. Suid. in hac voce.
[v] Lucian. Vit. Auct., Bis Accusat. Athen. iv. 28.
[w] Aristoph. Plut. v. 714. 843. &c.
[x] Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. v. 714. Lucian. Dialog. Mort.
[y] Schol. Aristoph. ad Vesp. v. 31. Ælian. Var. Hist. v. 5. vii. 13.
[z] Athen. lib. xiii. Poll. l. vii. seg. 49.
[a] Hom. Il. *ξ'*. v. 289 et 442. Eustath. ad Il. *β'*.
[b] Id. ib. *ε'*.
[c] Hom. Odys. *ζ'*. v. 38.
[d] Eustath. ad Odys.
[e] Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. v. 719. et Schol. in hunc loc. Lysistr. v. 1153. Suidas.
[f] Schol. Aristoph. ad Vesp. v. 442. Suid. in hac voce.
[g] Hesych. in *Ἐξωμίς*.
[h] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 34. Xenoph. Memor. lib. ii. cap. 7. seg. 5.

Βαίτη,[i] and διφθέρα,[k] was a shepherd's garment, which was made of skins.

Ἐγκόμβωμα was a cloak used by shepherds, girls,[l] and slaves.[m]

Χλαμὺς was a military garment, which was worn over the tunic, the cuirass, &c.;[n] and it was also used by young men, women, &c.[o]

Χλανὶς was a fine thin robe.[p] Κροκωτὸς and κροκώτιον was of a saffron color, and was a garment worn by women,[q] by Bacchus,[r] and by Hercules when in the service of Omphale;[s] and hence the proverb, γαλῇ κροκωτὸν, which signifies to confer an honor on an unworthy person. Συμμετρία was a robe which reached to the ancles, and was sometimes denominated χιτὼν ποδήρης, a garment that came down to the feet;[t] it was worn by women, and had no train.[u] Θέριστρον, or θερίστριον, was a thin garment worn in summer.[v]

Στρόφιον was a round zone, or a kind of kerchief worn by women over their breasts. It was sometimes called μαστῶν ἔνδυμα, the covering of the breasts;[w] sometimes ταινίη μαστῶν;[x] sometimes simply ταινία, and also στηθόδεσμος, and ζώνη τοὺς μαζοὺς κλείουσα.[y] Hence a woman thus covered was said to be βαθύζωνος, well girded.

Ψέλλιον was a bracelet, with which the Grecian women adorned their hands and arms.[z]

The coverings of the feet were called by the general name of ὑποδήματα, shoes,[a] which were tied under the soles of the feet with thongs or cords, denominated by the Greeks ἱμάντες. To put on shoes was termed in Greek ὑποδεῖν;[b] and to take them off, λύειν and ὑπολύειν.[c] Shoes were also called πέδιλα by the poets.[d]

Διάβαθρα were shoes common both to men and women.[e]

Σάνδαλα,[f] or σανδάλια,[g] were shoes which were anciently peculiar to heroines,[h] and to opulent and gay women.[i]

Βλαῦται,[k] and βλαῦδες,[l] were a kind of shoes chiefly worn in the house. Hence βλαυτοῦν signifies to bind or beat with a shoe.[m]

Κονίποδες were shoes which were like the last,[n] and which were low and slender.[o]

Περιβαρίδες were shoes worn by women of rank.[p] Some say that they were worn by maid-servants.[q]

[i] Theocrit. Idyll. iii. v. 25. et Schol. in hunc loc. Idyll. v. v. 15. cum Schol. et Hesych. in Βαίτη.
[k] Aristoph. Nub. v. 72. Theophrast. Charact. Ethic. cap. v. περὶ ἀγροικίας.
[l] Varro in Frag. ex libro de Liberis educandis.
[m] Poll. lib. iv. cap. 18. seg. 119.
[n] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
[o] Ovid. Met. lib. v. v. 51.
[p] Menand. Fragm.
[q] Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. v. 874.
[r] Aristoph. Ran. v. 46.
[s] Lucian.
[t] Poll. lib. vii. cap. 13. seg. 54.
[u] Hesych.
[v] Idem.
[w] Aristoph. Thesmoph. v. 146.
[x] Anacreon Od. xx.
[y] Achill. Tat. i.
[z] Pausan. Eliac. Ælian. Var. Hist. ii. 14. Suid. in v.
[a] Aristot. Polit. i. 6.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 18. Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. v. 269.
[c] Id. Thesm. v. 1194. Lysistr. v. 949.
[d] Hom. Il. β'. v. 44. Odys. ξ'. v. 23.
[e] Poll. vii. 22. seg. 90.
[f] Hom. Hymn. in Mercur. prim. v. 79.
[g] Lucian. Diall. Meretr.
[h] Id. Dial. Deor.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 18.
[k] Aristoph. Equit. v. 885. Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 11.
[l] Hesych.
[m] Hesych. Terent. Eun. v. 8. 4.
[n] Clem. Alex. Pædag. ii. 11.
[o] Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. v. 843.
[p] Id. Lysistr. v. 45. 48.
[q] Poll. vii. 22. seg. 92.

Κρηπῖδες were a kind of shoes,[r] whence are derived the Roman crepidæ.[s] By some they are said to have been worn by the military.[t] They were also called ἀρπίδες.[u]

Ἀρβύλαι were large and easy shoes, which came up to the ancles.[v]

Περσικαὶ were female shoes,[w] which were of a white color, and were worn by courtezans.[x] Some, however, think that they were a kind of mean shoes, and not worn by harlots.

Λακωνικαὶ,[y] and ἀμυκλαΐδες,[z] were Spartan shoes, and of a red color.[a]

Καρβατίναι were coarse shoes worn by peasants.[b]

Ἐμβάται were shoes used by comedians.[c]

Κόθορνοι were buskins, or a kind of shoes worn by tragedians,[d] and were suited to each foot.[e] They were also called ἐμβάδες.[f]

The skins of wild beasts which they killed in the chase served the primitive Greeks for covering; but not knowing the art of preparing these skins, they wore them quite rough, and with the hair on.[g] The only ornament which they could invent was to wear the fur on the outside.[h] The sinews of animals served them for thread; and they used thorns instead of needles and bodkins.[i]

Flax,[k] cotton,[l] and, above all, wool, were the materials of which the garments of the latter Athenians were usually made. The tunic was formerly of linen;[m] but it was afterwards made of cotton. The common people wore a cloth which had not been dyed, and which would wash. The rich usually preferred cloths of various colors; and they particularly esteemed those dyed in scarlet, by means of little seeds of a reddish color, gathered from a certain shrub; but they set a still greater value on purple,[n] and especially on the cloths of a very deep red with a mixture of the violet.

The Athenians used very light dresses in summer.[o] In winter some wore large robes imported from Sardes, the cloth of which, manufactured at Ecbatana in Media, was covered with thick flocks of wool to defend the wearers from the cold.[p] They had also stuffs embroidered with gold;[q] and others worked with the most beautiful flowers in their natural colors;[r] but these were employed only in the vestments with which they covered the statues of the gods,[s] or for the dresses of the actors at the theatres.[t] To prevent modest women from wear-

[r] Ælian. Var. Hist. ix. 3. Herodian. iv. 8.
[s] Aul. Gell. xiii. 21.
[t] Valer. Max. ix. 1. 4.
[u] Poll. vii. 22. seg. 85. Hesych.
[v] Eurip. Orest. v. 140. Hercul. Fur. v. 1304. Hesych.
[w] Aristoph. Nub. v. 151. et Schol.
[x] Poll. lib. vii. cap. 22. seg. 92.
[y] Aristoph. Vesp. v. 1153. cum Schol.
[z] Hesych. in vocibus.
[a] Poll. vii. 22. seg. 88.
[b] Xenoph. Exped. iv. Hesych. Lucian. Schol. ad Philopseud.
[c] Poll. lib. vii. cap. 22. seg. 91.
[d] Tertull. de Spectacc. xiii.
[e] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. Lucian. in Pseudolog. Schol. Aristoph. ad Ran. v. 47.
[f] Id. ib. ad Ecclesiaz. v. 47.
[g] Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. Pausan. lib. viii. cap. 1.
[h] Id. lib. x. cap. 38.
[i] Hesiod. Oper. v. 544.
[k] Poll. lib. vii. cap. 16.
[l] Id. ib. cap. 17. Pausan. lib. v. vii.
[m] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 6.
[n] Plut. Alcibiade.
[o] Schol. Aristoph. Av. v. 716.
[p] Aristoph. Vesp. v. 1132.
[q] Poll. lib. iv. cap. 18. seg. 116.
[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. viii.
[s] Aristot. Æcon. Ælian. lib. i. c. 20.
[t] Poll. lib. iv. cap. 18. seg. 116.

ing them, the laws directed that they should be worn by females of loose reputation.

CHAP. XXVI.

Grecian Money, Weights, and Measures.

THE ancient Athenian coins were remarkable for an extreme coarseness of engraving, and for the most hideous of all devices. The figure of an owl was commonly chosen for such purposes, as if it had been intended to select the least graceful of all animated forms. The ancients were fully sensible of the vitiated taste which prevailed in the fabrication of the Athenian money; and the philosopher Zeno has compared it to a discourse composed of rustic phrases and inelegant expressions.[u] From a spirit of parsimony, the treasurers of the state allowed such trifling wages for coining, that no capital artists ever offered their services.

Though the Athenians possessed mines of copper at Colonos, yet they were so unwilling to employ this metal as specie, that they preferred gratifying their taste or vanity by cutting silver into such small pieces that they were sometimes mistaken for scales of fishes.[v] Money of that quality was very unfit for the purposes of commerce; it might be easily mislaid, and could not be found without difficulty. Very small pieces of silver must probably have circulated, when the use of copper was exploded. Afterwards, however, the Athenians were induced to allow a coinage of copper; though Dionysius the orator obtained the surname of the man of brass, because he made a long discourse on the necessity of copper money.[w] They coined pieces of copper, which were not worth more than the eighth part of an obolus, or three-fourths of a farthing in English.[x] In Greece, gold was extremely scarce, and was brought from Lybia and from Macedonia, where the peasants collected the small pieces which were washed down by the rains from the neighbouring mountains.[y] According to some, the largest piece of gold that was coined weighed two drachms, and was worth twenty silver drachms, or fifteen shillings in English;[z] but others think there were larger coins of gold.

The silver coins were most common, and were of different value. Above the drachm, which consisted of six oboli, were the didrachma or double drachma, and the tetradrachma or quadruple drachma; below it were the semi-drachma, and the pieces of five, four, three, and two oboli, the obolus, and the semi-obolus.[a]

Δραχμὴ, drachma, as if δραγμὴ, was a thing taken or apprehended by the hand, from δράττομαι, as a handful of six oboli, to which it was equal.[b] In reckoning sums, the Greeks used drachmæ, which were

[u] Diog. Laert. Vit. Zenonis.
[v] Aristophanes.
[w] Id. Ran. v. 737. Ecclesiaz. v. 810. Athen. xv. 3.
[x] Poll. lib. ix. cap. 6.
[y] Thucyd. lib. iv. cap. 105. Aristot. Strab. Geograph. lib. vii.
[z] Hesych. in χρυς.
[a] Poll. lib. ix. cap. 6.
[b] Eustath. in Il. α'.

coined both of silver and gold; but if it was not otherwise specified, the silver coin is understood. The value of the drachma cannot be exactly ascertained. It is, however, generally computed at $7\frac{3}{4}d.$ though some reckon it at $8\frac{1}{4}d.$ The drachma was divided into eighteen κεράτια or siliquæ, as well as into six oboli.[c] In different parts of Greece were different drachms. The drachma Æginæa is commonly reckoned equal to $1\frac{2}{3}$ of an Attic drachm, or ten Attic oboli:[d] the Athenians called it παχεῖαν, thick;[e] and it was the pay of a horseman even among the Athenians.[f] Mention is also made of the Corinthian drachm,[g] the value of which is uncertain, though some suppose it equal to the Attic drachm. A drachm was the hundredth part of a mina;[h] and it was a weight as well as a coin.

Besides the tetradrachm, which was called the γλαῦξ, owl, were coined pentadrachms[i] and hexadrachms;[k] and in some authors we find the word pentecontadrachm, or fifty drachms,[l] which, if a silver coin, must have been very large.

It may be necessary to distinguish two kinds of tetradrachms: those which were more ancient were struck about the time of Pericles, or perhaps not till the end of the Peloponnesian war; and those which were posterior to that era. Both had on one side the head of Minerva, and on the reverse an owl. On the latter coins, the owl stood on a vase; and they also bore upon them names or monograms, and sometimes both. The more ancient tetradrachms were of a ruder workmanship, less in diameter, and thicker than the others. The reverses exhibited traces more or less evident of the square form which was given to money in the earlier ages. The less ancient tetradrachms were current during four or five centuries, and were much more numerous than the former, from which they differed in the shape, workmanship, monograms, names of magistrates, and especially in the rich ornaments with which the head of Minerva was decorated. On each side of the helmet of the goddess, a griffin was represented.[m] The Athenian tetradrachms had no date.

When the word ἀργυρίου is found joined with a number, drachms are to be understood.[n]

Mention is made of βοῦς, the ox, a coin so denominated from the figure impressed on it. It is reckoned of equal value with the didrachm,[o] and was coined both of gold and silver.[p] This coin was perhaps the most ancient of any in Greece, and is supposed to have been known to Homer, who seems to allude to it when he speaks of Glaucus exchanging his golden armor, worth one hundred oxen, for the brazen armor of Diomedes; but, in that case, the armor could not have been entirely of gold, because a βοῦς was of the value of a didrachma only.

[c] Hesychius.
[d] Poll. lib. ix.
[e] Id. ib.
[f] Thucyd. lib. v.
[g] Id. lib. i.
[h] Plut. Solone.
[i] Pollux.
[k] Hesych. Aristot. Œconomic. lib. ii.
[l] Plat. Poll.
[m] Pausan. lib. i. cap. 24.
[n] Athen. lib. iv.
[o] Poll. lib. ix.
[p] Schol. Homer.

Ὀβολὸς, obolus, was a coin so denominated from a spit, because it was of an oblong form.

Χαλκὸς was a small brass coin, the sixth part of an obolus;[q] dichalcus, the third part of an obolus.

Mention is made of the λεπτὸν,[r] which was the seventh part of an obolus.

The στατὴρ, so called from weighing, was both a silver and gold coin, but most commonly the latter.[s] It was of different weights and names, according to the different princes and states by whom it was coined. The stater aureus weighed two Attic drachms, and was worth 1*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* The stater Cyzicenus, the stater Philippi, and the stater Alexandri, were each of the value of 18*s.* 1*d.* in English. The stater Daricus and the stater Crœsi were each of the value of 1*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.*

The following coins are also mentioned in authors:

Κόρη, the maid,[t] so called from the figure of Pallas; of the value of a tetradrachm.

Χελώνη, the shell,[u] so called from its type; of uncertain value.

Σύμβολον, symbolum, a small coin[v] of uncertain value.

Λεπτὶς,[w] so called from its smallness, equal to 1½ of the ceratium, which was one third of the obolus.

Εὐθεῖα, a semi-drachm, or triobulus.[x]

Κίδαβος, one-eighth of an eutheia.[y]

Κραπάταλλος, crapatallus, equal to eight eutheiæ, and consequently to a tetradrachm.[z]

Τροιζήνιον,[a] trœzenium, having a Pallas on one side, and a trident on the reverse; of uncertain value.

Κόλλυβος,[b] supposed equal to the Roman sestertius.

Κόλλυνον,[c] a small coin of uncertain value.

Κολύμβων,[d] colymbum, of uncertain value.

Κέρμα,[e] a small coin fit to exchange a greater; and hence κερματίζειν, to exchange money.

Φόλλις,[f] a sort of obolus.

Δημαρέτιον, so called from Demareta, the wife of Gelon.[g]

Λίτρα, which signifies libra, a pound weight; the name also of a small coin, equal to an Æginæan obolus.[h]

Οὐγγία, the uncia, borrowed by the Sicilians from the Roman libra.[i]

Κοδράντης, quadrans, the fourth part of an obolus.[k]

Γρὺ, a small piece of coin used proverbially.

Ἀσσάριον, used for the as, and sometimes for the obolus.[l]

Πέλανορ, equal to four chalci.[m]

[q] Suidas.
[r] Idem.
[s] Pollux; Suidas.
[t] Poll. lib. ix.
[u] Id. ib.
[v] Id. ib.
[w] L. Cælius lib. x. cap. 2.
[x] Poll. lib. ix.
[y] Id. ib.
[z] Id. ib.
[a] Pausan. Corinthiacis.
[b] Hesych. Poll. lib. iii. et vii.
[c] Id. lib. ix.
[d] Suidas.
[e] Idem.
[f] Hesych. in voce κοδράντης.
[g] Poll. lib. ix.
[h] Id. ib.
[i] Id. ib.
[k] Hesychius.
[l] Suidas.
[m] Hesychius.

Ὀβολκαὶ, Cretan oboli.[n]

Νουμία, from nummus, interpreted also oboli.[o]

Μέλισσα, an obolus.[p]

The great number of states into which Greece was divided, occasioned a great variety in the names of coins.

Μνᾶ, the Attic mina, contained one hundred drachmæ or denarii. At first, the old Attic mina consisted of seventy-five drachmæ, but was afterwards increased to one hundred by Solon.[q]

Τάλαντον, the talent, commonly signifies in Homer a balance. However, it usually denotes either a weight or a sum of money; and its value differed according to the different ages or countries in which it was used. Every talent consisted of sixty minæ; but the talent differed in weight according to the different minæ and drachmæ of which it was composed. There was an ancient Attic talent which consisted of eighty minæ;[r] but the lesser Attic talent contained only sixty Attic minæ.[s] The talent of Ægina, so called from the island Ægina on the coast of Greece, contained six thousand Æginæan drachmæ, or ten thousand Attic drachmæ.[t] Another talent, much more ancient and of less value than these, was that which may be called the Homeric talent of gold,[u] supposed to be equal to three Attic aurei: some reckon it worth twenty-four drachmæ;[v] and though, perhaps, of uncertain value, it is thought to have been an inconsiderable sum.

The following table exhibits the computation of money among the Greeks:

	£.	s.	d.	q.
Lepton	0	0	0	0 31/336
Chalcus	0	0	0	0 31/48
Dichalcus	0	0	0	1 7/24
Hemiobolus	0	0	0	2 7/12
Obolus, the sixth part of a drachma	0	0	1	1 1/6
1 drachma	0	0	7	3
2 dr. or didrachm	0	1	3	2
3 dr. or tridrachm	0	1	11	1
4 dr. or tetradrachm	0	2	7	0
5 dr. or pentadrachm	0	3	2	3
6 dr.	0	3	10	2
7 dr.	0	4	6	1
10 dr.	0	6	5	2
20 dr.	0	12	11	0
30 dr.	0	19	4	2
50 dr.	1	12	3	2
100 dr. or 1 mina	3	4	7	0

	£.	s.	d.
500 dr. or 5 minæ	16	1	11
1000 dr. or 10 m.	32	5	10
3000 dr. or 30 m.	96	17	6
6000 dr. or 60 m. made a talent.			
1 talent	193	15	0
2 t.	397	10	0
3 t.	581	5	0
5 t.	968	15	0
10 t.	1937	10	0
20 t.	3875	0	0
30 t.	5812	10	0
50 t.	9687	10	0
70 t.	13562	10	0
100 t.	19375	0	0
1000 t.	193750	0	0
5000 t.	968750	0	0
10000 t.	1937500	0	0

It is observable that the lesser coins, as the lepton, chalcus, &c. were generally of brass, except the drachma and the didrach, which were of silver.

[n] Hesych.
[o] Idem.
[p] Idem.
[q] Plut. Solone.
[r] Liv. lib. xxxviii.
[s] Suidas; Poll. lib. ix.
[t] A. Gellius; Pollux.
[u] Pollux.
[v] Eustath. in Iliad.

The following are Grecian weights reduced to English Troy weight:

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	grs.		lb.	oz.	dwt.	grs.	dec.
Drachma	0	0	6	2 $\frac{32}{49}$	}	0	0	2	16	9
Mina	1	1	0	4 $\frac{44}{49}$	or	1	1	10	10	
Talent	65	0	12	5 $\frac{43}{49}$	}	67	7	5	0	

The greater weights reduced to English Troy weight:

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	grs.
Libra	0	10	18	13 $\frac{5}{7}$
Mina Attica communis	0	11	7	16 $\frac{2}{7}$
Mina Attica Medica	1	2	11	10 $\frac{2}{7}$
Talentum Atticum commune	56	11	0	17 $\frac{1}{7}$

The Greeks had different kinds of stadia, but the most common was that known by the name of the Olympian stadium, and was equal to

Eng. Mil.	Fur.	Yds.	Decim.
0	0	201	4278

Grecian feet reduced to English:

	Eng. Ft.	In.	Dec.
1 Grecian foot	1	0	0786
10 Gr. ft.	10	0	7860
20 Gr. ft.	20	1	5720
30 Gr. ft.	30	2	3580
40 Gr. ft.	40	3	1440
50 Gr. ft.	50	3	9300
100 Gr. ft.	100	7	8600
200 Gr. ft.	201	3	7200
300 Gr. ft.	301	11	5800
400 Gr. ft.	402	7	4400
500 Gr. ft.	503	3	3000
600 Gr. ft.	603	11	1600

	Eng. Mil.	Fur.	Yds.	Dec.
1 Gr. Ol. stad.	0	0	201	4278
10 Gr. stad.	1	1	34	278
20 Gr. stad.	2	2	68	556
50 Gr. stad.	5	5	171	39
100 Gr. stad.	11	3	122	78
500 Gr. stad.	57	1	173	9
1000 Gr. stad.	114	3	127	8
5000 Gr. stad.	572	1	199	0
10000 Gr. stad.	1144	3	58	
12000 Gr. stad.	1373	2	92	
15000 Gr. stad.	1716	5	33	
20000 Gr. stad.	2288	7	8	

The following are Grecian measures of length reduced to English:

	Paces	Ft.	In.	Dec.
Dactylus, or digit	0	0	0	7554 $\frac{11}{16}$
Doron, or dochme	0	0	3	0218 $\frac{3}{4}$
Lichas	0	0	7	5546 $\frac{7}{8}$
Orthodoron	0	0	8	3101 $\frac{9}{16}$
Spithame	0	0	9	0656 $\frac{1}{4}$
Πούς, foot	0	1	0	0875

	Paces	Ft.	In.	Dec.
Πυγμή, cubit	0	1	1	5984 $\frac{3}{8}$
Πυγών	0	1	3	109 $\frac{3}{8}$
Πῆχυς, larger cubit	0	1	6	13125
Ὀργυιά, pace	0	6	0	525
Στάδιος αὐλὸς	100	4	4	5
Milion	805	5	0	

The plethron, or acre, contained 1444, or, according to some, 10000 square feet; and the aroura was half the plethron.

The following are Attic measures of capacity for liquids, reduced to English wine measure:

	Gal.	Pts.	Sol. In.	Dec.
Cochlearion	0	$\frac{1}{120}$	0	0356 $\frac{5}{12}$
Cheme	0	$\frac{1}{60}$	0	0712 $\frac{5}{6}$
Mystron	0	$\frac{1}{48}$	0	0891 $\frac{11}{48}$
Conche	0	$\frac{1}{24}$	0	1781 $\frac{11}{24}$
Cyathus	0	$\frac{1}{12}$	0	3564 $\frac{11}{12}$
Oxybaphon	0	$\frac{1}{8}$	0	5353 $\frac{3}{8}$
Cotyle	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	141 $\frac{1}{2}$
Xestes	0	1	4	283
Chous	0	6	25	698
Metretes	10	2	19	626

The following are Attic measures of capacity for dry goods, reduced to English corn measure:

	Pecks	Gals.	Pts.	Sol. In.	Dec.
Cochlearion .	0	0	0	0	$276\frac{7}{10}$
Cyathus . .	0	0	0	2	$763\frac{1}{4}$
Oxybaphon .	0	0	0	4	$144\frac{3}{4}$
Cotyle . .	0	0	0	16	579
Xestes . .	0	0	0	33	158
Chœnix . .	0	0	1	15	$705\frac{3}{4}$
Medimnus .	4	0	6	3	501

FINIS.

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